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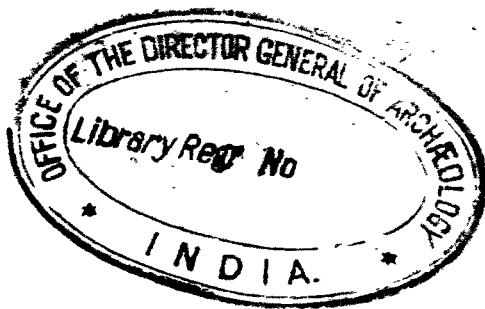
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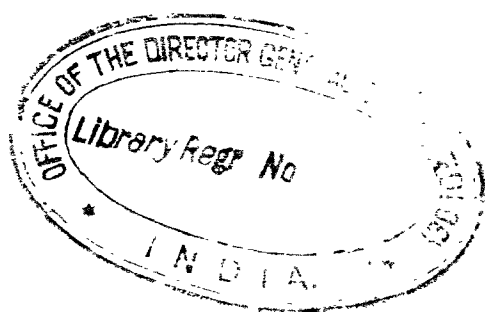
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THE IMPERIAL

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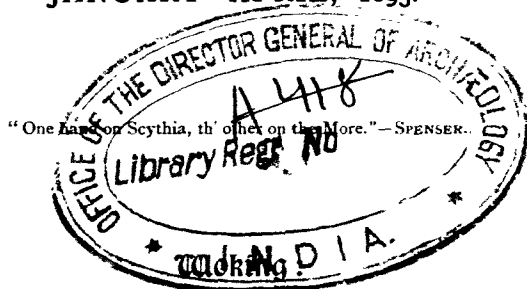
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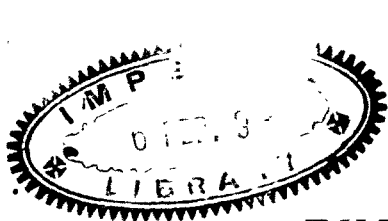
## TO OUR READERS.

We have much pleasure in conveying the gratifying announcement to our readers and to Oriental Scholars generally that, immediately after the present issue of this Review had been printed, Dr. Leitner has, at last, received the object of many years of search, a Manuscript of, or from, the mysterious "Kelám-i-Pir," the "Logos of The Ancient," which is *the* sacred book of the "initiated" among the Druses of the Lebanon and of the Ismailians throughout the Muhammadan World generally, whether in India or Persia or round the "Bám-i-dunyá," the "Roof of the World," the hitherto inaccessible Pamir regions of the Hindukush, which our attack on "the Fairy-land of Hunza" has brought within the devastating reach of European politics. We trust to be able to quote some extracts from this secret Bible in our next issue, and thus to set at rest, in continuation with the revelations which are made about the Muláis in the current number of "The Asiatic Quarterly Review," the speculations of Nine Centuries regarding the real tenets of the most important form of "Esoteric" Muhammadanism. There will be much in the forthcoming extracts to confirm or to correct the Muhammadan authors regarding the so-called "Assassins" of the Crusades quoted by the unparalleled Arabic Scholar, Baron Sylvestre de Sacy, and by Baron Hammer von Purgstall. Suffice it to say that the Manuscript of, or from, the "Kelám-i-Pir," in question, is by, or attributed to, a great Historian, the famous Shah Nasir Khosrò, himself an adherent of the Ismailian sect [born 355 A.H. = 969 A.D.]. It is in good condition, in an ordinary Persian handwriting, and will, we believe, offer no difficulties in translation beyond those connected with its style and mystic substance. It has been sent by the enlightened Head of the Ismailian community, His Highness Agha Sultan Muhammad Shah, the present Agha Khan, who thus continues the literary sympathy which his father extended to Dr. Leitner's researches among the Muláis of the Hindukush. We have also been favoured with a short biography and the photograph of His Highness, which we propose to publish in our next issue.—Ed.

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The date of the opening of the Imperial Institute, which is given on p. 374 as May 23rd, has now been fixed for May 10th.





THE IMPERIAL

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*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

**JANUARY, 1893.**

RUSSIANIZED OFFICIALISM IN INDIA.

THE FLY IN THE OINTMENT.

BY SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.

My friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has, in the last number of this Review, described the feelings of the educated Indian community towards British rule in India. There could not be a better authority on this point. For there is no man living whom the people of India would more gladly name to speak on their behalf. And he is certainly no unfriendly critic towards ourselves, for he has spent many years in England, and has so identified himself with our interests that an English Constituency has chosen him as its representative. What then does he say? He most cordially and fully acknowledges the great benefits conferred upon India; placing above all others the gift of Western literature, science, and art, which, through our schools and colleges, have revived the national life, and given to India the hope of resuming her ancient place among the leaders of civilization. And then as to political benefits: "England has also freely given to India some of her most cherished institutions—institutions for which England has herself fought hard and bled. She has given freedom of speech and freedom of the press—security of life and property, and law and order. Never in all past history have the rulers of any empire bestowed such



blessings and earned a corresponding reward." This is no half-hearted friend of British rule who writes thus. And he endorses the words of the Government of India which has declared that to educated Indians "any idea of the subversion of the British power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion." India is not strong enough to stand alone, and it is for her a choice between England and Russia. Educated Indians know this well. And they have no wish to exchange the rule of England, the freest and most enlightened in the world, for that of Russia which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde. This was once strikingly expressed to me by an Indian friend of mine. Speaking of the Russian advance towards the North West frontier, he said to me, "If India is lost, it is we Indians who are the chief losers. You can go to your ships and will be safe in your distant homes. We, on the other hand, should lose all, our country, our liberties, and our hopes for the regeneration of our race."

All this is gospel truth. But would it not be common sense to take the bitter with the sweet? to hear what Mr. Naoroji and his friends have to say regarding the defects and dangers of our rule as well as its merits? Here are well-informed and candid critics, who desire the good of India in the first place, but who also desire the good of England. Should we not rejoice if they are willing to tell us what they know of the real situation? Are we such babies that we cannot bear to hear the truth? We are the possessors of a splendid inheritance in the distant East, and know little of its real condition. Our paid agents on the spot say that all is well. But others, who claim to be equally well-informed, tell a different story. These speak of extreme poverty and serious discontent among the masses. They tell us that  $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the whole population go through life with their hunger unsatisfied; that over 5 millions of people died of starvation in the last great famine; that, in spite of the excessive poverty, taxation in

India is in proportion double what it is in England ; that the fertility of the land is becoming exhausted ; and that year by year the people find it more difficult to live. Now what does Mr. Naoroji say on these points ? He tells us that all this is true ; that though our principles are good, our practice is bad ; that the pledges given by Parliament and the Crown are sufficient, but that they are not fulfilled ; that the official system of administration in India is such that these principles and these pledges are not carried out in practice ; nor ever can be, so long as the system remains the same. Aye, there's the rub. It is the system that is in fault. The intentions of the British people are all that could be wished, and the instructions given to their official agents are admirable. But the professional interest of these official agents is in direct antagonism to the reforms they are required to carry out. And no redress is possible so long as the only appeal lies to the official authors of the grievance. This is the gist of the complaint made, calmly and loyally, by the leaders of public opinion in India. Mr. Naoroji puts their case well and truly when he says, "I am not writing this in any indignation, nor do I mean to blame any individual official. I take it for granted that every official does his duty as required of him. It is the system which the British Indian Government have adopted and persistently adhered to, that is in fault. . . . The Indians have given up all hope from the officials. They appeal to the British public ; and they ask the British public to insist that the pledges and word of the British people shall be faithfully carried out."

What then is this official system which is thus condemned, so dispassionately and yet so emphatically, by those whose interests are chiefly affected ? The British public may naturally wish to know some of the facts at first hand. So with due humility I offer myself as a witness, as one who knows the Indian public service by experience from the bottom to the top of the ordinary official ladder ; not an unfavourable witness, but one who,

from hereditary association, was inclined to view the profession in its most favourable light. My father entered the Bombay Civil Service near the beginning of the century, and served in India for 30 years. My eldest brother followed him, in the Bengal Civil Service, and lost his life in the Mutiny of 1857. And when I went out 3 years later to join the Bombay Civil Service, I felt very proud to enter what I believed to be the finest service in the world. If therefore, I now hold an opinion unfavourable to the system, that opinion has been painfully forced upon me by personal experience of its working. I will briefly give a sketch of this experience.

But before doing so it may be well to indicate the general surroundings among which the young Indian Civilian finds himself when he takes up his duties. As the key to successful administration in India, we must in the first place bear in mind the fact that in that country there are very few large towns; that  $\frac{1}{10}$ ths of the population is rural, grouped together in village communities; and that it is within those village communities that the best part of the administrative work is done. To use the phrase of Dr. Max Müller, "the political unit or the social cell in India has always been, and, in spite of repeated foreign conquests, is still the village community." And the late Sir James Caird, in his Famine report, calls the village organization "the sheet anchor of Indian Statecraft"; and regards the "disruption of the mutually helpful bond of village society" as the most fatal misadventure that can befall the people in their struggle for life. From Sir Henry Maine and other writers the constitution of these village communities, self-contained and self-governing little republics, is pretty generally known. The village is the property of the resident cultivators or "ryots," who form the village Council, and are careful that the crops are raised and distributed, and the village affairs administered, according to the ancient local usage, which is the fruit of immemorial experience. From the crop is paid as a first charge a certain share,

under the name of Land Revenue, to the "Sirkar" or government of the country. And smaller shares go to the village officers, including the Headman or Patel, and the village Accountant; to the village servants, such as the watchmen and messengers; and to the hereditary village artizans, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the barber, and the rest, who work for the ryots during the year, and receive their dues in kind at harvest time. And in the same way the village organization carries out the other branches of the village administration:—the settlement of disputes by arbitration, the detection and prevention of crime, the trial and punishment of petty offences, the repair of the village walls, the temples, and other public buildings, the entertainment of strangers and care of the poor, the removal of dead animals and other sanitary work, the management of the communal forests and pastures, the distribution of water from the irrigation tanks:—all these and other similar matters have always been managed with marvellous precision and skill by the village officers, the whole body of villagers jealously watching and checking any deviation from the ancient custom, which for them is the unwritten law.

Under the Native Governments to which we succeeded, these villages were grouped together for administrative purposes, perhaps 3 or 4,000 of them being included in a Zillah or District, which was the unit of the central imperial administration, having its local headquarters at some notable town, like Ahmedabad, Surat, or Poona. The Tehsildar or chief officer of the District, was responsible for the villages under his control. But under the easy-going methods of native rule the village communities were little interfered with. And this was what best suited them. In order to be happy and prosperous, all that they asked was to be protected from external violence, to be taxed moderately and in accordance with custom, and to be let alone in the management of their internal affairs. And under the best native rulers not only were these conditions

fulfilled, but active steps were taken to improve the general condition of the District. Thus under the good Emperors, like the great Akbar, provincial governors were expected to promote agriculture by works of irrigation and reclamation, to open up communications, and provide generally for the welfare and progress of the people. The results of this policy are exemplified in the noble reservoirs and water-works which still remain, a monument of the skill and wisdom of our predecessors. This beneficent tradition dates back from the earliest times of which we have record. For we see from the ancient rock inscriptions that, even before the Christian era, King Asoka appointed a Minister of Justice and Religion, and maintained officers to promote education, among the women as well as among the youth ; he caused wells to be dug and trees planted along all the high roads, while a system of medical aid was established throughout the kingdom for man and beast.

The above was, roughly speaking, the sort of system we inherited from our predecessors ; and in the earlier period of our rule the same system was continued. The collector with his English assistants represented the "Sirkar" or central authority in all departments, and exercised a paternal despotism in each District, dealing with the village communities through their Headmen and Elders, but interfering little in their internal affairs. And this patriarchal method gave satisfaction on the whole, the Pax Britannica, and the improved purity of the administration making up for the defects arising from imperfect knowledge of the language and usages of the people. But it was quite evident that this was only a transition stage. For it was not in the nature of things that such a system should long continue under a government inspired by western official ideas. And soon our present purely bureaucratic system began to take shape, the change being marked by the decay of personal influence and authority, and the rise of the great centralized departments which have now usurped practically the whole authority in the administration ; and

transformed the old easy-going personal government into a rigid official despotism of the Russian type.

As to the methods and spirit of these centralized departments, I would ask the verdict of the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service, that is, all outside the charmed circle of the headquarters cliques; and I think they will confirm me when I say that these departments have all the narrowness of the specialist, and that their working is secret, impersonal, unsympathetic, and harsh. Each caring only for its own interests, feels little responsibility for the general welfare of the ryot, who falls crushed under their combined oppressions. This is the "system" regarding which Mr. Naoroji and his friends make so earnest a complaint; a system which by its working eliminates from our administration all its best elements, whether European or native; and renders all redress impossible because the departments have absorbed into themselves all the ultimate sources of power. I will frankly state that this New Russianized Officialism is an abomination to me in every way. Where development was wanted it has brought revolution and destruction, and reduced the noble activities of the Indian Civil Service to a dreary waste.

This change in great measure took place under my personal observation. I will therefore now revert to the sketch of my own experiences, which I left at the point of my arrival at Bombay in 1860. After passing his preliminary examinations in the languages and local codes, the young Civilian is sent up country to learn his practical duties. Accordingly 6 or 8 months after my arrival, I found myself posted as one of the Assistants to the Collector and Magistrate of Dharwar, a rich cotton district in the south of the Presidency, about twice the size of Gloucestershire, with a large population consisting mainly of sturdy and industrious peasant cultivators. Now nothing could be pleasanter than the life of an Assistant Collector and Magistrate in the old times, when he had considerable

independent authority and responsibility, and when his opportunities of doing good to the people under his charge were almost unlimited. Much of his time was spent in the saddle. Being placed in personal charge of a large division of the District, he was supplied with a sufficient establishment of clerks and attendants, and travelled about in tents ; camping where he thought best, under a grove of ancient trees, by some clear running river, or perhaps in the keep of a ruined fort ; bringing as well as he could justice to the people's doors ; redressing local grievances, and settling disputes ; planning and supervising roads, irrigation tanks, rest-houses, dispensaries, and what not, useful to the local public. At one time engaged in following up a gang of dacoits with a posse of policemen ; at another time inspecting schools, and establishing new ones ; while he was at all times accessible to the ryot, to inspect crops and decide knotty points as to the rent to be paid to Government as the universal landlord. Nor was it a case of all work and no play. Abundant sport was to be had, some of it with its spice of danger ; while the glorious scenery of the neighbouring ghauts, with their primæval forests and mighty waterfalls, was all that an artist's heart could desire.

But even in those good old times there was a drop of bitterness ; not so noticeable then, but destined eventually to make the cup of the District officer undrinkable. I mean of course the gradually increasing interference of the centralized departments in the affairs of the District and the village. The name of these departments is Legion : Revenue Survey, Forest, Public Works, Irrigation, Police, Abkâri, Salt, Opium, Education, Registration, Sanitation, Vaccination, etc., etc., etc. Each of these departments has now formed for itself an Imperium in Imperio ; and has framed a rigid and searching code of rules, which it administers through a hierarchy of executive officials, the written orders emanating from the Head of the Department, who has his headquarters hundreds of miles off at the seat of Government, and ultimately taking effect through the hungry

departmental peon, who squats in the village at the Patel's house, and represents our administration in its concrete form. When the subordinates of all these different departments are in active work throughout the District, taking their orders from their respective chiefs at Bombay, the question may well be asked where the Collector's functions come in? He nominally represents Government in all departments. But his authority is the mere shadow or phantom of what it used to be : like a beam eaten by white ants, externally as before, but inside nothing but dust and ashes.

I have watched this process with my own eyes, and have seen the growth of these departments from very small beginnings. I do not say they should not exist. Their existence is unavoidable, and they would be exceedingly useful if kept in their proper place. They should be advisers only. Like fire they are good servants but bad masters.—But let us go back to our District and see how these departments take their rise. By way of illustration I will take one of the Collector's most important functions, the collection of the land revenue. Originally the Collector, through his own local subordinates arranged for the measurement and assessment of the village lands upon the basis of the old native settlements. As examples of such settlements we have that of Sir Thomas Munro in Canara, of Colonel Pottinger in the Dekkhan, and of General John Jacob in Sind. These settlements followed local usages and were different in every District, the Collector going round his District each year and settling at the "Jamma-bandi" what each ryot was to pay with due regard to the condition of the crops. This sort of thing suited the people, but it did not satisfy the central authority, which desired uniformity and greater scientific accuracy. Accordingly a special skilled agency was organized under the name of the Revenue Survey and Settlement Department, to conduct a scientific survey and prepare proper maps and registers. This was good and useful work. But the



mischievous began when the department undertook to frame a system under which the land revenue should be assessed and levied throughout the whole Presidency. The fact is each District has different conditions. The black cotton soil of the Dekkhan has nothing in common with the spice gardens in the forests of Canara; and no rules suited to the terraced cultivation among the rocks of Ratnagiri could possibly be made applicable to the alluvial plains of Sind, irrigated by the rise of the Indus. Each District should therefore have been dealt with separately, the local customs being studied and worked up into some scientific form convenient to government and satisfactory to the ryot. The failure to consider local requirements, and the attempt to stretch all upon the official bed of Procrustes, together with periodical enhancements of the rent, produced sooner or later an agrarian crisis in every District dealt with. I myself witnessed the effects in the four districts which I have named above. In the Dekkhan it was particularly serious. Thus in 1873-4 there were no fewer than 4,341 defaulting ryots in one division alone of the Poona District. Rs 82,421 were due from them as arrears of Land Revenue, and to realize this amount ryots' holdings, mostly ancestral land, amounting to 200,000 acres were attached and sold by auction, fetching the miserable price of Rs 15,010. These are the official figures. A year or two later there was a general agrarian rising in this part of the Dekkhan, which had to be put down by military force. Again, take the Forest Department. Government possess extensive forests, especially in the Ghaut Districts, and trained foresters are needed to manage the valuable timber reserves, and create others where they are required. It was therefore necessary to form a Forest Department possessing technical knowledge, and the officers of this department would have been most usefully employed in advising the village and District officers as to the management of the Communal forests, and in reporting the results to Government, who would see that the proper measures were carried out through their

executive officers. But instead of this the Forest Department has become a great executive machine, with a swarm of low paid subordinates, armed with despotic power, far away from any control, and quartered in the villages where they have unbounded opportunities for plunder and oppression. Everyone knows what is the result. I remember once when I was on tour, as a District Judge in a Ghaut District, coming to a miserably poor forest village, and the whole population came out to complain that their buffaloes, 80 in number, had been seized by the forest peons, and put into the pound, Rs 20 being required for their release. It appeared that the buffaloes had been grazing in the village forest, as had been the custom for generations past, but Government had recently notified this forest as reserve, and therefore their buffaloes had been seized for trespass. It will be asked how the Forest Department had notified the reserve? By a notice in the English Government Gazette at the Presidency town, many hundred miles away. No local notice had been given, and not a yard of fencing had been put up to mark the forbidden area. What were the poor villagers to do? The same thing might happen to them every day of the year. I referred them to the Collector, but I knew perfectly well that he could do nothing for them. I could tell similar tales of the other departments, Abkari, Salt, Irrigation, and so forth; but I have not here space to do so. With all these departments at work upon him the life of the ryot is like that of a toad under a harrow.

Now let us sum up, and see what is the gist of the complaint against this "Russianized Officialism." My proposition is that the present system of working through centralized departments is destroying all the best elements in our administration, and developing the worst. Let us see how this is, beginning from the very top of the official hierarchy. There is no more potent or valuable factor in our Indian administration than the personal character and independence of the Viceroy and Governors. They are men of high position, with experience in English

public life, and almost invariably come out from England full of generous impulses, and with a keen desire to do justice to all. But too often these sentiments are choked, like the good seed in the parable. From his first arrival the Governor is surrounded by Secretaries and Heads of departments, and he generally finds it only too easy and too pleasant to look through the spectacles with which they provide him. He is quite unaware of this, and thinks he is acting upon his own judgment, but the whole Indian public recognize with sorrow that he is a mere puppet in the hands of the clique at headquarters, and that they cannot hope for redress from an appeal to the head of the Government. And worse remains behind. For these departments have not only usurped the executive power, but have also got hold of the legislative machinery, and can practically pass any laws they like to strengthen their position. For many years past all important legislation has been initiated and promoted by one or other of these departments, Revenue, Forest, Abkári, Salt, and so forth. And anyone who will examine the Indian Statute Book will find that the chief business of the Legislative Councils has been to enact, re-enact, and amend, Codes for these several departments, of ever-increasing unpopularity, the object in each case being to enhance the powers and revenue of the department, to shut up all loopholes for escape from its operation, to make penalties more stringent, and generally to encroach upon the liberties of the subject. These different departments seem indeed to vie with each other as to which will do most to bring us to ruin, all racing together down a very steep place. Where is the remedy? The remedy lies to a certain extent in the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on a popular basis, as contemplated by the Indian Councils Amendment Act, which last year received the Royal Assent. If the Viceroy and Governors will harden their hearts and boldly make use of the elective method permitted by that Act, and thus surround themselves with men of experience and independence, men who know the

wants and wishes of the people, and who possess the confidence of the Indian Community, then they may emancipate themselves from their present thralldom, they will become the masters of the situation, and the plague may be stayed. A few words must suffice regarding the next class, the District Officers, the men who have always borne the burden and heat of the day. The secret of our power in the country is to re-establish their independence, and personal influence, by bringing them more and more into touch with the people, encouraging them to work in sympathetic co-operation with popularly elected Councils for the District, Division, and Village. And I would give them as far as possible a free hand in all the matters in which they can secure the support of these Councils. In this way each of our Districts would work out its own salvation, and enjoy the contentment of a well governed Native State, where the administration is in accordance with the wants and wishes and usages of the people. Fruitful development would thus take the place of the sterile uniformity produced by our centralizing departments. Finally we must reconstitute and strengthen the village organization, that ancient bulwark against political disorder, and the home of the simple domestic and social virtues. "The foundation of Indian Society" said Sir C. Trevelyan before the Select Committee of 1873, "is the village municipality; that has been the salvation of India. One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India, but the village municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own *Kusa* grass, which they liken it to; it is a kind of grass which it is impossible to tear up by the roots, because it grows in bunches, and they say that the village constitution is like that." Unfortunately what foreign conquerors could not do, our great centralized departments are rapidly accomplishing. And under British rule these little strongholds of ancient local custom and self government find themselves undermined and shattered by a machinery which they cannot resist, an unseen enemy more powerful and more

destructive than Mogul, Mahratta or Pindari. What we have to realize is that, whatever system we follow, the actual details of administration must be done through native agency. What we want now to do is to substitute the best kind of native agency for the worst, to restore the village management to the decent quiet villagers themselves, instead of leaving it to a swarm of greedy hirelings, the offspring of ages of despotism, who are attracted into the ranks of these departments, not by the scanty pay, but by the power they enjoy, and the unlimited opportunities for exaction.

On behalf of his unfortunate fellow countrymen Mr. Naoroji now makes his appeal. He says they have given up all hope from the officials. Why is this? Might they not hope for redress at the India Office? No, because in the place of power at the India Office they find the very men against whom their complaint is made. The Council of the Secretary of State for India is filled with the ablest men from among the headquarters cliques at Simla, Madras, and Bombay. And it is not surprising that they should confirm at Westminster the decisions which they themselves passed while in India. The appeal is therefore made to Cæsar, to the British people. And it is well that this appeal should be heard, and righteously adjudicated on; or the results will be disastrous for India,—and for England. The path of safety lies, not in making our administration a parody of Russian despotism, but in emphasizing in every possible way the difference between our methods and those of Russia. If we wish the masses of India to stand solid with us in resisting external aggression, we must gain their respect and affection, by honourably fulfilling our pledges, by a ready redress of practical grievances, and by giving to the people a reasonable voice in the management of their own affairs.

## OUR INDIAN TRANS-FRONTIER EXPEDITIONS :

THEIR AIM AND THEIR RESULT.

BY J. DACOSTA.

### I.

NEWSPAPER articles of a semi-official character, published during the last few months, have created the impression that the recent collision between Russian and Afghan soldiers at Somátash, is likely to involve us in war with our great northern ally. The *Times* of August the 25th contains a leading article in which it is said : "When we had established the present ruler of Afghánistán upon the throne of Kábul, we undertook the obligation of defending him against foreign aggression. That engagement we are bound scrupulously to observe ; and should the Russians resolve to encroach upon territories which belong to Afghánistán, it will be our duty to repel them."

Now it is well known that *we neither established the present Amir on the throne of Kábul, nor undertook any unqualified obligation of defending him against foreign aggression.* In support of this negative statement, it may suffice to remind the reader of the following incidents connected with the present Amir's accession to the throne.

In the spring of 1880, when we sent a mission to Abdar Rahman, offering to acknowledge him Amir of Kábul on condition of his renouncing sovereignty over Kandahár and Herát, he simply ignored our condition and intimated that, as the heir of Dost Mahomed, he claimed sovereignty over the entire kingdom that had been ruled by his grandsire. When later, our offer, somewhat modified, was pressed for his acceptance, he clearly gave us to understand that he neither desired nor needed our sanction to his installation on the throne which was his by right. Lastly, when our conditions were communicated to him in the stern language of an ultimatum, requiring his absolute renunciation of Kandahár and the Kuram valley, our conditions were once

more ignored, and we were left in the unenviable position of having dictated terms which we were powerless to enforce.

Meanwhile our Kandahár army was defeated with great loss by Ayub Khán at Máiwand, and we saw no prospect of our being able to relieve the remnant of that force, unless we received immediate assistance from Abdar Rahman. The pick of the troops we then had at Kábul, was required to march to the relief of our besieged garrison in the South, a distance of 316 miles ; but the risk of being delayed by hostile clans on the road, made it hopeless for the relieving force to reach Kandahár before the place had fallen. Already the tribes around Kábul were assuming a threatening attitude, and our scouts reported that a Jehád, or religious war for the extermination of the "infidel," was about to be proclaimed. In these difficulties we negotiated with Abdar Rahman, and prevailed on him to use his influence in restraining the tribes who were likely to oppose our progress ; and, at the same time, to detain near his person the chiefs of the Ghilzái tribes, through whose territories the remainder of our Kábul army was to return to India. This device of temporarily depriving the Ghilzáis of their leaders, prevented them from carrying out the traditional Afghán policy, of exterminating to the utmost a hostile army on the retreat—a policy which was ruthlessly executed against us after our first invasion of Afghánistán.

The timely aid thus received from the new Amir, enabled us to effect our immediate purpose ; but it had to be paid for by a heavy sacrifice of national pride. We had to revoke our imperious ultimatum, to acknowledge Abdar Rahman's sovereignty over Afghánistán without limitation of territory, to renounce the fine we had imposed on the city of Kábul for its connivance at the murder of our Envoy, to pay ten lakhs of rupees to the new Amir as *an earnest of British friendship*, and to refund the value of the treasure we had seized in Kábul during the invasion. We had moreover to give up a number of our guns, and to leave intact the defensive works with which we had strengthened the position of Kábul.

To bring these harrowing reminiscences to mind, is certainly not a grateful task ; but it becomes a duty, when it is sought, through misleading statements, to deprive us of the fruit of dearly bought experience, and to expose us to fresh calamities which, in the light of that experience, might successfully be averted.

As regards the alleged obligation of defending the Amir's territories, no treaty binding us absolutely to perform that service has, as far as it is known, been subscribed by any authorised servant of the British Crown ; and, in the absence of such an instrument, we must hold ourselves free to act, in each case, as its circumstances render advisable. In the present instance, at all events, no obligation of the sort can exist, seeing that we have come to no definite understanding with Russia or with the Amir, as to the north-eastern line of the Afghán frontier, and are, therefore, not in a position to contend that such frontier has been violated in the Pamirs.

Under all these circumstances, the scare about a war with Russia arising out of the Somátash incident, must be dismissed as groundless ; while the motive for having raised it in the present conjuncture, may not be difficult to surmise.

## II.

Another serious danger, however, is also foreshadowed in the newspaper articles referred to above ; namely the danger of a third Afghán war, or British invasion of Afghánistán. This danger, looking at existing circumstances, is not only real, but seems imminent. A leading article in the *Times* of September the 12th refers in the following terms to the cause of our present dispute with the Amir :—" The turbulent population of the Zhob valley has been pacified by us.—At Chaman we have built a railway station on land which the Amir claims as within his territory.—We have no aggressive intentions towards him ; but he takes a different view of the situation." The significance of these sentences will more fully appear when they are



considered in connection with the following events which brought about the present situation.

Numerous expeditions, as it is well known, have been employed during the last sixteen years for the subjugation (or "pacification" as it is officially termed) of the border-tribes of Afghánistán, and the construction of roads through their territories. Among those expeditions, the following were charged specially with the "pacification" of the country between Gomul, a village on our frontier at the foot of the Sulimán mountains, and our railway from Quetta to Chaman; a tract which extends in a south westerly direction through the Zhob valley to Pishin.

In 1888 an expedition was sent to survey the Gomul pass which opens into the Zhob valley; but as its mission was frustrated by the opposition of the Makhind tribe, a considerable force was organised the following year, which entered the Zhob country from Baluchistán, accompanied by the late Sir Robert Sandeman as Political officer. The Kidarzáis arrested the progress of that force, and it was only in 1890, that our agent succeeded, by diplomacy and subsidies as well as by military force, in establishing a post at Apozái, and in obtaining promises from the Mashud Waziris, the Shiránis and the Darvesh Khel of Wána, that they would keep the Gomul pass open, in consideration of certain sums of money to be annually paid to them by the British Government. Surveys were then made for a projected railway through the Gomul pass and the Zhob valley on to Pishin, to serve as an alternative line to our Bolán Railway which has been found unreliable, owing to the autumn floods, by which it is annually destroyed.

The chiefs in the Zhob valley, who have been receiving subsidies from us, are said to have maintained a friendly demeanour up to the present time; but their tribesmen never ceased to manifest their objection to our presence, by night-shooting into the British agent's camp, and by cutting off our sepoys within a few hundred yards of their lines. These hostile manifestations latterly became more active; a circumstance which we ascribed to the presence

of an official of the Amir. We threatened, therefore, to send an expedition for subduing the clans, unless the official was removed; and the Amir informed us that, in compliance with our request, he had ordered him to retire, pending the conference we had proposed, and an understanding as to the boundary of our Empire.

Now, this suggestion of the Amir for the delimitation of our frontier, is most inopportune and embarrassing for the British Government, seeing that it has, for many years, been striving to advance our frontier into *Afghánistán*, and is still struggling for that end. On the other hand, our Government contends that the Amir's kingdom does not include the territories of the border-tribes, and that we are consequently at liberty to conquer and incorporate those territories in our Indian Empire. In support of this view, a new map of *Afghánistán* has been brought out, in which the green border defining the limits of that country, and the red line marking our frontier (as laid down in all our maps until 1890) have been removed, and nothing has been left to show where our territory ends and *Afghánistán* begins. Furthermore we have assumed the character of protector, and almost that of Suzerain, over the tribes whom we subsidise, and from among whom we have induced a number of men to engage in our service.\* To entertain the Amir's suggestion for a delimitation of the British frontier, would, therefore, interfere with our scheme and our pretensions; and

\* Simultaneously with the new map of *Afghánistán*, a chapter was published on the "North-West Frontier of India," in which the author, the Hon. George Curzon, late Under Secretary for India, significantly remarked: "The attitude of the border-tribes has, in recent years, become much more friendly towards England than towards *Afghánistán* . . . they are gradually being transformed into an irregular frontier guard of the Indian Empire." Then, Mr. Curzon, assuming the border-lands to have actually become British territory, says: "It is the forward move from the old Indus valley line across the Middlebelt, and the relations entered into with its occupants, that have, during the last five years, transformed our unscientific frontier into the scientific frontier which I will now proceed to delineate." In his delineation Mr. Curzon includes *Lundi Kotal*, *Peiwar Kotal*, the *Gomul Pass* and *Chaman*, but the conduct of the tribesmen shows that they take a different view of the matter.

this will probably account for the blustering language and the threats that were subsequently resorted to. The *Times* of November the 2nd contains a leading article in which it is said :—" We hope that the Amir is wrongfully charged with an attempt at evasion, which, if really made, might compel the Government to modify the benevolent and friendly attitude it is desirous of maintaining towards the Amir and his kingdom.—The Government will not be lightly turned from its settled policy ; it possesses the means of bringing considerable pressure to bear upon its ally in a disciplinary way.—The Government can do without the strong and independent Afghánistán it strives to maintain : but whenever it shall cease to struggle for that end, Afghánistán as a kingdom will disappear."

### III.

After a threat so clearly and loudly proclaimed, the British Government is not likely to recede from the position it has assumed. On the other hand it is equally improbable that the Amir would agree to territorial concessions, when his doing so is certain to destroy his power and influence over the tribes ; and, as regards the latter, we well know that they will not submit to the rule of the " infidel " without a hard struggle. Under these conditions war seems imminent, and it behoves us to estimate its probable issue. For estimating that issue we have invaluable data for our guidance in the history of the last fifty-five years ; as, within that period, we twice invaded Afghánistán in circumstances similar to those of our present situation. On both occasions the war was unprovoked ; it had been secretly schemed by the British Cabinet, and its object was simply to acquire control over the government of Afghánistán.

Of the final results of the war commenced in 1838 we have a succinct record in the following passages of the "Greville Memoirs" :—

"1842. Sept. 10th.—A few days ago I met Sir Charles Metcalfe, the greatest of Indian authorities. He was decidedly opposed to the expedition originally, and said he

could never understand how Auckland could have been induced to undertake it. Nov. 30th.—In the midst of all our military success, the simple truth is that Akbar Khan and the Afghans have gained their object completely. We had placed a puppet king on the throne and held military possession of the country. They resolved to get rid of our king and our troops, and to resume their independence ; they massacred all our people, civil and military, and afterwards put the king to death. Our recent expedition was undertaken merely to get back the prisoners who had escaped with their lives from the general slaughter, and, having got them, we have, once for all, abandoned the country, leaving to the Afghans the unmolested possession of the liberty they had acquired, and not attempting to replace upon their necks the yoke they so roughly shook off. There is after all no great cause for rejoicing and triumph in all this. 1843. Jan. 16th.—The circumstances attending the termination of the war in Afghanistan have elicited a deep and general feeling of indignation and disgust. Ellenborough's ridiculous and bombastic proclamations, and the massacres and havoc perpetrated by our armies, are regarded with universal contempt and abhorrence. . . . Our greatest military successes have been attended with nearly as much discredit, as our most deplorable reverses. . . . On the whole it is the most painful chapter in our history for many a long day."

#### IV.

Now, if we turn to the war commenced in 1878, we find that it not only failed in its avowed object, which was the acquisition of an advanced frontier\* (in other words the annexation of a portion of Afghánistán), but that it ended, like the previous war, in disaster and humiliation. At its conclusion, and with the advice of the distinguished officer

\* At the opening of Parliament in February, 1879, Lord Beaconsfield said : " We are now in possession of the three great highways which connect Afghánistán and India. We have secured the object for which the expedition was undertaken. We have secured that frontier which will, I hope, render our Empire invulnerable."

who brought it to an end, we reverted, in our policy towards Afghánistán, to the lines we had originally followed, ever since the two territories became conterminous. Writing from Kábul on the 29th May, 1880, Sir Frederick Roberts said :

“We have nothing to fear from Afghánistán, and the best thing to do is to leave it as much as possible to itself. Should Russia in future years attempt to conquer Afghánistán or invade India through it, we should have a better chance of attaching the Afgháns to our interests, if we avoid all interference with them in the meantime.”

This obviously sound policy, proclaimed under official responsibility by our highest authority on the subject, was nevertheless discarded suddenly in 1885, while public attention was diverted to the troubles in Ireland, and measures were immediately adopted for once more attempting the execution of the “forward frontier” or annexation scheme of 1876. A slight modification, however, was introduced in the plan of campaign ; it was considered advisable, before marching our armies into the heart of Afghánistán, to invest the eastern and southern portions of the country. Numerous expeditions were accordingly employed for the subjugation of the border-tribes, and the construction of military roads across their country ; but these operations completely failed in their object, and our frontier has not been advanced a single day’s march from our Indian boundary.

Disappointing and inexplicable as this result might appear to those who have only taken a distant and partial view of the operations, it is simply the effect of causes which have long been known to exist. Those who looked for a successful issue to our frontier expeditions, founded their hope on the superiority of our weapons and discipline, on the proximity of our base, and on the wealth of our material resources. But experience has conclusively shown that, in a barren and mountainous country like Afghánistán, those advantages are neutralised by the absence of roads, the scarcity of fodder and grain, and the fanaticism of the inhabitants ; whereby the movement of artillery and cavalry

is seriously impeded, and the transport of ammunition, stores and baggage is rendered slow and uncertain ; while the proclamation of a *Jehád*, or religious war, is certain to gather overwhelming numbers of armed men, ready to lay down their lives in the defence of their faith and their traditional independence. The annals of the late war furnish innumerable instances in support of the above statement, a few of which may be cited here. Mr. Howard Hensman, referring to Sir Frederick Roberts's retreat before the tribes led by Mahomed Ján in Decr. 1879, recorded the following remark on the 27th of the same month :—

‘ We may seem strong enough now when we have not an enemy within twenty miles ; but we seemed equally safe three weeks ago, when we disbelieved in the possibility of 30,000 Afgháns ever collecting together.’

Sir Donald Stewart, on his march from Kandahár to Kábul in April 1880, telegraphed as under :

“ On the 19th the division under my command encountered an armed gathering.—A body of some three thousand fanatic swordsmen poured down on our troops . . . the fighting lasted an hour, after which the entire body of the enemy spread broadcast over the country. The protection of the baggage prevented pursuit by the cavalry.”

Mr. Hensman remarks, in his letter of the 26th of the same month, that the baggage train on that occasion was six miles long ; and he adds, with reference to the fight at Charásiá :—

“ At 9.50 Colonel Johnson heliographed that the enemy was reinforced, and that his troops were debarred from anything but acting on the defence, as their baggage would have had to be sacrificed, if an attempt had been made to storm the hills.”

Then, Major Colquhoun, who was attached to the Kuram Field Force under Sir Frederick Roberts, records the following incidents :

“ Novr. 29th 1878.—Owing to the exhaustion of the men and cattle, and *the impossibility of keeping up supplies with the troops*, it was decided not to attack to-day. Decr. 6th.—Only three guns and their ammunition, were

brought up the hill ; the task was a severe trial. As there was no forage on the Kotal, the horses and drivers were sent down the hill again. 12th.—The Major General has decided to return to Kuram. . . . The baggage of the four regiments, even on the reduced scale, made a tolerably long column, and the Commissariat camels added to the length to be protected. 15th.—D. O. 347. Sick and wounded to be transported from Kuram to Kohát under escort of the 5th Punjab Infantry. Feby. 2nd 1879.—A convoy of sick men (including General Cobbe who has sufficiently recovered from his wound) proceeded to India under escort. The detachment was ordered to march *viâ* the Darwaza pass, as there was some chance that the Mangals might otherwise attack the party."

Turning now to the operations in Southern Afghánistán, we find the following entries in the diary of Major Le Messurier, Brigade Major of the Quetta army :

"January 10th 1879.—The prices we have to pay are startling ; the forage for a horse costs 2 rupees a day. The Commissariat has only four days' supplies for Europeans and seven for natives ; and yet there are only some 8,000 fighting men at Kandahár, out of the 13,000 which form the Quetta army. The mortality among the beasts of burden is very great. The want of camel carriage added to the fact that *we have outstripped our convoys of provision*, is forcing itself to the notice of all. Jany. 18.—Marched 12 miles ; the water all along is strongly impregnated with nitre. 29th.—Thermometer 25°. Increased mortality among the camels. No more tobacco."

At this time, Sir Donald Stewart, finding it impossible to feed his army, sent back the greater number to India. Meanwhile sickness broke out among the men and the cattle, as recorded in further entries of the same diary, as under :

"Feby. 4th.—The Commissariat are out of wood. 7th.—Black frost last night : increased mortality among the camels continues. 12th.—The bread we have been having and the water combined will account for the sickness among the troops. April 6th.—The stench from the dead animals

along the line was scarcely bearable. 24th.—Rode back into Kandahár and heard of Colonel Fellowes' death. He was as fine a looking man as any in the force, and most active. June 23rd.—The Colonel is laid up, and Rogers, Hawskin and Oliver are all down with fever. July 14th.—Cholera has appeared, ending fatally in 14 cases. 17th.—Cholera still busy at headquarters and the two squadrons. 18th.—A telegram came in saying that Nicholetts was dead, having been seized with cholera at 1 p.m. and died at 6 p.m. 21st.—Hannel of the 1st Punjab Cavalry died of cholera. 29th.—Capt. Chisholme of the 59th was buried to-day. Augst. 6th.—Major Pawis of the 59th was buried this evening—cholera. Anderson of the 25th N. I. buried to-day. Our doctor in the Sappers died last night, also Corporal Boon R.E. 23rd.—Heard that Stavely had lost four Europeans and two natives out of his battery, that Dr. Blanchard had died at Gatur, and Lieut. Campbell of the Baluchis at Chaman, all of cholera."

These diaries show how powerfully the food and transport difficulties, and the absence of practicable roads, interfered with our military operations in the late war, and how cruelly our officers and men were decimated by sickness and death, owing to bad food, want of shelter and the severity of the climate. They testify, at the same time, to the imperative necessity under which the numerical strength of a British army in Afghánistán has to be limited by the scarcity of food, and show how its efficiency is further reduced by the detachments that have to be employed in guarding the baggage and ammunition, in escorting the sick and wounded to India, and in foraging for supplies. In any future campaign, the railway to Chaman, if not destroyed by the tribes, might facilitate the despatch of troops and stores from India; but it could not lessen the difficulties mentioned above, seeing that those difficulties arose only after we had penetrated into the interior of Afghánistán, while our railway scarcely goes beyond the border of the country. It should also be remembered that our railroad at Sibi was destroyed by tribesmen in 1880, as soon as our defeat at Maíwand became known.



## V.

These considerations preclude any sanguine hope of our being able, in a future campaign, to contend successfully with the difficulties which caused our failure in the past. We might, as we did before, enter the country at the head of a victorious army ; but our advance would, most probably, induce the Amir to retire beyond the Hindu Kush, as Shere Ali did in 1878 ; in which case we should be left to deal with the numberless tribes of the country, each jealous of its rights and interests and ruled by its own chiefs, but all united by a common faith, a strong love of independence and a fanatical hatred of the "infidel." Does experience warrant the slightest hope that we should succeed in concluding with those tribes any treaty which would secure the object of our invasion ?—Supposing a treaty were obtained under the pressure of our arms, or purchased with our money ; could we reasonably look for its fulfilment ?—Have not faithlessness towards the "infidel," greed and treachery been repeatedly and advisedly declared by our officers to be prominent features in the Afghán character ?—Have we forgotten how Pádshá Khan, whose friendship and loyalty we so liberally paid for in the last war, fought against us in December 1879, when our fortunes were on the decline ?—How, after being forgiven for that "breach of loyalty," and continuing to receive his subsidy, he once more collected his men and attacked our troops in April and May 1880, when our situation again became critical ?—Have we also forgotten our embarrassing and undignified position, when our magniloquent proclamation of the 28th October, 1879 (evidently the work of one deplorably ignorant of Afghánistán and its people), calling on the tribal chiefs to come and consult with the British officials on the future government of their country, was treated with the most marked contempt ?

After such experience—after sixteen years of unsuccessful warfare and an appalling expenditure of blood and treasure, what can justify the Government in once more plunging the nation into a war of conquest, in which the

adverse chances would again preponderate, while even success would impair our present situation? The contiguity of our territory with that of Russia would afford facilities to our powerful rival, by an armed demonstration on our frontier, or by intrigue with our Indian subjects and feudatories, to disturb, at any time, the tranquillity of our Indian Empire.

If the fear of Russia, which has driven our Government to so many unprovoked attacks on the Afgháns, be well founded, and we eventually have to encounter a Russian advance, should we not be placed at very great disadvantage in having to fight a powerful enemy in a difficult country, far from our main resources, and amidst a hostile population thirsting for revenge, and ready to aggravate any reverse which may befall us in the contest?

As regards Chitrál and the surrounding countries, our diplomatic and military operations in those regions since 1886, seem to have been governed by the policy under which all our frontier expeditions of the last sixteen years were undertaken, namely, for bringing the territories which separate India from Afghánistán under British control, in order to facilitate the long-desired conquest of the latter country. Hitherto those operations have not achieved success, and the recent fall of Afzul-ul-Mulk, whose accession to the throne of Chitrál received our support and countenance, is doubtless regarded by the people of the country and the neighbouring States, in the light of a British defeat. This circumstance realises the danger so clearly indicated in the following passage of Earl Grey's letter published in the *Times* in March 1887, warning us against mixing up ourselves with the politics of the Central Asian States: "I am persuaded that the only wise policy for this country to pursue is to keep absolutely aloof from all the quarrels of the Afghans and our other neighbours, and to avoid all meddling in their affairs, unless, by plundering our subjects or by other acts, they inflict upon us injuries which ought to be promptly punished."

## NOTES ON RECENT EVENTS IN CHILÁS AND CHITRÁL.

IN 1866 I was sent by the Punjab Government on a linguistic mission to Kashmir and Chilás at the instance of the Bengal Asiatic Society and on the motion of the late Sir George Campbell, who hoped to identify Kailás or the Indian Olympus with Chilás.\* Although unable to support that conjecture, I collected material which was published in Part I. of my "Dardistan" and which the Government declared "as throwing very considerable and important light on matters heretofore veiled in great obscurity." That some obscurity still exists, is evident from the *Times* telegram of to-day (5th December, 1892), in which an item of news from the Tak [Takk] valley is described as coming from *Chitrál*, a distant country with which Chilás has nothing to do. The Takk village is fortified, and through the valley is the shortest and easiest road to our British district of Kaghán. It is alleged that some headmen of Takk wished to see Dr. Robertson at Gilgit, who thereupon sent a raft to bring them, but the raft was fired on and Capt. Wallace, who went to its assistance, was wounded. [Chilás is on the Kashmir side of the Indus, and the Gilgit territory is reached by crossing the Indus at Bunji.]

The incident is ascribed either to "*the treachery of the men who professed willingness to COME IN*" or to the mischievousness of "other persons." It is probable from this suggestion of treachery and the unconscious use of the words "to come in," which is the Anglo-Indian equivalent for "surrender," that the headmen of Takk were *not* willing to make over their Fort to the British or to open the road to Gilgit. The Takk incident, therefore, is not a part of the so-called "*Chitrál usurpation*," under which heading it

\* I was again on special duty in 1886, and its result was Part I. of the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," of which a second and enlarged edition will appear shortly. My material, some of which has been published, has been collected between 1865 and 1889 in my private capacity as a student of languages and customs.

immediately appears, but is a part of *our* usurpation on the tribes inhabiting the banks of the Indus. In 1843, these tribes inflicted a severe loss on the Sikh invaders, and in my "history of the wars with Kashmir" the part taken by the manly defenders of Takk, now reduced from 131 to some 90 houses, is given in detail. It seems to me that as the Gilgit force was unable to support "the Chitrāl usurpation" of our protégé, Afzul-ul-Mulk, owing to his being killed by his uncle Sher Afzul, it is to be employed to coerce the Indus tribes to open out a road which ought never to have been withdrawn from their hold. About 50 years ago the Takk men were stirred into so-called rebellion by Kashmir agents in order to justify annexation. It is to be hoped that history will not repeat itself, or that, at any rate, the next 50 years will see the Indus tribes as independent and peaceful as they have been since 1856, especially in Chilás (before 1892), and as mysterious as Hunza ought to have remained till our unnecessary attack on that country caused practically unknown Russia to be looked upon as the Saviour of Nations "rightly struggling to be free" (see Baron Vrevsky's reply to the Hunza deputation). *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*; and no greater instance of folly can be conceived, than the construction of a military road through countries in which the chamois is often puzzled for its way. Nor was the attention of the Russians drawn to them before we made our own encroachments.

As for the Pamirs, whatever may be the present interpretation of Prince Gortchakoff's Convention, the Russians were unwilling to let political consequences or limits accompany the erratic wanderings of Kirghiz sheep in search of pasturage in that region. Prince Gortchakoff's advocacy of a Neutral Zone and of the autonomy of certain tribes was justified by the facts (which he, however, rather guessed than knew) and was worthy alike of that Diplomatist and of our acceptance in the interests of India and of peace. The incorporation of certain Districts in the domain, or

rather the sphere of influence, of Afghanistan, was distasteful to tribes attached to their hereditary rulers or to republican institutions and was not too willingly accepted by the Amir of Afghanistan, who now expects us to defend the white Elephants that we have given him better than we did Panjdeh. Some Muláís that had fled from Russian tyranny to Afghan territory assured me that "the finger of an Afghan was more oppressive than the whole Russian army." Indeed, so far as Central Asia is concerned, Russia, with the exception of certain massacres, has hitherto behaved, on the whole, as a great civilizing power.\*

As for Sirdar Nizám-ul-Mulk, this is his *name* and not his *title*. He is the "Mihtar" or "Prince" Nizám-ul-Mulk, and neither an Indian "Sirdár" nor a "Nizám." He is also the "Badshah" of Turikoh, this being the district assigned to him in his father's lifetime as the heir-apparent. He was snubbed by us for offering to relieve that excellent officer, Col. Lockhart, when a prisoner in Wakhan! He has written to me from Turikoh for "English phrases and words with their Persian equivalents as a pleasure and a requirement." This does not look like hostility to the British. He spoke to me in 1886 of his brother Afzul's bravery with affection and pride, though he has ever maintained his own acknowledged right as the successor of his father Amán-ul-Mulk. If he has been alienated from us or has ever been tempted to throw himself into the arms of Russia, it has most assuredly been our fault. Besides, just as we have abandoned the Shiah Hazaras, our true friends during the late Afghan War, to be destroyed by their religious and political foe, the Sunni Amir Abdurrahman, so have the Amir Sher Ali and the Tham of Hunza, Safdar Ali Khan, rued their

\* In spite of Russian attempts to conciliate the orthodox Muhammadans of Turkey and thus to take the place of the British as "the Protector of Islám," the news of the revision of the Korán by a Russian Censor and the *bévue* of putting up the Czar's portrait in Central Asian Mosques, have injured Russia's propaganda among Muhammadans, whom also the accounts of the persecution of the Jews have estranged from a Power that began its rule in Central Asia by repairing and constructing Mosques, helping Mosque Schools and even subsidizing an employé to call "the faithful" to fast and *break-fast* during the month of Ramazán.

trust in Russian Agents. I regret, therefore, to find in the *Times* telegram of to-day that "the Nizám" "is acting without the support of the British Agent" "who has not interfered," when he had already interfered in favour of the usurper Afzul-ul-Mulk.

As for the connivance of Amir Abdurrahman, my "rough history of Dardistan from 1800 to 1872" shows that, in one sense, Chitral is tributary to Badakhshán and as we have assigned Badakhshán to the Amir, he, no doubt, takes an interest in Chitral affairs. I believe, however, that interest to be somewhat platonic, and he knows that his friend Jehandár Shah (the late wrongfully deposed hereditary ruler of Badakhshán) never paid any tribute to Afghanistan. But Chitral once also paid tribute to Dir, with whose able Chief, Rahmat-ullah-Khan, "the Nizám" is connected by marriage. Chitral on the other hand has *received* a subsidy from Kashmir since 1877, but this was as much a tribute from Kashmir to Aman-ul-Mulk, as a sign of his subjection to Kashmir, for shortly after he made offers of allegiance to Kabul. With all alike it is

"The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can."

It is misleading to speak of their relations to neighbouring States as "tributary." Are the Khyberis tributary to us or we to them, because we pay them a tribute to let our merchants travel through their Pass? Have we never ourselves come, first as suppliants, then as merchants, then as guests, then as advisers, then as protectors, and, finally, as conquerors?

The procedure of Afghanistan, of Chitral, of Kashmir, and of our own is very much alike and so are the several radii of influence of the various factors in "the question." We have our fringe of independent frontier tribes with whom we flirt, or wage war, as suits the convenience of the moment. Afghanistan has a similar fringe of independent Ishmaelites round it and even through it, whose hands are against everybody and everybody's hands against them.

Chitral is threatened all along its line by the Kafirs, who even make a part of Badakhshán insecure, but are nevertheless our very good friends. Kashmir has its fringe on its extreme border, especially since, in violation of our treaty of 1846, it has attacked countries *beyond the Indus on the west*, including the Kunjûtis of Hunza, who resumed their raiding—which had ceased in 1867—during and after Col. Lockhart's visit in 1886. Yet there can be little doubt about "the loyalty" of those concerned. The Amirs of Afghanistan consider themselves "*shields of India*," as I have heard two of them say, and so did our Ally of Kashmir, who ought never to have been reduced to a subordinate feudatory position. What wonder then that old Amán-ul-Mulk of Chitral should also have tried to become a buffer between Afghanistan on the West, Kashmir on the East, India on the South and, latterly, Russia in the North, if indeed the whole story of Russian intrigue in Chitral be at all truer than a similar mare's nest which we discovered in Hunza? It is the policy of Russia to create false alarms and thereby to involve us in expenditure, whilst standing by and posing as the future saviour of the tribes. Our tendency to compromises and subservient Commissions of delimitation and to "scuttling" occasionally, is also well known and so we are offered in Russian papers "*an Anglo-Russian understanding on the subject of Chitral*," as if Chitral was not altogether out of the sphere of Russia's legitimate influence! It is also amusing to find in the *Novosti* that Russia's sole desire is "to prevent *Afghanistan* from falling into British hands." We are already spending at Gilgit on food etc. for our troops more in one year than were spent in the 40 years of the so-called mismanagement of Kashmir, which I myself steadily exposed, but which kept the frontier far more quiet than it has been since the revival of the Gilgit Agency. There is every prospect now of heavier and continued expenditure, as the policy of the Foreign Department of the Government of India develops. On that policy a *veto* should at once be put

by the British Parliament and public, if our present Liberal Administration cannot do so without pressure from without. We should conciliate Nizam-ul-Mulk before it is too late. He is connected with Umra Khan of Jandôl and with the influential Mullah Shahu of Bajaur through his maternal uncle, Kokhan Beg. He has also connections in Badakhshan, Hunza and Dir, as already stated. Indeed, we ought to have given him our support from the beginning. I doubt whether it would be desirable to subdivide Chitral as stated in to-day's *Times*, letting Sher Afzul keep Chitral proper, giving Yasin to "the Nizam" and letting Umra Khan retain what he has already seized of Southern Chitral. As for Sher Afzul, I believe, that he is also "loyal."

• As for Hunza, I am not at all certain that the fugitive, Safdar Ali Khan, really murdered his father. At all events when the deed was committed, I find that it was attributed to Muhammad Khan,\* probably not the present

\* "By the most recent account, Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar, has been killed by his own son, Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Khan's mother was the sister of Zafar Khan, the ruler of Nagyr. She was killed by her father-in-law, Ghazanfar, and thrown over a precipice from her house. Ghazan Khan treacherously killed his paternal uncle, Abdullah Khan, ruler of Gojal, who unsuspectingly met him. On ascending the throne, Ghazan Khan is also said to have poisoned his ailing full brother, Bukhtawar Shah, and another (by a different Sayad mother) Nanawal Shah. The fratricidal traditions of Hunza and of the Khush-waqtia family of Yasin have now been somewhat thrown into the shade by the parricide of Muhammad Khan. The father of Ghazan Khan, Ghazanfar, is said to have died from the effects of a suit of clothes, impregnated with small-pox, sent to him by his daughter, the full sister of Ghazan Khan, who was married to Mir Shah of Badakhshan, in order to accelerate her brother's accession to the throne. The father of Ghazanfar, Sullum, also poisoned his own father. This state of things is very different from the gentle rules and traditions of Nagyr, whose aged Chief, Zafar Khan, has nineteen sons, and who sent his rebellious eldest son, Muhammad Khan (whose mother was a full sister of Ghazan Khan of Hunza) to Ramsu in Kashmir territory, where he died. He was married to a daughter of his maternal uncle, and tried to sell some of his Nagyr subjects into slavery, against the traditions of that peaceful country, in consequence of which his father, Zafar Khan, expelled him." (See Part referring to the History and Customs of Hunza and Nagyr.) Yet it is this patriarchal, loyal and God-fearing Zafar Khan, whose letter to me I published last year, whom we accused of kidnapping and aggressiveness, so that we might take his country.



Mir Muhammad Nazim who has acknowledged the suzerainty of England (through Kashmir) and of China. The latter power has always had something to say to Hunza, and the very title of its Chief "Tham" is of Chinese origin. The subsidy that China used to pay for keeping open the commercial road from Badakhshan and Wakhan through the Pamirs along Kunjūt (Hunza) to Yarkand, was about £380 per annum, and this sum was divided between four States and ensured the immunity of the route from raids.\* I doubt whether in future £380 a year on Hunza alone will enable us to keep it quiet, and I am sure that the lofty superciliousness with which Chinese officials discuss the Pamir question, as something that scarcely concerns them, is no evidence of that pertinacious power abandoning claims to a suzerainty in those regions which are historically founded, although their exercise has been more by an appeal to imagination of the glorious and invincible, if distant, "Khitai," than by actual interference.

Indeed, it is China alone that has a grievance—against Russia for the occupation of the Alichur Pamir—against Afghanistan for expelling her troops from Somatash (of subsequent Yanoff fame)—and against England for encroaching on her ancient feudatory of Hunza, whose services in suppressing the Khoja rebellion in 1847 are commemorated in a tablet on one of the gates of Yarkand.

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NOTE.—We add a reproduction of the photographs of the Mihtar and Badshah Nizam-ul-Mulk, sitting in Council with his uncle, Bahadur Khan, now at Gilgit, where he represented Afzul-ul-Mulk. On the Nizam's left is his foster-uncle, Maimun Shah, whilst behind him stand our Indian Agent, Wafadār Khan and a Chitrali office-holder, Wazir Khan, of corresponding rank. We also give the portrait of the Chitral Court poet and musician, the celebrated Taighūn Shah, one of whose songs, with its notation, was published in our issue of the 1st of January, 1891. He is seated with the two flute-players who always precede the King of Chitral when on a tour.

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\* Of the £380, Shignán received £170, Sirikul £100, Wakkan £50, and Hunza £60 in Yambus (silver blocks of the value of £17).

Although the period may be past in which a great English Journal could ask, "*what* is Gilgit?" the contradictory telegrams and newspaper accounts which we receive regarding the countries adjoining Gilgit show that the Press has still much to learn. Names of places, as far apart as Edinburgh and London, are put within a day's march on foot. Names of men figure on maps as places and the relationships of the Chiefs of the region in question are invented or confounded as may suit the politics of the moment, if not the capacity of the printer. The injunctions of the Decalogue are applied or misapplied, extended or curtailed, to suit immediate convenience, and a different standard of morality is constantly being found for our friends of to-day or our foes of to-morrow. The youth Afzul-ul-Mulk was credited with all human virtues and with even more than British manliness, as he was supposed to be friendly to us. He had given his country into our hands in order to receive our support against his elder brother, the acknowledged heir of the late Aman-ul-Mulk of Chitrál, but that elder brother, Nizám-ul-Mulk, was no less friendly to English interests, although he has the advantage of being a man of capacity and independence. The sudden death of Aman-ul-Mulk coincided with the presence of our protégé at Chitrál, and the first thing that the virtuous Afzul-ul-Mulk did, was to invite as many brothers as were within reach to a banquet when he murdered them. No doubt, as a single-minded potentate, he did not wish to be diverted from the task of governing his country by the performance of social duties to the large circle of acquaintances in brothers and their families which Providence bestows on a native ruler or claimant in Chitrál and Yasin. A member of the Khush-waqtia dynasty of Yasin, which is a branch of the Chitrál dynasty, told me when I expressed my astonishment at the constant murders in his family : "A real relative in a high family is a person whom God points out to one to kill as an obstacle in one's way, whereas a foster-relative (generally

of a lower class) is a true friend who rises and falls with one's own fortune" (it being the custom for a scion of a noble house to be given out to a nurse.)

The dynasty of Chitral is said to have been established by Baba Ayub, an adventurer of Khorassan. He adopted the already existing name of *Katór*, whence the dynasty is called Katoré. The Emperor Baber refers to the country of Katór in his Memoirs and a still more ancient origin has been found in identifying Katór with "Kitolo, the King of the Great Yuechi, who, in the beginning of the 5th century, conquered Balkh and Gandhara, and whose son established the Kingdom of the Little Yuechi, at Peshawur." (See Biddulph's "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," page 148.) General Cunningham asserts that the King of Chitral takes the title of Shah Kator, which has been held for nearly 2,000 years, and the story of their descent from Alexander may be traced to the fact that they were the successors of the Indo-Grecian Kings in the Kabul valley. If Katór is a corruption of Kaisar, then let it not be said that the remnant of the Katoré exclaimed with the Roman gladiator: "Ave, Kaisar-i-Hind, morituri te salutant."

Amán-ul-Mulk, the late ruler of Chitral, was, indeed, a terrible man, who to extraordinary courage joined the arts of the diplomatist. He succeeded his elder brother, surnamed Adam-Khôr or "man-eater." His younger brother, Mir Afzul, is said to have been killed by him or to have committed a convenient suicide; another brother, Sher Afzul, who is now in possession of Chitral, was long a fugitive in Badakhshan whence he has just returned with a few Afghans (such as any pretender can ever collect) and a hundred of the Chitrali slaves that used to be given in tribute to the Mir of Badakhshan, which itself never paid a tribute to Kabul before the late Sher Ali of Afghanistan installed Mahmud Shah, who expelled his predecessor Jehandar Shah, the friend of Abdur-Rahman, the present Amir of Afghanistan. Another brother of Aman-ul-Mulk

was Kokhan Beg, whose daughter married the celebrated Mullah Shahu Baba, a man of considerable influence in Bajaur, who is feared by the Badshah of Kunar (a feudatory of Kabul and a friend of the British) and is an enemy of the Kamôji Kafirs, that infest one of the roads to Chitrál. This Kokhan Beg, who was a maternal uncle of Afzul-ul-Mulk, was killed the other day by his brother Sher Afzul coming from Badakhshan. I mention all this, as in the troubles that are preparing, the ramifications of the interests of the various pretenders are a matter of importance. Other brothers of Aman-ul-Mulk are : Muhammad Ali (Moriki), Yádgar Beg, Shádman Beg and Bahádur Khán (all by a mother of lower degree), and another Bahádur Khán, who was on the Council of Nizám-ul-Mulk. Nizám-ul-Mulk has therefore to contend with one or more of his uncles, and by to-day's telegram\* is on his way to the Chitrál Fort in order to expel Sher Afzul with the aid of the very troops that Sher Afzul had sent to turn out Afzul-ul-Mulk's Governor from Yasin. I believe that Nizám-ul-Mulk has or had two elder half-brothers, Gholam of Oyôn and Majíd Dastagír of Drôshp; but, in any case, he was the eldest legitimate son and, according to Chitrál custom, was invested with the title of Badshah of Turikoh, the rule of which valley compelled his absence from Chitrál and not "his wicked and intriguing disposition" as alleged by certain Anglo-Indian journals. Of other brothers of Nizám-ul-Mulk was Shah Mulk (of lower birth), who was Governor of Daraung and was killed by Afzul-ul-Mulk. He used to live at Dros (near Pathan in Shashi). Afzul-ul-Mulk of Drasun, whom we have already mentioned as a wholesale fratricide, was killed in his flight to one of the towers of the Chitrál Fort from the invading force of his uncle, Sher Afzul of Badakhshan. A younger half-brother is also Behram-ul-Mulk (by a lower mother), called "Viláyeti," of Moroi in Andarti. Other brothers are : Amin-ul-Mulk, a brother of good birth of Oyôn (Shoghôt), who was reared by a woman of the Zondré or highest class ; Wazír-ul-Mulk (of low

\* *Times*, 5th December, 1892.

birth) of Brôz; Abdur-Rahman (low-born) at Owir (Bar-pèsh), and Badshah-i-Mulk, also of Owir, who was reared by the wife of Fath-Ali Shah. There are no doubt other brothers also whose names I do not know. Murid, who was killed by Sher Afzul, is also an illegitimate brother.

A few words regarding the places mentioned in recent telegrams may be interesting: Shogôth is the name of a village, of a fort, and of a district which is the north-western part of Chitral, and it also comprises the Ludkho and tributary valleys. Through the district is the road leading to the Dara and Nuqsán passes, to the right and left respectively, at the bottom of which is a lake on which official toadyism has inflicted the name of Dufferin in supersession of the local name. Darushp (Drôshp) is another big village in this district and in the Ludkho valley, and Andarti is a Fort in it within a mile of the Kafir frontier. The inhabitants of Shogôth are descendants of Munjanis, whose dialect (Yidgah) I refer to elsewhere, and chiefly profess to be Shiah, in consequence of which they have been largely exported as slaves by their Sunni rulers. Baidam Khan, a natural son of Aman-ul-Mulk, was the ruler of it. The Ludkho valley is traversed by the Arkari river which falls into that of Chitral. At the head of the Arkari valley are three passes over the Hindukhush, including the evil-omened "Nuqsán," which leads to Zeibak, the home of the heretical Maulais (co-religionists of the Assassins of the Crusades) in Badakhshán. It is shorter, more direct, and freer from Kafir raids than the longer and easier Dora pass. *Owir* is a village of 100 houses on the Arkari river, and is about 36 miles from Zeibak. *Drasan* is both the name of a large village and of a fort which commands the Turikoh valley, a subdivision of the Drasan District, which is the seat of the heir-apparent to the Chitral throne (Nizám-ul-Mulk). Yet the *Pioneer*, in its issue of the 5th October last, considers that Lord Lansdowne had settled the question of succession in favour of Afzul-ul-Mulk, that Nizám-ul-Mulk would thus be driven to seek Russian aid, but that

any such aid would be an infringement of the rights of Abdur-Rahman. Now that Abdur-Rahman is suspected, on the flimsiest possible evidence, to have connived at Sher Afzul's invasion of Chitral, we seek to pick a quarrel with him for what a few weeks ago was considered an assertion of his rights. Let it be repeated once for always that if ever Abdur-Rahman or Nizám-ul-Mulk, or the Chief of Hunza or Kashmir or Upper India fall into the arms of Russia, it will be *maxima nostra culpa*. I know the Amir Abdur-Rahman, as I knew the Amir Sher Ali, as I know Nizám-ul-Mulk, and of all I can assert that no truer friends to England existed in Asia than these Chiefs. Should Abdur-Rahman be alienated, as Sher Ali was, or Nizám-ul-Mulk might be, it will be entirely in consequence of our meddlesomeness and our provocations. Russia has merely to start a will-o'-the-wisp conversation between Grombcheffsky and the Chief of Hunza, when there is internal evidence that Grombcheffsky was never in Hunza at all, and certainly never went there by the Muztagh Pass, that we, ignoring the right of China and of the treaty with Kashmir in 1846, forgetful of the danger in our rear and the undesirability of paving for an invader the road in front, fasten a quarrel on Hunza-Nagyr, and slaughter its inhabitants. No abuse or misrepresentation was spared in order to inflame the British public even against friendly and inoffensive Nagyr. What wonder that a Deputation was sent from Hunza to seek Russian aid and that it returned contented with presents, and public expressions of sympathy which explained away the Russian official refusal as softened by private assurances of friendship? Whatever may be the disaster to civilization in the ascendancy of Russian rule, the personal behaviour of Russian agents in Central Asia is, generally, pleasant. As in Hunza, so in Afghanistan, some strange suspicion of the disloyalty of its Chief, suggested by Russia, may involve us in a senseless war and inordinate expense, with the eventual result that Afghanistan must be divided between England and Russia, and their frontiers in

Asia become conterminous. Then will it be impossible for England ever to oppose Russia in Europe, because fear of complications in Asia will paralyze her. Then the tenure of India will depend on concessions, for which that country is not yet ripe, or on a reign of terror, either course ending in the withdrawal of British administration from, at any rate, Northern India. Yet it is "*Fas ab hosti doceri*," and when Prince Gortschakoff urged the establishment of a neutral zone with autonomous states, including Badakhshan, he advocated a policy that would have conduced to centuries of peace and to the preservation of various ancient forms of indigenous Oriental civilization by interposing the mysterious blanks of the Pamirs and the inaccessible countries of the Hindukush between Russian and British aggression.

Instead of this consummation so devoutly to be wished, and possible even now, though late, if action be taken under good advice and in the fulness of knowledge, either Power—

"Thus with his stealthy pace

With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design  
Moves like a ghost."

If ever the pot called the kettle black, it is the story of Anglo-Russian recriminations. Russian intrigues are ever met by British manœuvres and Muscovite earth-hunger can only be paralleled by English annexations. *Here* a tribe is instigated to revolt, so that its extermination may "rectify a boundary," *there* an illusory scientific frontier is gradually created by encroachments on the territories of feudatories accused of disloyalty, if not of attempts to poison our agents. By setting son against father, brother against brother and, in the general tumult, destroying intervening republics and monarchies, Anglo-Russian dominions are becoming conterminous. Above all

"There's not a one of them but in his house  
I keep a servant fee'd."

And it is this unremitting suspicion which is alike the secret of present success and the cause of eventual failure in

wresting and keeping Asiatic countries and of the undying hatred which injured natives feel towards Europeans.

The attempt to obtain the surrender of the Takk fort, and of the Takk valley, a short and easy road to the British District of Kaghán, has merely indicated to Russia the nearest way to India, just as we forced her attention to Hunza and are now drawing it to Chitral. David Urquhart used to accuse us of conspiracy with Russia in foreign politics. Lord Dufferin in his Belfast speech sought the safety of India in his friendship with M. de Giers and his Secretary popularized Russia in India by getting his work on "Russia" translated into Urdu. Certainly the coincidence of Russian as well as British officials being benefited by their respective encroachments, Commissions, Delimitations, etc., would show their "mutual interest" to consist in keeping up the farce of "Cox and Box" in Central Asia, which must end in a tragedy.

As an official since 1855, when I served Her Majesty during the Russian War, I wish to warn the British public against the will-o'-the-wisp of our foreign policy, especially in India. I can conceive that a small, moral and happy people should seek the ascendancy of its principles, even if accompanied by confusion in the camps of its enemies. I can understand that the doctrines of Free Trade, of a free Press, a Parliamentary rule, the Anti-Slavery propaganda and philanthropic enterprises generally, with which the British name is connected, should have been as good as an army to us in every country of the world in which they created a Liberal party, but these doctrines have often weakened foreign Executive Governments, whilst "Free Trade" ruined their native manufacture. What I, however, cannot understand is that a swarming, starving and unhappy population should seek consolation for misery at home in Quixotism abroad, especially when that Quixotism is played out. If bread costs as much now as in 1832, although the price of wheat has fallen from 60s. to 27s. a quarter, it is, indeed, high time that we should lavish no



more blood and treasure on the stones of foreign politics, but that we should first extract the beam from our own eye before we try to take out the mote from the eye of others.

What these foreign politics are worth may be inferred from the growing distrust on the Continent of British meddlesomeness or from what we should ourselves feel if even so kindred a race as the Prussians sought to monopolize British wealth and positions. It would be worse, if they did so without possessing a thorough knowledge of the English language or of British institutions. Yet we are not filled with misgivings when our Indian Viceroy or Secretaries of State cannot speak Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of India or when an Under-Secretary has a difficulty in finding Calcutta on the Map.

India should be governed in the fulness of knowledge and sympathy, not by short cuts. It should not be the preserve of a Class, but the *one* proud boast of its many and varied peoples. When Her Majesty assumed Her Indian title, it was by a mere accident, in which *pars magna fui*, at the last moment, that the Proclamation was translated to those whom it concerned at the Imperial Assemblage. This superciliousness, wherever we can safely show it, the cynical abandonment of our friends, the breach of pledges, the constant experimentalizing on the natives, the mysteriousness that conceals official ignorance, is the enemy to British rule in India, not Russia. A powerful Empire can afford to discard the acts of the weak, and *should* even "show its hand." India should be ruled by a permanent Viceroy, a member of the Royal family, not by one whom the exigencies of party can appoint and shift. When in 1869 the Chiefs and people of the Panjab deputed me to submit their petition that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales be pleased to visit India, it was because they felt that it was desirable in the interests of loyalty to the Throne. If it be true that H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught is going out as the next Viceroy, I can only say that the longer his admirers miss him in England, the better for India, which

requires its best interests to be grouped round a permanent Chief.

*Dec. 7th.*—As for the wanton aggression on Chilás which never gave us the least trouble, as all our Deputy Commissioners of Abbottabad can testify, it is a sequel of our interference last year with Hunza-Nagyr. The Gilgit Residency has disturbed a peace that has existed since 1856 and now continues in its suicidal policy of indicating and paving the nearest military road to British territory to an invader. In November 1891 I wrote of the possibility of driving even the peaceful, if puritanical, Chilásis into aggression and now the *Times* telegraphs the cock-and-bull story of the raft, enlarged in to-day's *Times* telegram into an attack of the Chilási tribesmen aided by those of Darêl (another newly-created foe) on our convoy proceeding from Bunji—the extreme frontier of Kashmir according to the treaty of 1846—to Dr. Robertson's Camp at (now) Talpenn (spelt "Thalpin" in the telegram) and (then) Gôr, with, of course, the inevitable result of the victory of the heroism of rifles against a few old muskets and iron wrist-bands (which the Chilásis use in fighting).

There are still other realms to conquer for our heroes. There is the small Republic of Talitsha of 11 houses; there is Chilás itself which admits women to the tribal Councils and is thus in advance even of the India Office and of the Supreme Council of the Government of India; there is the Republic of Muhammadan learning, Kandíá, that has not a single fort; there is, of course, pastoral Dareyl; there are the Koli-Palus tribes, agricultural Tangir and other little Republics. Soon may we hear of acts of "treachery," "disloyalty," etc. from Hôdur and Sazin, till we shoot down the supposed offenders with Gatlings and destroy the survivors with our civilization. I humbly protest against these tribes being sacrificed to a mistaken Russophobia. I have some claim to be heard. I discovered and named Dardistan and am a friend of its peoples. Although my life was attempted more than once by agents

of the Maharaja of Kashmir, I was the means of saving that of his Commander-in-Chief, Zoraweru, when on his Dareyl expedition. This is what the Gilgit Doctor did in 1866 and what the Gilgit Doctor should do in 1892. This is how friendship for the British name was, and should be, cemented, and not by shedding innocent blood or by acts worthy of *agents provocateurs*.

As for the "*toujours perdrix*" of the Afghan advance from Asmár (*Times*, December 8th) it is better than the telegram in the *Standard* of the 2nd December 1892, in which the Amir makes Sher Afzul Ruler of Kafiristan, a country that has yet to be conquered, and which says "Consequently there is now no buffer-state between Afghanistan and the Pamirs"!! "Goods carried from India to Russian Turkestan, through Chitrál and *Kafiristan*, will pay *duty to the Amir*." Such journalistic forecasts and geography are inevitable when full and faithful official information, such as it is, is, in a free country, not obtainable by Parliament, the Press, and the Public. Reuter's Central Asian Telegrams, though meagre, are more correct than those of certain correspondents of the *Times* and *Standard*.

*Dec. 9th.*—Dr. Robertson has, at last, entered Chilás, and found it deserted. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, The *Times* Correspondent now admits that Chilás has no connexion with Chitrál, but he still gives us "Tangail" for "Tangir," and omits the name of the member of the ex-royal family of Yasin, who is supposed to have stirred up against us the tribes of Darel and "Tangail," among whom he has resided for years. This is one of the Khush-waqtiyas, though not the loyal chief to whom I have referred, and who has rendered us good service. So we have now an excuse for entering Tangir also. In the meanwhile, the Russian *Svet* points out that the Russians "would only have to march some 250 miles along a good road to enter Cashmere," "since it is impossible to invade India viâ Afghanistan." Yet are we nibbling at the Amir

Abdurrahman, whose troops merely occupy the *status quo ante* at Asmar, confronted by Umra Khan on the other side of the Kuner river. We are forgetting the lessons of the Afghan campaigns, and especially that, although Abdurrahman allowed himself to be proclaimed by us, in his absence, as Amir, he marched in at one side of Kabul, whilst we marched out at the other. We forget that, with the whole country against us in a revived Jehád, with the discontent among our native troops and with a crushing expenditure, we preferred a political fiasco in order to avoid a still greater military fiasco. The Russians also urge "the construction of a military road on their side from Marghelan across the Pamirs" leaving us to finish it for them on our side of the Hindukush. The pretension to Wakhan, however, is already disposed of in Prince Gortchakoff's Convention with Lord Granville in 1872, and no notice need be taken of the preposterous claim of the *Svet* to place Chitral under a Russian protectorate! Thus have we sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. Our real defence of India lies, as Lord Lawrence ever held, in its good government, and to this I would respectfully add, in justice to its Chiefs, wherever they have a legitimate grievance. Mere speeches of Viceroys, unaccompanied by acts, will not convince them of our "good intentions." It is also not by emasculating the Dard tribes and breaking down their powers of resistance to the level of Slaves to the British, that we can interpose an effectual barrier to the invading Myriads of Slavs that threaten the world's freedom. By giving to the loyalty of India the liberty which it deserves, on the indigenous bases that it alone really understands and in accordance with the requirements of the age, we can alone lead our still martial Indian Millions in the defence of the Roman Citizenship which should be the reward of their chivalrous allegiance to the Queen.

G. W. LEITNER.

P.S.—15 Dec. 1892. The just cause of Nizám-ul-Mulk appears to have triumphed. Sher Afzul is said to have

fled. So far Chitrál. As for Chilás, the people have come to Dr. Robertson's Camp and express friendliness.

#### LETTERS FROM MIHTAR NIZAM-UL-MULK TO DR. LEITNER :

My kind and true friend and dear companion, may you know :

That before this, prompted by excess of friendship and belief in me, you had written to me a letter of sincerity full of pleasing precepts and words of faithfulness. These were received and caused joy to my heart. My true friend, whatever words of faith and sincere regard there were, these have been written in my mind. For I am one of your disciples and well-wishers here, and have no other care but that of serving and well-wishing my friends. My heart sorrows at separation from friends, but there is no remedy except resignation. *As I consider your stay there [in London] as my own stay, I hope from your friendship that you have expressed words of my well-being and my sincerity towards the Lord Bahadoor and the Great Queen and thus performed the office of friendship and caused joy there.* Another request is that if you have found a good dog like "Zulu," when you come to Delhi please send it to Jummo. My men are there, and shall bring it to me. Further, the volume of papers on the customs of Chitrál and the old folk-tales have been written partly in Persian and partly in the Chitrári language. We are frontier and village people, and are deficient in intelligence and eloquence. They have not been very well done, and I don't know if they will please you or not. But we have no better eloquence or practice as we are hillmen.

Tuesday 11th Shavval 1304 despatched from Turikoh to London.

The standard of affection and friendship, the foundation-stone of kindness and obligation, my friend, may his kindness increase !

After expressing the desire of your joy-giving meeting be it known to your kind self, that the condition of *this* your faithful friend is such as to call for thanks to the Almighty. The safety and good health of *that* friend [yourself] is always wished for. As you had sent me several volumes of bound papers to write on them the customs of the Chitrar people and their folk-tales, partly in Persian and partly in Chitrari language, I have in accordance with this request of *that* true friend got them written partly in Persian and partly in Chitrari and sent to you. Inshallah, they will reach you, but I do not know whether they will please you or not ; in any case you know, that whatever may be possible to do by a faithful friend or by his employés I will do, with the help of God, if you will forgive any faulty execution of your wishes, and continue to remember me for any services in my power, and keep me informed continually of your good health so as to dispel my anxiety. The condition here is of all news the best, as no new event has happened ; but three persons, wayfarers and travellers, have come from Wakhan to Mastuch and two of these persons I have sent on to Chitrar, and one of these wanderers has remained (behind) at Mastuch. They don't know anybody. Sometimes they say we are Russians, and sometimes they say we are Frenchmen. And I with my own eye have not seen them. If I had seen them, they might have told me. Another desire is that you send me something worth reading in English words and write opposite to them their translation into Persian, so that it may be a pleasure and useful to me. I have another request to make which is that you may be pleased to give an early fulfilment to your kind promise of visiting Chitrar with your lady for the purpose of sight-seeing and sport and study. I have been waiting ever since for your arrival. It is really only right that you should come now when the weather is very delightful, game is abundant, and I have made every arrangement for our hunting together. Everything is tranquil and you will be able to return before the winter, greatly pleased. Let this become a fact. The writer Sirdar Nizam-ul-Mulk, Tuesday the 11th of Shevvál, from Turikoh to London. May it be received !

## THE OPIUM QUESTION.

FROM A CHINESE OFFICIAL STANDPOINT.

- I WILL endeavour to appeal to European thought by European methods of expression in explanation of what I believe to be the true Chinese feeling on the question of Opium.

The theory of Chinese officialism is, like that of most officialisms, high-minded, and therefore against the cultivation at home, or the importation from abroad, of Opium. The practice is one of inevitable toleration. The Chinese Government, as matters *now* stand, cannot suppress the growth of Opium, even if it would do so.

A certain percentage of the people—officially admitted at one per cent. of the population, but now growing to the alleged five per cent.—have always smoked Opium in China.

There has not been any deterioration in the mind or body of these few millions in our numerous population. Just as the far more harmful spirits do not in one or two generations destroy Scotchmen or Europeans generally, but at once destroy Red Indians, so is Opium innocuous, except in cases of abuse, with the civilized Chinese and fatal to savage Kacheens. In the meanwhile, many more Oriental races are being destroyed by European drinks, the export of which even to Africa Lord Salisbury would not stop.

India does not consume much Opium, and has never done so. It takes—perhaps a larger percentage than China on Opium—various preparations of Indian hemp, which are as destructive to the moral sense and to the nerves as is too much whisky to the non-Briton. The Indian Government supervise the manufacture of hemp and tax it heavily, but take no part in its sale, and if, may a foreigner be permitted to suggest, they were similarly only to prevent the adulteration of Opium, without being

themselves indirect growers and direct sellers, no one could complain of the immorality, or rather impropriety, of an Imperial Government "taking to business" or rather taking over *a* business of the defunct East India Company.

Missionaries complain that the importation of Opium under the auspices of a Christian Government—or rather by traders who happen to profess some form of Christianity, as they would Buddhism if they had been born in Tibet—impedes the growth of the religion of Jesus. I do not find much similarity between the doctrine and practice of European Christians and those of that Great Oriental leader. Were Missionaries to understand and appreciate the basis of Chinese morality—filial piety—they would make more converts, but a Chinese must first blunt his sense of right and wrong—with or without Opium—before he can accept Christianity as taught, with some exceptions, by Missionaries. Were they to become good Chinese citizens instead of being causes or excuses for foreign intervention, their propaganda would not be objectionable to the popular mind. I have sometimes asked Missionaries to point out the Opium-smoker in a party of Chinamen, and I have never known them to guess the right person. The photographs in circulation of consumptive or other diseased persons who happen to take Opium are not truthful representations of the effect of Opium generally.

The quality of China Opium is steadily improving, and in some districts nearly rivals that of India. The Chinese Government neither encourages nor prevents its growth, and *now* would not, if it could, stop its importation. As English officialism does not recognise a social evil which is rampant, so the Chinese Government does not legalize by its own action the cultivation, transport and sale of Opium.

As long as China constitutes the demand for that drug, so long will India be its supply, either under official or under heavily-taxed private commercial auspices. To talk

of the iniquity of the Opium-trade—except that it is against the prestige of an Imperial Government—seems to me to be absurd, as long as he who desires to extract the mote out of the Indian or the Chinese eye, does not even see the beam in his own.

A lengthened tour through the material civilizations of Europe makes one sigh for a speedy return to the far more thoroughly thought-out culture of the Celestial Empire. When spirits will have completely undermined the nations of Europe, China will still smoke its modicum of Opium.

To conclude. Opium in China is not harmful, if its smoker can get the sleep that is required after its use. Opium does not suit the fussy life of Western civilization, its will-o'-the-wisp morality, its tadpole ambitions, its social want of cohesion, its incessant excitement, discontent and despair. An Opium-smoker does no harm to others. This alone would render Opium unsuitable to Europeans. An Opium-smoker rises from his sleep fit for work or thought. He feels no loss of self-respect, and he respects others. In the uttermost corners of the Empire, among the most savage races, the Chinese official, with his small escort, keeps peace and the dignity of his office, even if addicted to the use of the drug. Above all, Opium is not favourable to the development of greed, whereas that passion is stimulated by drink, and therefore almost a necessity to the Western exploiter of the East. When inferior Indian tea, which is more harmful than Opium, and for which the Indian cultivator gets one anna or three halfpence a pound, can be sold in London for a shilling, no wonder that there is so much enthusiasm for "commerce, civilization, and [so-called] Christianity."

X.



## JAPAN AND HER CONSTITUTION.

By F. T. PIGGOTT (LATE LEGAL ADVISER TO THE JAPANESE  
CABINET.)

## II.

EXTERRITORIALITY : ITS RESCISSION WITH REGARD TO  
PORTUGAL.

SINCE the publication of my first article on the Japanese Constitution an event of no little importance to the relations of Japan with the Western Powers has occurred which naturally claims notice in my present contribution. After a series of diplomatic incidents which I should imagine was quite unique in the history of the intercourse between nations, Japan has rescinded the extraterritorial clauses of the Treaty with Portugal. Paragraphic comments duly appeared at the time the telegram was received : they were not, it is needless to say, altogether complimentary to Japan. The information was meagre : but the denunciation of a Treaty was a subject which editorial pens could not pass over : there has always, moreover, been a lurking suspicion in some quarters that Japan would sooner or later cut the Gordian knot of treaty-revision by denunciation : and therefore the burden of the newsman's song was easily to be foreseen :—Japan had begun to do what it was always thought she would do, and she has craftily begun with the weakest Power first. But,—and this is so typical of the attention which Europe pays to Eastern affairs,—since the facts have been published, which led Japan to take the course she did, little attention has been paid to the matter. It was not an affair of gunboats, and so it was quite unnecessary to say anything more about it. And yet apart from the question involved, it was a matter of extraordinary importance. It was the first time that an Oriental nation had imposed its will on a Western State. The memory of man bears witness to a long series of precedents of precisely the opposite character. The history of what took place—negociation is a term that can hardly be

applied to its later stages—is interesting. Portugal, for many years after the Treaty had been signed, failed to appoint, as she was obviously bound to do, Consuls with the necessary jurisdiction over her subjects in Japan, failed to take her share of keeping the Emperor's peace within his borders. Not till 1886 was any semblance of a proper appointment made, and its insufficiency was almost immediately and amply demonstrated. A theft committed by a Portuguese subject at Nagasaki went unpunished. The Portuguese Vice-Consul at the Treaty Port had no jurisdiction at all; the Consul at the Capital had no jurisdiction beyond the limits of Tokyo. In 1887, consequent upon the urgent representation of Japan, and after twenty-seven years of delay, Portugal performed her part of the contract by investing her Consul-General and Vice-Consuls with a certain amount of authority. Four years afterwards, in 1891, without any formal notification to that effect to Japan, the Consulate-General in Tokyo was suppressed by Royal decree. With the destruction of the head, the body obviously died too. The Vice-Consuls of Portugal did not stand in the same position as those of other nations: they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Consul-General in Tokyo, but this superintending jurisdiction was not merely by way of appeal, for cases of minor importance only were left to the Vice-Consuls; in cases of great gravity occurring at the Treaty Ports, the Consul-General was instructed to attend to the matter himself. Japan had insisted, in 1887, that judicial officers should be appointed at the Treaty Ports: Portugal had replied that the appointments should be conferred only on persons endowed with due qualities for the good fulfilment of their functions. The terms of the request and of its answer did not correspond. Finally, *exequaturs* were never accorded to these Vice-Consuls: they seem, therefore, in the manner both of their appointment by Portugal, and of their reception by Japan, never to have been regarded as other than deputies of the Consul-General. The result, therefore, of the suppression of the

office of Consul-General was that the jurisdiction of the Vice-Consuls was gone ; and, in spite of the negotiations which had led up to their establishment, it seemed more than probable that the old and wretchedly insufficient system of merchant-consuls was about to be restored. Two communications from the Japanese Government requesting that the matter should be reconsidered were answered by the Government at Lisbon to the effect that the request of Japan should receive proper consideration ; but on the 23rd of March, the day following the date of the last despatch, a further despatch was sent to the Portuguese Consul-General confirming the suppression of his office, and ordering him to leave Tokyo. A telegram was sent to Lisbon declaring that if the suppression of the office were persisted in it would be viewed by the Japanese Government as an abrogation of the extraterritorial privileges which had been granted to Portugal under the Treaty. On June 14th, after the departure of the Consul-General, a second telegram was sent to Lisbon giving notice that Japan would resume her jurisdiction if no action was taken by Portugal by July 1st. Portugal replied that an answer would be given in due course. Finally, a fortnight's grace having been allowed, his Majesty the Emperor terminated an incident for which, as I think, diplomatic language provides no term, and issued an ordinance declaring that the privilege of extraterritoriality for Portuguese subjects had ceased to exist, and that thenceforward they would come under Japanese jurisdiction.

Was Japan justified ? The answer to this question is to be found in Lord Aberdeen's memorandum for the guidance of her Majesty's Consular servants in the Levant with reference to the exercise of jurisdiction under the Order in Council of June 19, 1844. The instructions were issued by the Foreign Office on July 2nd of that year. After emphasizing the fact that the right to exercise the Queen's foreign jurisdiction depends on the concession from the Sovereign with whom the Treaty has been entered into, and that their exercise is strictly limited to the terms in which the

concession is made : and that to make the system effective reliance must evidently be put in the community placed under it, the Foreign Secretary proceeds, "For if Her Majesty's Government are obliged to abandon any attempt to place British jurisdiction in Turkey on a sound footing, the Porte may reasonably require that a jurisdiction shall be renounced which is not enforced, but the nominal existence of which is incompatible with the security of society at large." There appears to me to be no room to question the soundness of the principle, nor of its application to the state of affairs into which the Portugal question had been allowed to drift.

The question is not inserted in this consideration of the Constitution merely by way of parenthesis : it is intimately connected with it, as indeed is the whole subject of the extritorial Treaties. Without entering on the much-debated ground of the Revision of the Treaties, I confess that there are difficulties in the way of Consular Jurisdiction subsisting constitutionally in a country which is governed under a Constitution. It may be answered that if this proposition be true any Eastern country could get rid of its fetters by promulgating a Constitution. It may be that this is so : but then Constitutions are not promulgated every day. The administration of law in the name of the Emperor is not the least of the difficulties. And in the same way, to any scheme of revision which included foreign judges the Constitution interposed the insuperable objection that, under the 19th Article, the right to civil and military offices is vested in Japanese subjects, and in them alone. But where, as in the case of Portugal, the duty of administering justice which extritorial privileges impose upon a foreign State is not attended to, and has been suffered to lapse, the right of Japanese subjects to the protection of the law is immediately infringed, and the Sovereign is in duty bound to put matters once more on a satisfactory footing. The administration of the law, according to the law, has a double aspect : it affects both those who break the

duties which the law imposes on them, and those whose rights are granted and protected by it. Under the peculiar system of extraterritoriality, in cases where foreigners and Japanese are concerned, and the Japanese is the plaintiff or the prosecutor, his rights are determined not by the law of Japan at all but by the law of the defendant's country. It is a juristic anomaly, but it is one which must be ruthlessly swept away directly the machinery for putting this alien law into force has grown rusty, or falls so out of repair that it will not work. The duties which the King of Portugal had undertaken towards Japanese subjects were not performed : the duty of the Emperor of Japan arose at once to restore his subjects to the protection of their own law in all their dealings with, or grievances against, Portuguese subjects residing in Japan. If I may venture on a prophecy, I do not think that the Portuguese subjects in Japan will come to any harm, or have any cause to regret the consequences of the inaction of their own Government.

It has been rumoured that, since the Imperial decree, an attempt has been made to get Japan to consent to a revival of the extinct privileges of Portuguese subjects, the jurisdiction being exercised by the representative of the French Republic. Japan has refused ; and the homely proverbs which indicate so truly the course usually adopted by human beings after the first bite and the first burn, apply for once to higher matters, and amply justify the course which Japan has adopted.

*(To be continued.)*

## UGANDA.

I HAVE been asked by the Editor of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* to write on this subject: though painfully familiar with it I hesitated to do so: the volcano of public sentimentality must burn itself out: the people of England have passed into one of their periodical paroxysms of madness: some years back there was just such another about Gordon of Khartum. A wise old man in the middle ages wrote as follows: "Sine insanum vulgum facere quod vult, nam vult facere quod vult." "Let the foolish world do what it wishes, for it wishes to do what it wishes."

In the decision of the Government of the Country announced in the *Times* of this day November 24, 1892, I hail the sign of returning common-sense, and sobriety of thought.

"It has been resolved by the Government not to interfere with the evacuation of Uganda by the Imperial British East Africa Company on the 31st of March, 1893, but at once to send out a Commissioner of their own with a sufficient native escort for the purpose of reporting on the actual state of affairs in Uganda, and the best means of dealing with the country."

This practically defers the final decision until after Parliament has met: it will give time to those, who with imperfect information have rushed into the subject, to mature their knowledge: Bishops, Deans, Assistant-Masters in Public Schools, leading-article-writers, country clergymen, members of Chambers of Commerce, enthusiasts, fanatics: many of these did not know six months ago where Uganda was: a year hence, if some terrible disaster, like that of the fall of Khartúm, or the defeat of Majúba Hill, were the result of our premature occupation of this inland mountainous country, they would deny all responsibility: the policy proposed is one of the gravest problems of this century: let it be thought out, free from rodomontade, bunkum, semi-religious humbug, on its merits. I shall strive

to maintain a cold judicial attitude in these remarks :—It is not a Missionary or a Commercial question, but a National one.

Let me enumerate the different motives, urged by different individuals in Public Meetings or letters to the Press.

I. The honour of Great Britain.

II. The continuity of moral policy.

III. The suppression of the Slave-Trade and Slavery.

IV. The opening out of new markets, and a vast field to British Commerce.

V. The annexation, *with the consent of the Native Sovereign*, and his Pagan and Mahometan subjects, of a country half as large as Europe, healthy, fertile, suitable not only for residence of Europeans as in British India, but for colonisation, as in South Africa.

VI. The risk of other Powers, German, Italian, Portuguese, and French, grasping at this “ Pearl of Africa,” if the British failed to lay their hands on it at once.

VII. The prospect of the cultivation of coffee, tea, cotton and other tropical products ; the existence of animal wealth in the form of Ivory, and of mineral wealth untold.

VIII. The awful consequence of the Briton failing at this conjuncture to discharge his Imperial Mission—viz., civil war, murder, massacre—such as, in the opinion of H.M.’s Consul-General at Zanzibar, Sir G. Portal, *the world has never known the like*.

IX. Free course to the peaceful work of the Missionaries of the Protestant Churches, and of the Church of Rome.

X. Protection of the Native Christian Churches, from the intolerance of the Mahometan and Pagan.

XI. The establishment of Protestant Government, under which in the opinion of one of the Missionaries who has come from Uganda, the future would be very bright.

XII. The maintenance of sacred treaties, extorted from a king, who was one of the basest of men, who had killed an English Bishop, had been nominally both a Protestant,

and a Roman Catholic, who was admitted to be a murderer, on the ground that in the interest of the subjects of this King it would be shameful to abandon them.

XIII. The occupation of the Head-waters of the Nile, presenting a strategic position unequalled in the world.

XIV. The whole New Testament has been translated into the language of Uganda.

XV. In the plan of the Creator of the world Africa was created for the benefit, and the vile uses, of the people of Europe: the Negro, being only partially removed from the position of his near relation, the anthropoid ape, has no right to independence, political freedom, or the use of his own customs: he was placed in Africa to be cut down and plundered by geographical explorers, to be debauched by the importers of European and American liquors, to be shot down by European Maxim guns and rifles, to be encouraged to internecine tribal warfare by a liberal importation of gunpowder, and lethal weapons.

Let us calmly consider all these points, neither from the fanatical semi-religious point of view, nor from the selfish commercial point of view, but from the point of view of experience.

I. "The honour of Great Britain." "Scuttling" is said to be "dishonourable": let us take care that we do not *scuttle* our own ship by overloading it: in the case of a European war, our position is already very insecure. Is it honourable to invade with a military force and conquer a Nation, which has never given us any cause of umbrage? We read in Pope's "Homer" Achilles' angry exclamation:

"What cause have I to war at thy decree?  
The distant Trojans never injured me."

The Uganda lamb has never injured the British wolf: the Scotch fought the English for their own Mountains: the Irish are crying out for National independence. The English race, whose glory it is to have never had its towns occupied by a foreign force, should be merciful to the poor



African : what then is the real motive of this cry ? The earth greed of the comfortable English middle classes : the possession of large ships and big battalions breeds a lust of annexation, a “Jingo” feeling—the old cry of the Roman people—

“Panem et Circenses,”

and new triumphs strutting down the Sacred way. Instead of attending to the sorrows and wants of their own poorer classes in their great cities, the comfortable middle classes are desirous to control the filthy opium-smoking appetites of the Chinese, to enforce the remarriage of Hindu widows, to compel the Chinese women to have their feet free from ligaments ; and lastly to anticipate possible civil war in Uganda, they would let loose the dogs of war : the honour of England is represented by Maxim guns imported to cut down the African converts of French Roman Catholics : Jingo expeditions of this kind are promoted by the same sense of honour, which in the last generation caused duels with sword and pistol. There will be a certain Nemesis : it is well to have a giant’s strength, but not to use it as a giant.

II. “The continuity of moral policy” : this is lawful and good, but we must not do evil, that good may come : by all means by lawful means repress the Slave-trade, stop the importation of liquors, and lethal weapons ; what can be more incontinently immoral than the unjustifiable annexation of an independent Kingdom, and the slaughter of poor Africans by Maxim guns ? the less that Morality is talked about, since the agents of the East African Company entered Uganda the better.

III. The Suppression of the Slave Trade. My previous knowledge of the country made me very sceptical on this subject : every speaker, and every writer introduced it like a schoolboy’s tag to his verses. The Rev. Horace Waller, an admitted authority for many years, spoke as follows at the Deputation to the Foreign Office on the 20th October 1892 of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society :

"So that at the present moment, I think, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that, however bad the Slave-trade might have been in Uganda, at present it is not allowed. (Hear, hear.) I think, my Lord, I have detected an anxiety on your part, owing to what has taken place at other meetings, to know if there are any great Slave routes from Uganda to the coast. It has been the duty of the Society, with which I have the honour to work, to make all the investigations possible on that point, and I can only say that we know of no routes—routes, in the proper sense of the word. The whole of the East Coast of Africa oozes with the Slave-trade. There is not a creek, there is not a man who owns a dhow, that does not know something of this atrocious trade; but to talk of a collection of Slaves taking place in Uganda in order that they may be marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, as they are in the Portuguese dominions on the East Coast of Africa, is speaking beside the fact altogether. One must speak the truth, and it will do no harm here if, in parentheses, I say there has been, to a certain extent, a Slave route, and that one does exist at the present moment; but when Slaves are seen going through that country in large numbers I am ashamed to say that it is very often for the purpose of taking provisions from Mombasa to the British East Africa Company's headquarters in Uganda. It has been known to your Lordship, and all those who are present here, that there has been a downward pouring of Slaves—not many of them; but in times past, when Mr. Stanley took away from Zanzibar a very large number of Slaves indeed, and brought his remnant back, those Slaves came down along what we may call, if you like, a Slave route, to go back to their Slave labour. Such is the state of things at the present moment; and again, I say, it is best for us to look these facts in the face if we are to try and put our heads together and lay the thing before Her Majesty's Government in such a shape that they may be able to deal with the question of the Slave-trade.

"With regard to the railway, I am not sanguine enough to suppose for one moment that that railway will make a very appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa. Slaves at the present moment are teeming in our protectorate of Zanzibar."

Lord Rosebery in his reply to the Deputation spoke as follows :

"The extent of the question was pointed out by Mr. Waller in his speech, perhaps more extensively than I could do it by any words of mine. He recommended a railroad that would cost two and a half millions; but he himself said that it would not be a great anti-Slavery agency, and he pointed out that, whereas we had acquired the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in exchange for an important British possession, in the hope of civilising those countries, Slavery flourished largely there. And he further pointed this out, that, whereas, with the view of developing British influence in our sphere, we had handed over, to a very large extent, our responsibilities to a chartered company, yet that Slavery flourished in the very employment of that chartered company. Now, these are not my representations;

they are the representations of a member of the Deputation, and I only allude to them to point out to you, how very large is the question to which you have invited my attention."

It may be safely asserted that any allusion to the Slave Trade in connection with the annexation of Uganda was only by way of aggravation: of course a Railway and European occupation, will sensibly *but indirectly*, sound the knell of Slavery and the Slave Trade, but the prominent place given to this great curse both in the discussions this autumn, and in the debate of the House of Commons last Session, was quite unjustified by facts.

IV. "The opening out of new markets." A most desirable object, and a legitimate one; but why select a country seven hundred miles from the Sea at a height of four thousand feet above sea-level, with no well established trade route, and no means of transport except Slave-labour, especially as this country is inhabited by a people in a low state of culture without a single market town, or masonry house, to whom a sheet appears to be the only garment, if we can judge from the illustrated literature sedulously circulated by the Missionary Society? If we can judge from the accounts of Henry Stanley and Carl Peters, the progress of a Caravan is only accomplished by acts of cruelty, flogging, shooting, etc. etc.: Has the Chamber of Commerce thought out the details of such commerce? liquor, gunpowder, fire-arms, would be the most acceptable articles: the chief leader of the existing caravans is a white man, who some years ago went out as a Missionary, and now cohabits with a black woman, and goes backwards and forwards, commanding a party of what Mr. Horace Waller calls "technical slaves": Let it be recorded to his honour, that he neither flogs, nor murders, and pays his porters their wages as agreed upon.

V. "The annexation of a large country to the British dominions with the *consent of the people*, healthy, fertile, suitable for residence and colonisation of Europeans." It is situated on the Equator: that great astronomical line in its course round the world traverses Sumatra, Borneo, and

the Celebes in Asia ; Ecuador, and North Brazil in South America ; the Gabún territory on the West Coast of Africa, Albert and Victoria Nyanza in Central Africa : one of the Missionaries describes Uganda as the " country of graves " : if we had a list of the French and English Missionaries, who have succumbed during the last fifteen years, we should be appalled : No European woman has yet penetrated to this country, so infant-life has never come into existence : Captain Lugard is light-hearted enough to certify the fitness of the country for European civilisation. He describes it as an elevated table-land offering all the conditions for a prosperous European settlement : he quotes freely " everybody, who knows the country." But who does know it ? his letter reads like that of a prospectus writer of a Company : he has a foregone conclusion : he has repeated it to so many ignorant people at so many meetings, that he is beginning to believe it himself : he wants somebody to provide the money, and entrust him with the spending : the morality of the transaction, the possible failure, and the danger—are all kept in the background.

It is a field, he says, for Emigrants, for the localization of European colonists : he specially recommends the Highlands of Kikuyun : they are several hundred miles East of Uganda : they afford a climate healthy and bracing : the temperature is that of Europe, and the nights and days very often are cold indeed : he does not state the season of the year, during which he paid his visit : then he suggests immigration into these Regions of Hindus from British India ; why not try Arabs from Arabia, and Sudanese, and Abyssinians, and Somali, to join the happy family in these blessed regions, which another writer describes as entirely void of all inhabitants ?

I quote lines from the *Times* with regard to the regions of Nyasa and Blantyre far to the South of Uganda with a far better climate :

" Mr. Thompson is far too cautious, *and much too well*

*informed*, to maintain that on this splendid plateau (Blantyre) Europeans can settle as colonists, as they do in Canada and the Cape."

Then as to the consent of the people : did any of them ever know of the arrangement ? Mr. Carl Peters, the German adventurer, had *with the help of the French Priests*, only a short time before made similar arrangements : is it the least likely that the Mahometans and Pagans, and, the men who aspire to authority, approved of it ? without asking for a regular plebiscite some proof is required before the consent of the people, an African people, is put forward. If we do occupy the country it will be by brute force, by having at our command rifles and Maxim guns, by the service of the Sudanese troops left behind by Emin Pasha, described by Mr. Horace Waller in his address to Lord Rosebery, as "versed in all acts of atrocity : no men despise human life more than they do." In the war with our Colonies in North America last century the great Earl Chatham denounced the employment of the Red Indian in our wars : we shall appear to have fallen lower in "our moral continuity," if we employ the black Sudanese in the work of enslaving the Waganda.

VI. "The risk of another Power stepping in." The very fact, that in this argument the Portuguese are mentioned, who cannot occupy their own hinter-land, shows the absurdity ; the Germans and Italians are bound by treaty to their own limits, and will be taxed to the utmost of their strength to fulfil their task, and are more afraid of us than we of them : As for the French their name is merely added by way of aggravation. The whole of the Kongo Independent State intervenes between the French and English Spheres : Lake Chad is the object of French fond aspirations : the case for annexation was so weak, that a grain of old Gallophobia was thrown in to rouse public feeling more effectually, a little more yeast to make the bread rise.

In the pages of the *Record* I find extreme jealousy

expressed at the very idea of French influence appearing in Abeokuta or Yoruba-land, on the West Coast, as it would jeopardize the work of the British Protestant Mission there: really, if the British work has taken such little root, not much will be lost: centuries of English domination have never extinguished the Roman Church in Ireland. In the same leader I find objection to the occupation of East Africa by the Germans, and the possibility of Bishop Smythies having to teach German in his Mission Schools. In fact, British Insularity and Superciliousness wishes to have its own way East and West, and to get rid of all other Nations.

VII. "The prospect of tropical products, stores of ivory, mineral wealth of all kinds." No one can say that in a country, of which we know so little, such things may not exist—or *be made to exist*: At one of the public Meetings Mr. Alfred Spicer, a not very sanguine speaker, remarked, that such good things might not be available *now*, but that *our great grand-children* would have the advantage of this. When it is recollected, that the first and main motive is the Missionary question, that the chief promoters of the movement are the Missionary Societies, when one comes to tea, coffee, sugar, and bananas, one is irresistibly reminded of the well-known cry of the sellers of fruit at Smyrna—

"In the name of the Prophet Figs."

VIII. "The awful consequence to the Waganda of the British Nation abandoning a country, into which they had without rhyme or reason entered." I really can find no evidence of this danger: Before Mr. Jackson and Captain Lugard arrived, the British and French factions had coalesced, had restored the King Mwanga to his throne, and divided among themselves all the high offices: Captain Lugard writes distinctly, that on his arrival he found that a feud existed between the French and English parties, *headed by their Missionaries*: he took sides with the English, and we know the consequences. We are not

responsible for the consequences of feuds among the inhabitants of Lake Tanganyika, Lake Albert, Lake Victoria, or Lake Chad: who made us rulers and arbiters among these independent people? The Picts and Scots, the British and the Norsemen, the Normans and the English, had their time of fighting, when the Romans left England. We can leave this pretence of interference with an easy conscience. Ever since we left Afghanistan the tribes have been fighting with each other. Things are much worse in the Sudan: why do we not interfere there from Cairo and Suakim as our two bases, we have the very real shame of Khartúm to wipe out, and an access by water all the way, which we have already traversed.

IX. "Free course to the peaceful work of the Missionaries of the Protestant Churches and the Church of Rome." Let us think for a moment what could have happened to the Missionaries, who now cry out like children, that have been hurt owing to their own misconduct, if they had belonged to any other Nation but Great Britain or France. The American citizens of the United States must have made the best of it, as it is the fixed policy of the States to have no political entanglements East of the Atlantic. The American Government does indeed send war ships to bully the natives of Mikronesia in the South Sea Islands, but nothing beyond. The Emperor of Austria has submitted to the sad imprisonment of his poor Monks and Nuns at Khartúm and El Obed in the Sudan. Italy and Spain would not have ventured on such an expedition, even if the Pope himself, the poor prisoner of the Vatican, had got into a real prison in Uganda. Russia would have left her Greek Priests to stew in their own juice: we very much doubt whether Protestant Germany would have been induced to send an expedition to extricate German Missionaries, who went without leave, and against advice and warning. As for Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Denmark, all which countries are represented in the African Mission Field, they would have

patiently suffered hardship like good soldiers, have put up with the spoiling of their goods, and died at their post, as British and French Missionaries also have been in the habit of doing *in other countries and past decades*: their cry has always been :

“ Do anything rather than avenge my death ! do anything rather than invade with military forces my adopted country ! do not shed innocent blood, and place a free people under hated foreign domination, on the pretence of preaching the Gospel of Peace, putting an end to domestic slavery, and opening a new market for spirits and Manchester goods, and introducing European bad habits worse than barbarism.”

Such would be the cry of the real Missionaries, and such has been until the present lamentable occurrence the practice : if the British and French Missionaries remain at Uganda, will the memory of the Maxim-gun, and the slaughter of Africans be forgotten ? If Augustine had landed in Kent and acted in this way, should we have ever forgotten it ? It is distressing to think, how much the prejudice against foreign Missions among so many classes of the British Community, and which is so painfully evident, will be increased by the exhibition of the fighting tendencies, and annexation-appetites, of the Evangelical sections of the Church during the last three months : the noise of religious and quasi-religious Meetings can only be compared to the barking of dogs at night, who bark when they hear other dogs bark : they know not why : it means nothing : secular political Meetings mean something very real, but demonstrations of semi-religious matters from the platform and pulpit read more like the scolding of women. If attempts to evangelize a heathen nation are to be the first step to, and closely connected with, annexation of Provinces, enslaving of free Nationalities, destroying them with artillery, burning their houses down : if Arnott, when he penetrated to Garenganze is but the herald, and forerunner, of gallant Captains, better far that the attempts should not be



made : all the froth about civilization is cant and hypocrisy : if a Mahometan had done it, no condemnation would be considered too severe : if Roman Catholics attempted it, as they did in the days of Charles Martel, and the Teutonic Knights, the censure of Protestants would be unlimited ; but here we have Pulpit, Platform, and Evangelical Press, hounding on an unwilling Government to assume the Protectorate of thousands of naked savages, seven hundred miles from the nearest seaport at an altitude of 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, with still loftier ranges to be crossed to get to the sea, and no means of transport except actual or technical slaves, supplied by the Arab slaveholders at Zanzibar.

X. "Protection of Native Christian Churches in the country from the intolerance of the Mahometan and Pagan." Is King Mwanga a Christian ? He was baptized by the Roman Catholics, and we read, that he attends a State Divine Service in the Protestant Church : Captain Lugard tells us in the *Fortnightly* of Nov., 1892, that this King is a man of singularly abandoned morals, and he confirms in so many printed words what was only whispered before, that these numerous pages, of which we hear so much in Missionary Reports, and some of whom are ranked among Protestants, and Roman Catholic Martyrs (for both parties have long lists of Martyrs) were the victims of their Sovereign's lust, and in fact members of his male harem. Mr. Ashe a Missionary, in his letter to the *Times*, July 26, of the year 1892, writes about *political* Protestants. Captain Lugard takes credit for having introduced the use of the term "Protestant," and Mr. Ashe remarks "that it was unknown, when he left Uganda in 1886, and that it was used now to denote the party, who support the English occupation": upon this the *Times* remarks :

"It has probably always been felt by careful students, that the extraordinary theological zeal of the natives of Uganda for different forms of the Christian religion stood somewhat in need of explanation. Mr. Ashe, with a candour which is not too common, tells us that the explanation is *largely rifles*. Protestants and Catholics in his view are mainly rival

claimants for political power, and both are keenly alive to the fact, that power is apt to belong to big battalions armed with good weapons. He was not unfamiliar four years ago with the scramble for rifles, but he finds, that it has become far more keen in the interval, and that a brisk trade has ended in furnishing Uganda and the regions round about with a formidable number of these weapons. (Capt. Lugard says 6,000.)

"We may take it that the feverish desire for books and knowledge which Mr. Ashe describes would not long survive a general letting loose of all the worse passions of man. Happily the reduction of the theological motive to *its proper importance* gives some assurance that the task of maintaining order will not be very *heavy*. These interesting sectaries are quite prepared to bow to accomplished facts, and to accept the rule of strength. The great mass of lukewarm Catholics have already become supporters of the party in power, which will doubtless further increase its following by remaining powerful. Even legitimate rule may be easily compassed at no distant date, since King Mwanga, apart from the probability that he too will worship strength, is a man of weakly constitution. In a country where rules of succession are vague, it will be strange if a new ruler does not work cordially with *de facto* holders of power."

We can hardly get up an interest in such a Church, which is mongrel in every sense: "Ce sang était il si pur?"

What was most remarkable was the divided action of the Committee of the Missionary Society as a whole, and the members of that Committee as individuals. The Committee resolved to leave the matter absolutely with God, and to have recourse to Prayer. The Members of the Committee appealed to Man: I adjoin a specimen:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'RECORD.'

"SIR,—

"The time is short; the crisis is great. The future of Uganda may depend in large measure upon the degree of our efforts to educate and awaken public opinion within the next few months. What shall we do?

"1. Let there be one or more great public Meetings held in Exeter Hall; and not only there, but in different parts of the Metropolis—North, South, East, and West.

"2. Let similar Meetings be promoted throughout all the larger towns in the provinces.

"3. Set apart a Sunday on which, simultaneously throughout the Kingdom, clergymen may be asked to call the attention of their congregations to the work of the C.M.S. in Uganda and to the consequences of its evacuation.

"4. Let the Gleaners' Union and the other C.M. Unions betake them-

selves very specially to prayer, and make it, as it were, the very object of their existence to instruct the less instructed and to awaken their sympathy.

"Sir, as friends of the C.M.S., we cannot be too energetic at this moment, and we cannot bring too *much pressure to bear on the Committee*, if that be necessary, that for some time to come they should make the *awakening* of interest on all sides and amongst all classes the *first object* of their deliberations. We have been assured on all hands, by those who see and know most clearly, that evacuation means the destruction of our work, the dispersion or massacre of our converts and missionaries, a widespread reign of anarchy, and the revival of the Slave-trade. Now, suppose a telegram were received to this effect in six or eight months, could it be to us other than a perpetual shame and humiliation, that we had not strained every nerve and used every means to avert so unspeakable a calamity, when we had been warned again and again in the most emphatic manner of the certainty of its approach in the event of evacuation? Frequently it has been said to me that 'God would not allow so great a work as the C.M.S. work in Uganda to be brought to nought'; *but God never acts but by means*. God helps those only who *help themselves*. I therefore plead with you that during the next six months not a copy of the *Record* will issue but that you will *sound therein a trumpet-call* to redoubled energy.

"ALPHA.

"October 4."

XI. "The establishment of a Protestant Government."  
The Rev. Cyril Gordon, a Protestant Missionary, spoke as follows :

"England had been led to the country *in the providence of God, and if England remained there*, there was every encouragement. There was hope for the men, for the women, for the countries around—in Usoga, for instance—(Sembrera was Msoga by birth), in Sagalla, and elsewhere. But if this country was left to itself there was one hope, because the missionaries had been able to give to the nation the Word of Life in their own tongue. To prevent, however, any such disaster as would occur to the missionaries and Christians, if England gave up, we must remember that the country was ours by right of discovery, *by right of evangelization*, by the labour of the missionaries, by the deaths of those who had laid down their lives for it ; it was ours by the prayers and labours of Mackay, and therefore it was our duty to keep the country in the hands of *those people who are now Protestants*. We ought to interest all whom we meet in the question, and give ourselves to diligent prayer to God for *this now Protestant country*."

Now, if a Roman Catholic European Power had got possession of the land, and one of their Priests had spoken in this way, there would have been outcry against his in-

tolerance. The same gentleman shows that his object is annexation very clearly in a letter to the *Record*:

“The country would be in danger of falling back into the cruel hands of the *wicked heathen* natives, or it would be in danger of falling into the hands of the terrible slave-raiding Mohammedan natives, or it would be in danger of falling into the hands of the Roman Catholic converts, into a *dreaded slavery of the mind to the power of Rome*. The chief danger to the Protestant converts would come from the hostility of the Roman Catholic natives, who are far more numerous than the Mohammedan natives. The Roman Catholics, remembering the late war, would not spare the Protestant natives nor *yet the lives* of the missionaries. For the missionaries *would not desert* their converts. The danger would be *very real to all*. The true Protestant converts are not a very large body. These noble and true-hearted Christians, of whom there are many, would come forward to beg the missionaries to leave the country. For they would be unwilling, that their beloved friends their teachers, should perish in the wretched fighting and slaughter which would take place. Therefore, if the Company are obliged to withdraw, they must make a way of escape for the missionaries, the Christian converts, with all the women and the children of the same. But the missionaries and the native Christians look to Christian England to shelter them from these very terrible dangers, and expect Christian England to take measures to prevent the occurrence of such deeds as will certainly take place if British influence is withdrawn. The shelter and protection will be given if the Treaty that has been *made with Protestant Buganda* is kept by England.”

He is fresh from the field, and we gather from his utterances the spirit of the Mission: it wishes for religion and political supremacy by the help of British Military power. No wonder that the Editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* of July 28 of this year writes as follows:

“To carry the Bible in one hand and preach the religion of love, while with the other they sell rifles to be used in expelling their unwelcome rivals, may correspond well enough with English ideas *of the duty of a missionary*, but there is no trace in such conduct of Christianity, European culture, or civilization. This is but a small edition of what has been practised on a large scale in Uganda.”

Such assertions can be repelled with indignation in other Mission-fields, but Mr. Gordon's utterances are clear: at any rate, that is the view which Germans and French take of the case.

XII. “The maintenance of sacred treaties.” What possible authority had Captain Lugard, a mere Captain of an

armed force, to make a treaty in the Queen's name? Has any member of the past and present Government come forward to justify it? Would a Captain of Infantry in India be allowed to bind the Viceroy without confirmation afterwards? It might have contained dishonourable terms under threat of personal violence to the British representative, as happened not long ago in Bhutan in India. In a petty matter, affecting the commercial interests of the Company, or the necessities of frontier police regulations, a treaty might have been made, but such a document as was signed by Captain Lugard on the 30th March, 1892, cannot be treated as a serious document until sanctioned by the Government, published in a blue-book, and submitted to Parliament after debate. Mr. Walker, another Missionary, tells us, that Mwanga was originally opposed to the Christian Religion, because he believed, that the Missionaries were the agents of European Governments, which would come later on and take his country : the Arabs encouraged these suspicions, and when this treaty was forced upon him, they proved too true. However let Captain Lugard tell his own story : he seems to think that the British taxpayer is bound for ever by his erring judgment :

“He was sent to Uganda not on his own hook, but as the agent duly accredited, acting with the *full knowledge and consent of the Crown*. He concluded treaties, and those treaties were submitted by him to his directors, who in their turn submitted them to *the Foreign Office, to Lord Salisbury and to Lord Rosebery*. Those treaties have been accepted and approved. Some details as to words were checked, but as regarded the right he had to conclude the treaties no exception whatever had been taken. (Hear, hear.) He thought when they considered the question from the first to the last it would be found that it was impossible to repudiate the pledges, which had been given, and say that they were given by irresponsible persons.”

This is another instance, which the foreign European Press will not forget, of the *divine right asserted by the British Nation* to lay hold of anything that comes to hand. Lord Salisbury remarked, that the Spheres of Influence had been imposed on Native populations by rival European Nations, who busied themselves in giving away territories, that did not belong to them : the aged Earl Grey inquires,

what were the grounds, on which the European States consider themselves entitled to spheres of influence in violation of all native rights to their independence and their country. First comes the Sphere of Influence : then the protectorate based on a treaty forced upon a weak vacillating Native Chief : then follows the actual annexation : Up to this time the British have shed no Mahometan or Pagan, only Roman Catholic, blood in these spheres, while the Germans have shot and hung the natives pretty freely. The occupation of Uganda cannot fail to eventuate in bloodshed, rebellions, burning of villages, loss of European life, and *cui bono* ? Why not leave the poor people alone ?

XIII. "The occupation of the Head waters of the Nile." No greater snare was ever put forward than this obscure phrase : old gentlemen shake their heads, when they talk of the Head waters of the Nile : it sounds important and historical, and geographical : in one of Dickens' novels a Mrs. Pipchin gained importance by alluding to her shares in Peruvian mines : Uganda is also called "the key to the Countries of Central Africa" : one writer, not very accurate in his geography, connects it with Stevenson's road from the Nyasa Lake to Tanganyika Lake, many hundred miles to the South. The fact is always omitted that the Nile waters are not navigable till considerably to the North of Lake Albert : of course it is written in our destiny to occupy that lake also : it is a pity that we did not leave Emin Pasha at Wadelai, though probably he has found his way back to that interesting and unfortunate spot ; Missionaries ought to be sent on at once to form a nucleus for future protectorates. And surely the head waters of the Rivers Congo and Niger and Senegal, and Zambesi are worth looking after : they are also the keys of great positions : it is not exactly clear what an invader of England would take by occupying the head waters of the Thames, the Severn, and the Tweed : but the Nile has a certain reputation, and it sounds plausible.

XIV. "The whole New Testament has been translated

into the language of Uganda." Can this really be put forward as a reason for annexation? The idea has the merit of novelty: on inquiry, it is found that the New Testament has been translated into 290 languages. Merciful Heavens! Have we by this literary manœuvre established an initiatory claim to interfere in, invade, annex, and slay the people of, 290 countries where these translations are used? We shall have tribes petitioning that translations of the New Testament in their language be not made. There was some years ago a good joke at St. Petersburg that when Professor Dorn published his 'Pushtu Grammar' in Russian, a thrill of anguish passed through the people of Afghanistan, as they felt that their day was coming: the New Testament must have a severer effect, because it inculcates love to your neighbours, peace and good-will, and yet it is quoted by a Missionary Society, as an incidental argument for a hostile occupation of an independent people. The books of Joshua and Judges would have been more appropriate to the temper of the Uganda political Protestants, and of the Missionary Society.

XV. The last reason is a sad one, but none the less true: we have only to reflect upon the last twenty-five years of African history. The slave trade of last century seems more tolerable: the Africans deported to America are forming a great and powerful Nation. In every part of Africa the great races are being destroyed, or politically enslaved by European States, cut down ruthlessly by European explorers, or poisoned by European liquor dealers:—and all in the name of Christian Civilization, and Christian Missionary Societies are not backward to urge the Government to ruthless and shameful annexation.

One or two incidental considerations occur to me: what possible relation can the British fleet, which cruises off the Coasts of Zanzibar, the German Protectorate, and the Portuguese Colony of Mozambik, with a view of intercepting the departing by sea to Arabia of Africans brought down

by the well-known slave routes from Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa, many degrees South of the Equator, have with the proposed railroad from Monbása to the shores of the Lake North of the Equator : there is no regular slave route through the Masai country, and Captain Lugard confirms the assertion of Mr. Horace Waller, that the whole argument is mythical : the individuals, who have rushed into this controversy, have not studied their maps, and are not familiar with the history of the last quarter of a century. They condemn what they do not understand.

Then again the shame of withdrawing from a country occupied less than two years by three European officers is dwelt upon : is it not the fact that twice during her Majesty's reign the Government has been hounded on by public opinion to occupy Afghanistan, the Pearl of Asia, the key to the countries beyond, the Head waters of the River Indus, hounded on by treaties forced on their Rulers under the influence of the bugbear of Russian intrigue, a new opening for commerce, a blessing to a few oppressed people, oppressed by Mahometans ? Is it not true, that twice that country has been occupied, and twice abandoned, after the expenditure of millions and loss of hundreds of lives, and the prestige of European wisdom and generosity, leaving behind an enduring feeling of hate stored up against us, as unprovoked invaders ? Can we never take warning from past failures ?

But if we occupy Uganda, it is but the beginning of further annexations : the appetite comes with eating : The kingdom of Unyoro, Albert Nyanza, Wadelai and beyond : Captain Lugard and his Sudanese must be on the move : Here we have the programme of the Army and Church Militant :

"But are we to stop here, when the enterprise of Captain Lugard has already established military stations all the way between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert Edward ?—the principal ones being (1) in Singo, on the Unyoro border, and (2) Fort Edward, in Toru, under Mount Ruwenzori ; each to be garrisoned by two European officers and a company of 120 native soldiers. The Church Militant must not let itself be outstripped,



but should proceed at once to locate two of its officers at each of these posts, and thus complete the Mission chain throughout the British protectorate." (Is it a Protectorate, or only a sphere of Influence?)

But this is nothing when *Britannia Africana* is on the war path: nothing is gained until Lake Chad is won: Here we have that policy looming in the distance:

"There need be no alarm on account of British interests in the Lake Chad region from the fact that the enterprising French traveller, Captain Monteil, has succeeded in entering Bornu and making friends with the Sultan at Kuka on the lake. The Anglo-French arrangement is perfectly explicit; Bornu is entirely south of the line from Say to Burrawa, beyond which France has pledged herself not to interfere. Captain Monteil will have done a service to the Royal Niger Company if he has induced the Sultan of Bornu to be more amenable to European influence; at the same time it is to be hoped that the French traveller has not attempted to poison the Sultan's mind against the English."

Here the Royal Niger Company will come into evidence: at any rate they have a waterway up the Niger and Binué Rivers: they have Missionaries quite ready to start forward: it is singularly enough the same British Protestant Society, and the same Roman Catholic French Society. To save possible massacre of the poor natives, who for many centuries have taken care of themselves, a man of Captain Lugard's stamp must be put forward with a Maxim gun: there are German spheres of influence on one side at the Kamerún, and French spheres of influence to the North. Some Church dignitary, a Bishop if possible, must be killed: Some youthful converts of doubtful antecedents must be burnt by the Mahometans, and then the same thrill of anguish will pass through Evangelical circles in England: Why not try Timbuktu? It is alas! in the French sphere of influence: when once the Tenth Commandment is broken, and we commence to covet the land of our neighbours, there is no limit but our Power and our opportunity, for all Moral feeling has disappeared. The very existence of the great African lakes is very imperfectly known to the middle-aged clergy, who make up a Missionary Committee, and they have no conception of the vast distances to be traversed. An old gentleman was overheard at the Anti-slavery Depu-

tation to the Foreign Office asking a neighbour on which side of the Red Sea was Uganda, for, as he naïvely added, one likes to know. Surely this is not the class to settle the foreign policy of this great Kingdom.

I thank Captain Lugard for one thing : he is the only Englishman, who has said a word in favour of the French Missionaries, the citizens of a friendly State : we differ essentially from their doctrine, but we admire their devotion : They have no wives, and families, and salaries, and comfortable homes : no furloughs and pensions : while they live, they work : when they can work no longer, they die : they somehow give us a better idea of an apostle, though now and then the Protestants have apostles like Mackay, Hannington, and Parker : The French have as much right to be at Uganda as the English have : it is under a strange misapprehension, that Captain Lugard remarked in the *Fortnightly* of November, 1892, that under a Missionary etiquette the Roman Catholics had no right to intrude two years later into a Protestant Preserve. Such a comity exists among Protestant Missions, but not between Protestant and Roman Catholic : otherwise how are Protestants in India, China, and Japan in localities occupied centuries earlier by Roman Catholic Missionaries ? With the French Missionary difficulties are experienced, which are not felt with other Nationalities, certainly not with British Roman Catholics. I give a quotation :

“Bishop Hedley, speaking last night at the annual *soirée* in aid of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Schools, Walsall, referred to the Uganda question. He thought, and he said it with sorrow, that in the future, wherever the power of Protestantism and Catholicism met in Equatorial Africa, it would be necessary to divide them into different spheres, not because he imagined there would be any difficulty about educated gentlemen, not to say Christian gentlemen, living in peace, but because there was the danger of half-educated followers coming into conflict.”

The Protestant Missionary at Uganda expresses himself very differently : what he wants is political ascendancy, and this is just what no form of Religion whatever ought to have :

"The Roman Catholic party is the one most likely to feel aggrieved and jealous of the others. It is true that they have Budu, a very fertile district, but the chief of Budu never had the position and honour that many other chiefs had. This party has lately lost the most, and is therefore the most likely to feel dissatisfied. They would submit to be ruled by representatives of the British Government, or of a company if the Europeans could carry their own in Buganda; but if they felt that they were virtually being governed by the Protestant party in Buganda, *I do not think they would submit to it.* In all they do they will be *entirely guided by their 'Fathers,'* who exercise absolute authority over them. I think that you can well judge what would be the consequence if the British control were withdrawn. The first scene of the new act would be all parties flying at the Protestant Christians. Then the Mohammedans would seize all the Roman Catholic converts and their followers, and would open a slave market at once."

Not one word has been said about the feelings of the Taxpayers, except jaunty remarks such as the following :

*"Is there any justification for the assumption that the taxpayers of this country would disapprove of the cost of its retention?* Every taxpayer, who has given the subject any attention, knows that in a merely selfish or pecuniary sense it is of the highest importance to retain Uganda, the pearl of Africa, and the key to two million square miles of territory, which by international agreement are at the present time under our protection. The markets of the world are being more and more closed against us, and it is surely the act of a nation gone mad to wilfully throw away the glorious prospects which the development of the rich lake districts of Central Africa would open to our trade."

This is just bunkum, and the writer knows that it is, for he in his next sentence appeals to other passions, Religion and Chauvinism :

*"Are we going to desert our fellow-Christians in Uganda? Are we going to give up to massacre those friendly tribes who, trusting in our promises of protection, have given us their assistance? And are we going to give up that immense and fertile region, pregnant with mineral and other wealth, to another nation? If we are true to our God, to our country, and to ourselves, the crime of deserting Uganda will not rest upon us."*

It is quite clear, that if the Railway is guaranteed there will be an annual heavy charge on our resources, however fanatics never think of this : this very month some of this class have proposed to the Secretary of State for India arbitrarily to destroy the cultivation of the Poppy, a great industry of the People of India, amounting to at least eight millions annually, and some have gone so far as to propose to make a proportionate grant to the Indian Exchequer.

The proposition was too ridiculous to entertain. Empires cannot be governed by fanatics : We are far too ready to be indulgent, when we have other people's purses to draw on, when we can dip into the State Treasury : With the overwhelming demands upon us of the Pauper Population of our cities are we justified in flinging away annual thousands in Central Africa ?

An international question has already arisen with France about the treatment of French Missionaries by Captain Lugard. It comes with a bad grace from the Government of a Republic, which has ejected English Missionaries from the Loyalty Islands and threatens to do the same in Algeria and Tunisie. Still the facts as admitted have an ugly appearance. Captain Lugard in the *Fortnightly* of Nov., 1892, disposes of the charge in a jaunty way by the assertion, that English officers are incapable of such things, but the pages of this Journal\* in the October number tell us how English officers acted in the expedition to relieve Emin Pasha, and committed acts of Murder and Rapine right across Africa. I really am reluctant to describe what took place at the Island of Sesse in my own words for fear of being charged with exaggeration. I quote those of an entire stranger, the Rev. Edward Conybeare in his letter to the *Guardian*, October 22, 1892 :

" 5. The Catholics, thus defeated, took refuge from the bullets of these English rifles on an inaccessible island, whence the King continued to defy our authorities.

" 6. And now comes the horror. To bring this obstinate heretic to his senses Captain Lugard sent against him a gun-boat, flying presumably, the English flag, and under the command, certainly, of an English officer, Captain Williams. On the approach of this formidable foe the Catholics abandoned all idea of further resistance, and thought only of escape. They crowded into their canoes for flight—*men, women, and children*. The King effected his escape ; but of his unhappy followers boatload after boatload was sent to the bottom by the murderous volleys of our Maxim gun. On the computation—I wish I could say the admission—of our Protestant informants, several hundreds of defenceless fugitives, chiefly non-

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\* *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1892, "The Ethics of African Geographical Exploration" (page 348).

combatants, were thus massacred. And this, be it remarked, was not done by unloosed savages, but by the latest weapons of civilisation and by the orders of an Englishman.

"Now, sir, can we hope for God's blessing on our doings in Uganda while we allow such a deed to pass unrepented? I do not wish to blame Captain Lugard, who, doubtless, felt the fearful course he adopted an unavoidable necessity. Nor do I wish to defend the Uganda Catholics, who, possibly, provoked their own doom. But, to whatever extent the slaughter may be justified, the fact remains that we were the slaughterers; and we may be very sure that such wholesale shedding of Christian blood is no light thing in God's sight. At our hand He will require it; at the hand of the English nation, and above all of the English Church, unless by contrition we turn away His anger from us. Hitherto, alas, we have rather made ourselves partakers of the deed. Will none of our Bishops give expression to what we ought to feel?"

"EDWARD CONYBEARE.

"Barrington Vicarage, Cambridge, *October 22, 1892.*"

And again in a second letter, under date Nov. 11, he gives his authority for these statements, the Rev. Mr. Collins, one of the British Missionaries, whose report I have before me, and which bears out Mr. Conybeare's independent outcry:

"SIR,—

"The extent to which here at home we have shut our eyes to the horrors in Uganda is shown by the letter of Bishop Smythies in your current issue. My account of what took place seems to him almost incredible—too ghastly to be true. But, as I mentioned, I took care to say nothing which was not from our own English and Protestant sources. Had I gone to the other side, yet more fearful tales would be brought forward, tales of the outrage and torture of Catholic women for refusing to deny their faith. These charges are brought against us by Monsignor Hirth, and have never, so far as I have seen, been contradicted. But as our side have said nothing about them, I said nothing about them either, confining myself to the reports of our own authorities, civil and ecclesiastical. In these reports the account of the massacre is to be found only too plainly; given sometimes *with scarcely veiled glee*, sometimes barely narrated, never with *one word of pity for the victims or regret* at so deep a stain of Christian blood on our cause. The last of them was that of Mr. Collins, which appeared in the same number of the *Guardian* as my letter (October 26).

"And this is where the disgrace to our boasted Christianity lies—not nearly so much in the deed itself (horrible though it was) as in the spirit with which we have greeted the tidings. Captain Williams was but carrying out relentlessly the relentless orders of his superior officer to make the Catholics submit at all costs. Captain Lugard is far too brave a man to attempt to evade his responsibility for those orders. He boldly avouches it; and, relentless as they were, such awful deeds are sometimes an awful

necessity in warfare. When once he had begun to fight he could scarcely stop till the foe surrendered ; and his beginning he justifies (and the voice of the English Church unanimously accepts the justification) on the same plea which was put forth for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew—viz., that if the slaughterers had not struck the first blow they would themselves have been slaughtered. But Captain Lugard alone speaks of the proceedings as ‘deplorable.’ No diocesan conference, no Church newspaper echoes that word. No—the murdered women and children were connected with ‘the Italian Mission,’ and therefore beyond the pale of Anglican sympathy. No wonder that Roman Catholics say we have shown what reality we attach to our claim to be Catholics also. Even the Israelites, at the most barbarous period of their history, knew better. When they had slaughtered down the Benjamites (richly deserved as the slaughter was), they felt the horror of the deed, and prayed for forgiveness. We seem not even to feel that we need pardon for our brethren’s blood. We do not ask for it, and we shall not get it.

“EDWARD CONYBEARE.

“Barrington Vicarage, Cambridge, *November 11, 1892.*”

*Guardian, November 16, 1892.*

It is unnecessary to say, that in the French Missionary periodicals the story is told with large amplifications, and the hatred of the people of France against “les Anglais” is roused : this is most lamentable. I quote this to show, that the rule of Uganda will not be conducted in rosewater : we shall hear of constant massacres of this kind, assassinations, and outrage : is this the kind of protection which the benevolent people of England and the Missionaries wish to supply ? I am not blaming Captain Lugard : he certainly does not value black life much : An official in British India could never have done such things, and no Governor would have tolerated it : this incident shows that Captain Lugard did not possess the least elementary knowledge of ruling Native Races : the people who were killed were nominal Christians, though of a different Church, and this renders the incident more deplorable : Reverse the position and imagine a French officer having treated Protestant baptized converts in this fashion. Had Captain Lugard had any experience of a District in a Rebellion during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, or of a great city like Banáras, stirred to its depth of religious fanaticism by the unlucky death by violence of a Brahmini Bull in the streets, or a sacred monkey

being shot by a casual English loafer, or winter visitor, he would have known how to handle ignorant crowds without the use of artillery and rifles : at any rate a Protestant should have done anything rather than shoot down Roman Catholic converts : nothing of the kind has ever happened in British India : it is very true that there are very few French Roman Catholic Missionaries in India, and the British, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, German, Roman Catholics never give any trouble : the French Missionary, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, has always *La France* on his brain : his own co-religionists deplore this egregious Chauvinism.

The decision of the Government to send out a Commissioner to make a local inquiry and report does not satisfy the Religious Press : where, they say, can more competent witnesses be found than Captain Lugard, and the British Missionaries ? is the evidence of Bishop Hirsch, and his French colleagues not to be taken ? are they to be treated like the Irish landlords during the investigation into the eviction of tenants ? All sense of equity seems to disappear under the presence of a confused mass of denominational Religion, spurious Nationality, and spread-eagle Imperialism. Mr. Gladstone made one frightful mistake in bombarding Alexandria, and sending Gordon to Khartum : he is older and wiser now : but, says the Missionaries' advocate "until the decision is finally made, the people will not settle down" : let us hope that practically it is made : "The English Missionaries cannot feel the confidence they should in the future of the country" : it is not the Missionary's business to meddle with such matters : let him preach the Gospel, attend to his schools, and eschew politics, and the people will love him, and cherish his memory : it is a wrong departure to have what Mr. Ashe calls "political Protestants."

With regard to the French scare I add the following :

"There is evidently much misconception as to the exact application of the terms of the Berlin Act to the present case. The Act is clear enough.

It stipulates that, when any Power takes possession of any part of the coast of Africa it must intimate the same to other Powers in case there may be pre-existing claims. And, again, that no act of annexation will be regarded as *valid unless steps* are taken *to establish an effective jurisdiction*. All this applies only to the coast. As to the interior, the convenient category of 'spheres of influence' was established. It has therefore been considered internationally convenient that when a Power has, in agreement with other Powers, declared a certain area to be within its 'sphere of influence,' reasonable time should be given her to establish herself effectively in the territory. The British East Africa sphere, extending over a million square miles, has been defined in agreement with Germany and Italy. Though neither France nor the Congo Free State is a direct party to it, it would not only be an act of extreme unfriendliness for either to take advantage of the immensity of the sphere and slip in by a back-door, as it were, but it would introduce an element of discord into the partition of Africa which it was the object of the Berlin Conference to obviate. Both France and the Free State possess enormous areas in Africa within their 'spheres,' *which are as yet entirely unoccupied*, and which are, therefore, as open to annexation by other Powers as the remoter parts of British East Africa."

The most extraordinary literature has appeared indicating the colour of the waters, which have been stirred—perhaps the most astounding is "The Uganda Catechism" by an Oxford Doctor of Divinity: a more foolish paper, and one more replete with inexact statements we have rarely seen: whether this Catechism is to take the place of the Church Catechism in the Uganda Sunday Schools, or to be taught, as an extra, to the children of the poor in England, it is not stated: it is printed and published at the expense of the Missionary Society: the price is not given: it would be dear at a penny: I only allude to it, as it indicates neatly the electoral tactics now applied to Missionary desires.

Question 36. What can individuals do to prevent such a lamentable catastrophe (as the withdrawal of the officials of the Company)?

Answer (1). They can commit the whole question to the King of Kings in believing prayer.

(So far we are with the Catechist and his Catechumens.)

Answer (2). They can do much in conversation, etc., to arouse public interest in what threatens to become a national disgrace.



Answer (3). They can write letters to their representative in Parliament, which will interest him in the subject and lead him to help in averting the impending disaster : (in fact threaten him against the next Election).

Answer (4). They can unite in memorializing Government either with the definite proposals, which the Anti-Slavery Society has adopted, or in more general terms such as the Missionary Society, a non-political organisation, felt constrained to use.

Question 37. Is there anything further that can be suggested in connection with this subject ?

Answer. Yes : That thou doest do quickly, for the night cometh, when no man can work.

The learned Doctor has omitted from his list of measures : Thunder from the Pulpit : pass resolutions in Diocesan Conferences : it has not yet come to "Denounce from the Altar," but the younger members of this generation may live to hear that also : when once clerics meddle in political matters, they brook no opposition, and hesitate at no measures : it has been the bane of the Church of Rome from its earliest day : up to this day the Church of England has abstained from indulgence in Imperial appetites : It is to be hoped that the Uganda fever will burn itself out.

The methods used are not new, nor unique : The Americans set us the example : a fair description of their methods covers the case for annexation of Uganda :

"It strives to bolster them up by the arguments, true and false, which seem most likely to appeal to the prejudices and the credulity of the greatest number ; and it endeavours to prove the soundness of those arguments by a number of good stout assertions upon matters of fact. The whole is, of course, larded with a pungent criticism of Democratic shortcomings and garnished with elaborate dissertations to show that America owes all her prosperity, moral and material, to the disinterested services done her by the great Republican party."

PHILO-AFRICANUS.

Dec. 1, 1892.

## THE SOLUTION OF THE COLONIAL QUESTION.

DEFINITE PROPOSALS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

BY ROBERT BEADON.

THE Council of the Imperial Federation League, under the presidency of Mr. Stanhope, M.P., late Secretary of State for War (who, upon the change of Government, succeeded Lord Rosebery, the President for the previous six years) adopted on the 16th November, 1892, the Report of the Special Committee appointed in the previous year to formulate definite proposals whereby the object of Imperial Federation might be realized. The Committee consisted of Lord Brassey (chairman), Mr. James Bryce, M.P. (now in the Cabinet), Sir John Colomb (then M.P. for Bow and Bromley), Sir Daniel Cooper (late Speaker of the N.S.W. House of Assembly), Mr. H. O. Arnold Forster (now M.P. for West Belfast), Lord Lamington, Sir Lyon (now Lord) Playfair, Mr. James Rankin, M.P., Sir Rawson Rawson (a former Colonial Governor, and author of important works on commercial statistics), Lord Reay (formerly Governor of Bombay), and Sir Charles Tupper (High Commissioner for Canada). As an influential Scotch paper said, it would be difficult to pick eleven men better qualified by their special knowledge and experience for the work they had in hand. The Report issued by this strong Committee was a unanimous one, and it was unanimously adopted at the largely and influentially attended meeting of the Council of the League to which it was presented last November. The cordial support given to the report by Mr. Stanhope receives additional significance from the nature of the offices which he held in the last Administration, namely, the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies, and later that for War. Before proceeding to the report itself, it will be necessary first to recapitulate very briefly the circumstances leading up to its preparation, and then, somewhat more fully, to

examine the general problem towards the solution of which the report affords a substantial contribution.

The Imperial Conference held in London in 1887, and attended by Ministers from all the Colonies having responsible Government, had been convened by the Government of that day at the express instance of the Imperial Federation League. The personal discussion between Colonial representatives and Ministers of the Imperial Government of the various questions that came before that Conference relating to Imperial Defence, legal matters, postal and telegraphic communication, trade, etc., was productive of a much better understanding between the different parts of the Empire, and led to some practical results, especially in connection with the matter of Defence, calculated to pave the way to that closer political union for joint action in matters of common interest to which the advocates of Federation look as the only means of maintaining the permanent unity of the Empire. The League therefore upon the initiative of Lord Rosebery, its then President, specially resolved not long afterwards that the establishment of periodical Conferences of like nature should be its first aim.

In pursuance of this policy a deputation of the League in June, 1891, waited upon Lord Salisbury, as Prime Minister, to urge the convocation of a second Conference. In the course of his reply the Prime Minister, after stating that the subject brought before him by the deputation was "nothing more nor less than the future of the British Empire," continued as follows :

"As has been pointed out, owing to the operation of external causes and some external impulses, there is a feeling of unrest in Canada, and even in Australia—a feeling which may not improperly be described as an unwillingness to continually acquiesce precisely in the present state of things. Sir John Colomb very justly pointed out a consideration of which, in my office, I am especially sensible—the large portion of our foreign negotiations, our foreign difficulties, and the danger of foreign complications which arise entirely from our Colonial connections ; and the effect is that from time to time we have to exercise great vigilance lest we should incur dangers which do not arise from any interest of our own, but arise entirely from the interests of the important and interesting communities with which we are linked. . . . Referring to the proposal which had been brought forward

by the Deputation, Lord Salisbury said: "I quite think that no grave decision in reference to the relations between the Colonies and this country ought to be taken, or could be taken, without personal communication with the statesmen who guide the Colonies in those matters. But I would venture to lay down also, as a maxim, that we should not call them from their momentous avocations to put them to all the difficulty, and all the labour, and all the cost of coming to this end of the world, unless we are prepared to lay before them for discussion some definite scheme of our own. I do not say such a scheme that we must adopt it with a resolution not to recede from it—it is not to be an unalterable determination; but . . . I think that we have almost come to the time when some schemes should be proposed, and that without them we shall not get very far."

Such being the suggestion of the Prime Minister, the Council of the League, while not admitting that the solution of a political problem which involves so great an issue as the future of the Empire could with advantage be delegated by responsible Ministers of the Crown to an independent and irresponsible body, nevertheless considered it to be a clear duty to endeavour to furnish such definite proposals for Federation as, in their opinion, would be possible of adoption, and would satisfy the requirements of the Constitution. The Committee above named was therefore appointed to prepare a Report. To assist them the Committee had all the accumulated information and experience that the organization of the League rendered available for their use, as well as a valuable body of opinion elicited *ad hoc* from a number of persons specially qualified to advise, whose co-operation was invited in the form of replies to a series of carefully considered questions put out by the Committee. A document so prepared, having the sanction of such high authorities, and accepted as the formal expression of its policy by so influential a body as the Council of the Imperial Federation League, obviously commands, and has indeed so far received, at the hands of political leaders and the public press, the most respectful and serious consideration.

Before we are in a position to estimate the value or appreciate fully the bearings of the propositions formulated in this report, it is necessary to survey generally the existing situation, in order that we may recognise precisely what the

problem is that had to be attacked, what the mischief is that demands a remedy, and why. In the briefest possible form this may be summarily stated, as it has been stated in one of the publications of the Imperial Federation League, as follows :

“The continued unity of the British nation throughout the Empire is threatened by the existence of two great anomalies in the present Imperial system. These are that : (1) At present no one of our great self-governing Colonies, not even the Dominion of Canada, has any recognised voice in Imperial affairs. They are liable, therefore, to be involved in all the consequences of war, without having had any share in controlling the policy which led to it. (2) On the other hand, the people of the United Kingdom not only bear the entire cost of the naval, military, diplomatic, and consular services all over the world, the protection and advantages of which in war and peace are shared equally by their Colonial fellow-subjects, but they may have at any moment to undertake and bear the whole cost of a war entered upon solely to maintain the interests of any one of these Colonies. The evils of this anomalous position of affairs are becoming more and more felt on both sides, and the existing relations between Mother Country and Colonies cannot be expected to continue without producing grave difficulties and danger of dismemberment.”

That, in the barest and boldest outline, is the existing situation. But for a proper understanding of it we must take the trouble to examine it a little more closely. The great self-governing Colonies in North America, Australasia, and South Africa (and it is with these alone that we are concerned for the present purpose ; the position of the Dependencies is altogether different) are now linked to the Mother Country by the slenderest possible political tie and to one another by no political tie at all beyond allegiance to a common Sovereign, if that can be so called. The present position was reached by the natural working out of a policy which looked to ultimate separation as the proper destiny of an English-speaking Colony of free men of British race, and of a system which, consistently with such a policy, dealt with the Colonies in such a way as, naturally and easily, to bring about that consummation. The Colonies were led from the position of dependencies through partially representative institutions to the full freedom of responsible government ; since the grant of which the reserved powers

of the Imperial authority have been more and more allowed to fall into desuetude, until now the Governor in the Colony and the Agent-General in London constitute the only political links, and the Governor as well as the Agent-General has a position not widely different from that of a diplomatic representative. With responsible government, the Colonies were also endowed with the broad lands which before belonged to the people of Great Britain by whose blood and treasure they were acquired. Those lands constituted a portion of the public estate upon which it may be said the National Debt of Great Britain was secured ; yet they were given without reservation, freed from that "mortgage," the whole burden of which remained upon the shoulders of the people left at home. And at the same time that the people in the Colonies were thus relieved of their share of Imperial burdens and endowed with this magnificent heritage unencumbered, they were given also the right to levy taxes, including Customs duties on the goods of the Mother Country and of one another, for their own exclusive benefit, without being called upon to contribute in any shape or form to the maintenance of those Imperial services of which they get the benefit.

But though the Colonies were thus splendidly endowed with the means of becoming, as they were intended to become, independent states, there was one very important reservation in the political rights and privileges bestowed upon them. Perfectly self-governing as regards all local internal matters, the greatest Colony has no franchise in Imperial affairs. As towards the rest of the world, Britain and Britain alone speaks for the Empire. Up to the present time the Colonies have rested in this condition. In their earlier years they could neither afford to share the burdens of Empire, nor were they politically fit to take a part in the determination of Imperial questions. The position was logical enough from one point of view. So long as Britain alone bore the whole weight and expense of the Imperial services—army, navy, and diplomatic and consular

services—there could be no question of allowing any other portion of the Empire to have a voice in the management of the affairs for the conduct of which those services exist. So far both the Colonies and the Mother Country have acquiesced in this state of things. The Colonies have been content to remain in the dependent position of Protected States, and the people of the United Kingdom have continued to pay the piper so long as they have been allowed to call the tune.

But of late years there have been indications of various kinds that this condition of the relations between Mother Country and Colonies has ceased to satisfy either party to it. It is impossible, as some good people advise, to “let it alone.” There is, as Lord Salisbury put it, a feeling of unrest, an unwillingness to acquiesce continually in the present arrangement. In the Colonies, excessively favourable as in most respects their position is at the present time, there are yet heard rumblings of discontent and talk of separation. In the Mother Country, though the school that favoured the policy of dropping the Colonies has become extinct and given place to a general feeling—shared it may be well believed by the great body of responsible opinion in the Colonies also—that the various parts of the Empire ought, in the interests of all, to hold together, yet there is a growing uneasiness under the existing arrangement and a desire to place the Imperial relationship on a more satisfactory and consequently a more durable footing.

The most obvious cause of dissatisfaction, not so much with the past as with the prospect of the future of the system, arises from a prosaic consideration of pounds shillings and pence. The annual expenditure upon the Navy alone (on the estimates for 1891-92) exceeded £14,000,000; and in less than ten years last past some £32,000,000 has been expended upon the Navy in addition to the ordinary annual amount upon the estimates. We may put aside here the cost of the Army and of the Foreign Office and services connected with it, although in the

operations of the latter in peace and from the fact that the whole force of the British Empire is behind them, the Colonies enjoy precisely the same advantages of security for their persons and property and in their commercial and other relations with foreign countries as are enjoyed by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom who support these services. The case of the Navy alone will be sufficient to point the moral.

The British Navy is the first and only adequate protection the Colonies have against hostile attack. Their large and valuable sea-commerce, which grows far more rapidly than that of the United Kingdom, is defended wholly and solely by it. If anyone doubts the extent of the Colonial obligation in this respect let him look at the return upon sea-going war-ships made to the House of Commons last year (Navy, 396), showing the naval expenditure compared with the sea-borne commerce of various countries and of British self-governing Colonies. From that return and other official sources it will be seen that while the value in pounds sterling of the sea-borne commerce of the United Kingdom is 744 millions, that of the outlying portions of the Empire amounts to 460 millions, of which 187 only is done with the United Kingdom, the larger part of it, viz., 273 millions, being a trade done with each other and with foreign countries, in which the United Kingdom has no direct interest whatever. It is the growth, therefore, of this outside trade, more than of her own or of the Colonial trade done with herself, that causes such a largely increased demand upon the resources of Britain for protection. If we take the revenue raised, and the expenditure for the protection of all this floating commerce, we find that out of 218 millions of revenue raised throughout the Empire 129 millions—very considerably more than half—are raised in the outlying parts; and that portion continually increases, whilst that of the United Kingdom—put at, say, 89 millions—remains comparatively stationary. The proportions of these revenues spent for the protection of this sea-borne com-



merce are as follows: The United Kingdom spent in the financial year 1889-90 more than 15½ million pounds upon the navy. In the same period the rest of the Empire spent £421,417, of which India spent roundly £296,000, and the self-governing Colonies £125,000 upon vessels for coast and harbour defence. To the last item must in future be added another similar sum (£126,000) contributed by Australasia towards the local auxiliary squadron. Such are the proportions of the aggregate naval expenditure of the United Kingdom and of the rest of the Empire. Out of a total of, say, 16 millions, the people of the outlying portion of the Empire (fully 10 millions of whom are men of British race in the self-governing Colonies), having together considerably more than half the total revenues of the Empire at their disposal, afford an aggregate contribution of, say, half a million. The 38 million people of the United Kingdom, with far less revenue, find the rest.

But, it is sometimes said, Britain has hitherto been willing to undertake this burden in consideration of retaining the sole voice in controlling the course of the foreign relations of the Empire; and though the burden may be a growing one, the people of the United Kingdom, being loath to part with that control, may probably continue to put up with it. The answer to this is that, not only is so large a proportion of the interests and property they are called on to protect not their own, but the causes calculated to bring about the state of hostilities demanding the active protection of those interests and that property by warlike operations are themselves also unconnected with the interests of the people of the United Kingdom, and the incidents which may any day lead to war are beyond their control. Britain continues to "pay the piper," but she really no longer "calls the tune." We may recall the words of Lord Salisbury quoted on an earlier page, in which he spoke of "the large portion of our foreign negotiations, our foreign difficulties, and the danger of foreign complications which arise entirely from our Colonial

connections"; and of the "dangers, which do not arise from any interests of our own, but arise entirely from the interests of" the Colonies. Lord Rosebery again—and no higher testimony could be cited on such a point than that of the Foreign Secretaries of the two great parties in the State—took occasion to say much the same thing even more explicitly in a speech he made in the City, fully reported in the Press, last March. The country, he said, was being detached from the affairs of Europe by the great Empire which had grown up outside these islands. He referred to the Newfoundland Fisheries and the Behring Sea question and Canada's differences with the United States generally, to Australia's embroilments with France about the New Hebrides, and to other affairs illustrating his remark, and concluded by declaring that "our foreign policy has become a Colonial policy, and is in reality at this moment more dictated from the extremities of the Empire than from London itself." That is a very significant statement. It corrects in the most distinct way the impression that though Britain pays she also controls. There is the rub. Britain pays and the Colonies, virtually, control.

That is a state of things in which, though the people of the United Kingdom might resent it, the Colonies might be expected to acquiesce. But they do not. They complain on their side of the manner in which these external interests are actually looked after by the home authorities, and will not be satisfied without some direct and constitutional voice in managing those affairs and in deciding ultimately upon questions of peace and war. They complain too that they are subjected to the risk of wars in which they do not recognise that they have any interest, and into which the Empire may be plunged without their having anything to say whatever. The latter grievance is less well founded than the former. They may have occasion at times to object to the management of their foreign relations by the departments in London. But the fear of being dragged by England into wars in which the Colonial

Empire is not interested is in these days chimerical. Professor Seeley has brought out the fact that England's wars have been Colonial. Our foreign policy, as Lord Rosebery said, is now entirely a Colonial policy, that is, extra-European ; and there is no prospect nowadays of any war being entered upon for any cause which affects the interests of Great Britain without also affecting the interests of the Empire at large.

Even as things are, it might be to the interest of Great Britain and her Dependencies to let them continue upon their present footing, if there were any security that the Colonies would remain permanently attached to the Empire. For the sake of her own world-wide commerce and that of India and other Dependencies of the Crown, it is most important, principally upon strategic grounds, that in the four quarters of the globe on the North and South Atlantic, on the North and South Pacific, there should be harbours and naval bases and friendly, not merely neutral, territories, under the British flag. But, already at the present moment, as recent discussions in Parliament in connection with Esquimalt in Canada, Simon's Bay in South Africa, and the fortified harbours of Australia, have shown us, the naval bases established there by the Imperial Government are in reality held only at the will of the several Colonial Governments. In the Dependencies Britain possesses such bases absolutely. In the self-governing Colonies she has indeed the use of them in peace ; but upon a declaration of war, any of those Colonies might, by declaring for independence and neutrality, deprive her of them at the moment they would be essential to safety. The result of Colonial neutrality in war would be to alter the whole system of Defence relied upon and developed in peace, and to place Great Britain on no better footing than her enemies. The chance of such a course being taken may be considered remote. But it must not be overlooked that this very proposition is not infrequently made by more or less responsible persons in

the Colonies. Nor is it only such a sudden declaration of independence that has to be taken into account. In all the three great groups, in North America, Australasia and South Africa, the political future is everywhere treated as an open question, and separation and independence are unreservedly discussed and in many quarters deliberately advocated. Only the other day at a large public meeting held at Montreal to consider and debate the question of Canada's political future, the alternative of independence received an overwhelming majority of the votes, and even annexation to the United States not a few. That may not have been a declaration of much political weight; but it is significant nevertheless, when it is remembered that both in Canada and Australia, and to a less extent at the Cape, influential newspapers and leading public men make no effort to disguise the fact that ultimate separation is the goal to which they are tending. It is no great wonder then if people in England are beginning to ask whether it is wise or prudent to go on spending their money and depending for the safety of their enormous interests upon a system offering such slender security for its continuance or for its effectiveness when the time of trial comes.

Beyond all this, the present arrangement, even while it lasts, is illusory in the provision it makes for securing the interests of those who are trusting to it both at home and in the Colonies. Owing to the neglect of matters of defence in the Colonies—and they have very generally been most woefully neglected, as the official reports of the Colonial Governments on their land and coast defence organizations themselves show—the superior advantage of the naval bases established by the Imperial Government may be seriously impaired in time of war, and British as well as Colonial commerce in distant seas be left to suffer accordingly. On the other hand also it is open to very grave doubt, and is indeed a question regarded with something more than doubt by many high authorities, whether, in the event of a war with one or more of the great naval

Powers, the British Navy would prove at all adequate to the enormous demands now made upon it. The Colonies look to it and it alone for their protection and that of their commerce on every sea. If a pinch came, and it were found that the defence of some portions of the Empire must be neglected, is it to be supposed that the people of the British Isles will see their own shores or their own commerce ravaged, while their own Navy is away protecting the interests of other people? There can be no doubt that the people who maintain the Navy would insist upon having the first call upon its services. The Colonies in thus trusting implicitly as they do to the power of the British Navy are, it is much to be feared, living in a fool's paradise.

We have dwelt upon the existing situation and the mischief and dangers inherent in it at considerable length, because readers who have followed us so far will thus be in a position at once to grasp the full significance of the report of the Imperial Federation League, and to appreciate the bearing and application of the propositions it lays down, without much explanation or comment. What may be called the "operative part" of the report defines "the essentials of a United Empire" to be,

"(a) That the voice of the Empire in peace, when dealing with Foreign Powers, shall be as far as possible the united voice of all its autonomous parts.

"(b) That the defence of the Empire in war shall be the common defence of all its interests and of all its parts by the united forces and resources of all its members."

The Report continues :

"In order that the Empire may speak with the greatest authority to foreign nations, there ought to be a body in which all its autonomous parts are represented.

"In order that the voice of the Empire may be supported in peace and the common defence of the Empire assured in war, its resources must be combined. This entails, as regards its self-governing portions, both a representative body and common property in the means of defence.

"The sphere within which combined defence is necessary is confined to those common interests the defence of which cannot be provided by local means. It is in the maintenance of the sea communications of the Empire

that the community of interests is most absolute. The primary requirements of combined defence, therefore, are a Sea-going Fleet and Naval Bases.

"It being admitted that in order to combine the resources of the Empire for the purpose of defending and maintaining its common interests, some central body, in which all its parts are represented, is essential, the question of the nature and functions of such a body at once arises. It remains then to consider—

"(a) How shall a Council of the Empire be constituted?

"(b) By what means can the resources of the Empire be most effectively combined?

"Without limiting or defining the functions, the exercise of which a Council might attract to itself in process of time, for practical and immediate purposes the following propositions are submitted :

"The Council should consist of members appointed by the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies.

"The three great groups of self-governing Colonies, North American, Australasian, and South African, should be directly represented in that Council. India and the Crown Colonies would be represented through her Majesty's Secretaries of State at present charged with the administration of their affairs, and in such other manner as might become desirable.

"The Council might include on the part of the United Kingdom, the Indian Empire and the Crown Colonies, the Prime Minister, the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, War, Colonies, and India, the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and on the part of the self-governing Colonies, representatives of the three groups.'

"Such a Council should deal with Imperial Defence somewhat on the lines contemplated in Article 20 of the Report of Lord Hartington's Commission on Defence.

"The Council might receive such information relating to matters of foreign policy as would enable it to deal adequately with questions of Defence.

"In matters of Defence the Council should supervise the appropriation of any moneys provided for the defence of the Empire by the common contribution of the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

"It may be laid down as a leading principle that as all parts of the Empire enjoy the benefits of Imperial Defence they should contribute to its cost. In the case of India and the Crown Colonies the United Kingdom would continue to be responsible for all matters relating to their respective contributions.

"In proposing that the self-governing Colonies should bear the enhanced cost of their own defences, and thereby share the cost of the defences of the Empire in common with the people of the United Kingdom, your Committee desire to point out that by so doing those countries would be undertaking an incomparably smaller financial expenditure than would be required for their own defences if these did not form part of the general scheme of defence adopted for the Empire.

"There is no reason to doubt that, if the necessities of the case were

made clear, the Colonies would be prepared to take their share in the costs of the general defence of the Empire, provided that they were given a proper share in the control and expenditure of the common fund.

"The method of raising contributions would probably by general consent be left at the outset to the choice of the individual self-governing states. But future developments may disclose a means of raising the necessary contributions upon some uniform principle throughout the Empire by the allocation to this purpose of special sources of revenue or otherwise.

"The several amounts should be fixed in the first instance for a term of years by a Conference, subject to periodical revisions."

The Report goes on to recommend that in order to ascertain the views of the different Colonies enjoying responsible Government as to securing the unity of the Empire and meeting the responsibilities of Imperial Defence, and for the purpose of determining the basis upon and the method by which contributions should be raised, the Governments concerned should be invited to send representatives to a Conference summoned *ad hoc*. It is further recommended that the invitation to such a Conference should be accompanied by a complete statement showing the general necessities of the Empire in the matter of Defence, the means by which Defence has hitherto been provided, and the proposed means and estimated cost of providing it by joint action in the future. And it is suggested as possible that a preliminary inquiry by Royal Commission may be necessary to supply the groundwork for a comprehensive statement of the complete and authoritative character required.

Such are the main propositions and recommendations of the report; and the reader will see for himself how they meet and fit the situation which had to be dealt with. The other class of matters, treated in the report as non-essential, need not detain us long. Among measures conducive to the maintenance of national unity but not essential to it are mentioned the admission of Colonial securities to the list of authorised investments for British trust funds; the Imperial guarantee of local loans raised for purposes subservient to Imperial ends; the actual opening of the Administrative services of the Empire outside the United Kingdom by

local examinations, etc. These are obviously measures dependent upon the prior assurance of the permanence of the Imperial relationship as regards the Colonies by the adoption of the measures declared essential to Federation and necessary to secure such permanence. Others that are classed with them, such as Uniform Imperial Postage, and an Imperial telegraphic system, the appointment of eminent Colonial Jurists to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and uniformity in certain branches of Statute law, are not similarly dependent, but might precede actual political federation and would tend towards bringing it about. The most significant point about this non-essential list is the inclusion in it of the question of inter-imperial trade relations, which many persons have come to regard as an essential, and some as *the* essential, element in the whole matter. But whether or not some of the Colonies make the completion of some tariff arrangement favourable to their commerce a condition of undertaking what cannot but be regarded as their rightful share in the burdens and responsibilities of Empire, it seems perfectly clear that no number of inter-imperial commercial treaties, upon whatever fiscal lines they be made, can be regarded as constituting federation. Such arrangements are made every day between foreign countries, as are also warlike alliances; and neither inter-imperial commercial treaties nor inter-imperial defensive alliances (which some Colonial politicians rather lean to in place of actual union or federation for defence), have in them, any more than similar alliances between alien peoples, the elements of perpetuity or that political *nexus* which, among homogeneous peoples, makes for the perpetuity of their union. The Report accordingly deals with this trade question as even more remote than those other non-essential measures which would be practicable before or immediately upon the completion of the essential political union. It says :

“ Among the measures which, if not at first practicable, might become more so with the growth of a feeling of permanent national unity, the most



important would be those connected with the fuller development of inter-Imperial trade and the removal of existing hindrances thereto due to tariff arrangement. The course of events may remove the obstacles at present retarding the interchange of commodities between the countries which constitute the Empire. The sense of the permanence of the political union would naturally induce the people of the various countries in the Empire to make, for the sake of strengthening the union, fiscal arrangements, which under existing circumstances they are not prepared to adopt."

By drawing then a clear distinction between what is deemed essential to a permanent national unity and what is not, the Council of the Imperial Federation League have taken away the reproach of indefiniteness so often levelled against their cause. The minds of those who have really studied the subject have no doubt been long made up on these points. It was probably wise however not to attempt earlier in the history of the movement to crystallize floating opinion and publish *ex cathedra* as has now been done such precise definitions; although, it is true, the propositions now formulated are but amplifications of the original resolutions upon which the policy of the League was based; those resolutions contained the germs of the principles now enunciated, and, moreover, they contained nothing else. But the time had clearly arrived for this amplification and further definition; and now it is done there will be no excuse for politicians or political writers to say they do not know what the advocates of Imperial Federation are driving at, or for any confusion between Imperial Federation and schemes either for Fair Trade or for Olympic Games and suchlike harmless "fads" that have sometimes borrowed its name. There is another particular misapprehension which the issue of this report ought to remove once for all. Mr. Goldwin Smith and hosts of lesser critics have insisted upon running their heads against an imaginary obstacle which they find in the insuperable objection that undoubtedly exists to giving a voice in the affairs of the Empire to the peoples of India and other subject races. It has been explained over and over again in the League's monthly organ *Imperial Federation* and on a hundred plat-

forms that no one makes any such monstrous proposal: that there is no idea of conferring the imperial franchise upon races who are not yet trusted with the control of their own domestic concerns. The Imperial Council proposed by the report constitutes really a "Federation of Executives." It would include "on the part of the United Kingdom the Indian Empire and the Crown Colonies" several of the principal Ministers in the Imperial Government, "India and the Crown Colonies" being especially represented upon it "through Her Majesty's Secretaries of State at present charged with the administration of their affairs" and in such other manner as time might show to be desirable—the West Indian Colonies for example demanding perhaps, when grouped, more direct representation. In another clause we read that "In the case of India and the Crown Colonies the United Kingdom would continue to be responsible for all matters relating to their respective contributions" to Imperial Defence. After this perhaps Mr. Goldwin Smith will cease asking "Shall Quashee have a vote?"

The reception met with by this report in the press of the United Kingdom must be a source of very real satisfaction to the members of the League that issued it. Most of the influential papers in the country have welcomed it as an able and business-like state paper deserving the most serious consideration and affording a practicable basis upon which an Imperial Conference of responsible Ministers could proceed to discuss "the future of the British Empire." Its studied moderation and the advisedly tentative character of the propositions formulated, as well as its statesmanlike reserve, have won for it high and well-deserved encomium. There remains one other aspect of the question to which attention must be called. A large part of the present article is devoted to showing the necessity that exists for some readjustment of the relations between Britain and her Colonies. The Committee that prepared this report, while saying that the proposals made in it appear to them to embody

the main principles that must prevail in any such readjustment, add that, in presenting these proposals, they "wish it to be understood that they have proceeded on the assumption that a general desire exists for maintaining the unity of the Empire and making its organization more perfect, especially for the purpose of defence." Some persons will be inclined to think this assumption rather a large one. But in spite of what has been said of the spirit of separation and independence prevailing in some quarters in the Colonies, there is good ground for believing that, as regards the better opinion in most of the Colonies which, if it came to a critical trial of strength on so momentous an issue might be counted on to prevail, such a general desire does exist. And, if the utterances of public men and of the more educated sections of the Press throughout the Colonies are to count for anything more than wind and printer's ink, the principle underlying the proposals of the Imperial Federation League should also be accepted in the Colonies as determining the lines upon which effect may be given to the desire for maintaining the unity of the Empire and perfecting its organization, especially for defence.

At the same time it would perhaps be too much to expect that these proposals will at once meet in the Colonies with the same favourable reception that has been accorded to them at home. Imperial questions are not much studied or understood in the Colonies outside a limited circle of publicists. In particular the idea of taking their fair share of imperial burdens has never been brought home to men's minds there. They have been accustomed to take the enormous privileges they enjoy as matters of course; and we none of us quite relish being asked to do or to pay for something that we have become used to having done or paid for by other people. They are not likely therefore to jump at the propositions now made. But when they find that leading statesmen on the home side of the water are in earnest upon this matter, and when they come to consider the alternatives, there is reason to hope that counsels of

wisdom will prevail : and it must not be forgotten that the main principle of contribution to naval defence was admitted at the Imperial Conference of 1887, and acted upon, though in a very partial and limited manner, in the arrangements for the Australian Auxiliary Squadron. The report nevertheless concludes with the following statement :

“ It is recognised as possible that such a Conference as has been suggested by your Committee may fail to adopt these proposals, or any others for the better organization of the Empire ; but until such a Conference has been summoned, and has either succeeded or failed, British Cabinets and the British Parliament will be fairly open to the reproach of having made no adequate effort to deal with a question which, in the words of the late Prime Minister, ‘ involves neither more nor less than the future of the British Empire.’ ”

The time has indeed come when it is necessary to ask and to answer this question as to the future relations of the Mother Country and the rest of her Empire with the great self-governing Colonies. If the Colonies give an unfavourable answer now, we may be very sure that no better one would ever be given at any future time, when the native-born have drifted yet farther away from the motherland. A policy of delay can lead to no good, and only continues the present uncertainty, which is unfair and mischievous for both parties for reasons fully gone into in this article. If the question be resolved in favour of the maintenance of Imperial unity—as every wise and patriotic man must trust and pray that it will be—all is well. If not, at least we shall all know where we stand. For the Colonies, though the anticipation of independence seems dazzling to some minds, the reality of it would, it is to be feared, be found a sorry alternative to the career that awaits them yet as portions of a mighty Empire. For Britain, though falling short of the splendid future that might be hers, there remains even so the glorious heritage that has not been thrown away.

## THE YELLOW MEN OF INDIA.

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IN a recent study of the races of North-Eastern India,\* based on close observation of the inhabitants of the old metropolitan district of Murshidabad, I found it necessary to group the Bengalis under three quite different race-types.

The first of these, the fair-complexioned Aryan, formed a very small minority, and included the nucleus only of the Brahman caste.

The representatives of the second Bengal race-type, the Indo-Chinese, with high cheek-bones, eyes aslant, and a dusky yellow skin, were much more numerous; and were, for the most part, industrious and skilful agriculturists.

While the third type, the dark, almost black Dravidian,—perhaps slightly more numerous than the last,—made up the bulk of the craftsmen and artisans, besides furnishing a considerable contingent to the cultivator class.

This division of the inhabitants of Bengal met with a very favourable reception, especially from former residents in India;—much more favourable, indeed, than I had dared to hope, and this was probably because it expressed a general conviction that the Bengali is our Aryan brother in name only; and that, in his case, it would be a grave error to interpret resemblance of vocabulary as identity of blood.

But, while the non-Aryan character of the mass of rural Bengalis was readily admitted, I found it much more difficult to establish the view that the Indo-Chinese type was really very largely represented in Bengal; that the almond-eyed, yellow-skinned race really formed an important element in our most populous Presidency.

I am compelled, therefore, to support my own opinions as to the extent of this yellow race, by such evidence as can

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1892:—"Bengal Philology and Ethnography."

be collected from recognised authorities on questions of Indian ethnology ; with the result, I believe, of establishing my conclusions firmly, and of shewing that they are broadly applicable to other parts of India, also, outside Bengal.

But before detailing the evidence of ethnologists, and recording what they say of the yellow races of India, it may be well to sketch the conclusion to which this evidence seems to me to point, so that each part may at once be assigned its proper value with regard to the whole.

The facts which I have collected will show, I think, that there are three main centres of the dusky-yellow, almond-eyed race in India, each of which contains a numerous population, speaking distinctly non-Aryan languages ; with immemorial institutions of their own ; and shewing a perfectly distinct and indubitable ethnical type.

It will be further clear, I think, that round each of these yellow centres spreads an extensive penumbra, in which the same race type is preserved almost or quite unaltered ; but with language, customs, and religion blending more or less with surrounding tongues and faiths.

The first centre of the yellow, Indo-Chinese race, which I shall try to describe, is the country of the Kocch tribe, of Kooch Behar,\* in the north-east of Lower Bengal. My chief authority for the Kocch district is Brian Houghton Hodgson, the most gifted observer, perhaps, who ever tried to unravel the tangled skein of Indian race.

According to Mr. Hodgson the Kocch type falls into three groups, marked by greater or less assimilation in belief and speech with the tribes that surround them. The first of these three groups contains a large section of the agricultural classes of Behar ; using a vocabulary largely Hindi or Bengali ; and, nominally, at any rate, Mahomedan in religion. Most probably, the Mussulmanism of the Behar cultivators hardly goes beyond the name, and is really only a conglomerate of old aboriginal beliefs and practices, under a new title.

\* Commonly known as Kuch-Behar.

For the Faith of the Prophet,—the most democratic in India,—is always willingly embraced by tribes and classes whose social standing is low or doubtful ; as Mahomedans, they are on a more equal footing with their higher caste Hindu neighbours. Though Mussulmans in name, these converts almost always retain the bulk of their old beliefs ; and cling tenaciously to many practices which an orthodox son of Islam would regard with abhorrence. Their conversion has really a social, and not a religious cause. This is certainly true of the masses of rural Mussulmans in Bengal ; and it is most probably true also of the cultivators of the Kocch type who profess the religion of Mahomed in Behar. After these professing Mussulmans come the second group of the Kocch race. They form a better class of the inhabitants of Behar ; use a vocabulary even more largely Hindi or Bengali, and belong to one or other of the better Hindu castes. The members of this group, though of quite distinct Indo-Chinese race, are, in language and religion, “Aryan-voiced” Hindus,\* and no one would dream of disputing their position within the Hindu fold. How long they have held this position, can hardly be settled definitely ; but there is no reason to believe that their Hinduism is of recent origin ; quite probably, it may date from ages ago.

The first Kocch group, who are now nominally Mussulmans, were most probably low-caste Hindus before their conversion ; so that it may be assumed that, at the time of the Mahomedan invasions, and probably for ages before, the whole of this large and important section of the inhabitants of Behar would also rightly have been described as “Aryan-voiced” Hindus, though distinctly and undeniably Indo-Chinese in race. Not unfrequently one meets with members of the better class in Behar, men of good Hindu caste, who use a vocabulary largely borrowed from Sanskrit, and yet have as typical Mongol features, and as pronounced Mongol colour as could be met with in the streets of Canton.

\* *Manu* (x. 45) speaks of “*ârya-vâcho Dasyavah*,” that is : Aryan-voiced *Dasyus* ;—men of non-Aryan race, speaking Aryan tongues.

After these two sections, the Mussulman and the Hindu Kocch, Mr. Hodgson describes the third group, the primitive, unconverted aborigines, who still retain the title of Kocch,—discarded and despised by the two preceding sections of the same race. They still keep their original non-Aryan tongue ; and, with it, customs and characteristics which have most probably distinguished them from the earliest days of Indian history.

Mr. Hodgson quotes with warm commendation, from his predecessor, Buchanan, an account of the life of the true aboriginal Kocch, which I cannot do better than summarise : “The primitive or Pani Kocch live amid the woods, frequently changing their abode in order to cultivate lands enriched by a fallow. They cultivate entirely with the hoe, and more carefully than their neighbours who use the plough, for they weed their crops, which the others do not. The clothing of the Pani Kocch is made by the women, and is, in general, blue, dyed by themselves, with their own indigo ; the borders red, dyed with morinda. The material is cotton of their own growth, and they are better clothed than the mass of the Bengalese. Their only arms are spears ; but they use iron-shod implements of agriculture, which the Bengalese often do not. The Kocch sacrifice to the sun, moon, and stars, to the gods of rivers, hills and woods, and every year, at harvest-home, they offer fruits and a fowl to deceased parents.”

Mr. Hodgson, endorsing this description, points out that the Kocch is essentially agricultural,—a most indefatigable and successful tiller of the soil.

I would invite particular attention to Mr. Hodgson's picture of the ethnical character of the Kocch, as they are a typical example of the race that I have called the yellow Indo-Chinese. The Kocch is distinguished, he says, by “less height, less symmetry ; a somewhat lozenge contour of face, caused by the large cheek bones ; with less perpendicularity of features in front ; a broad, flat face ; a short, wide nose, often clubbed at the end, and with



round nostrils ; small eyes, less fully opened, and less evenly crossing the face by their line of aperture ; large ears ; thick lips ; less beard," and lastly, " a paler yellow hue."

This description of the oblique-eyed, yellow Kocch entirely agrees with the yellow Indo-Chinese type, which I found in the western half of the district of Murshidabad.

The type which I described belongs primarily to the Santal Parganahs in Central Bengal, and constitutes there the second of the three yellow race-centres to which I have referred. The Santalis claim to be an ancient race, with traditions of a mighty past, when they had kings and cities of their own, before they were driven from their former home by invaders. They speak a highly elaborate and complicated language, which is entirely non-Aryan, both in vocabulary and grammar ; and they still have a large body of traditional songs, which are handed down from generation to generation. They have a peculiar theogony, with legends of the destruction of the human race by fire and flood, and the birth of the seven original Santali tribes from the survivors. Later, they had twelve tribes, the added five being deemed inferior ; and each tribe contained twelve families : only eleven tribes now exist.

Mr. Hodgson's description of the physical type of the Kocch would fit the Santali perfectly ; but, for the sake of comparison, I may enumerate the characteristics of the Indo-Chinese type as I found it in the districts close to the Santal Parganahs. These characteristics are : thick, ill-formed features ; broad, flat nose ; small eyes, with inclined axis ; low, receding forehead ; long upper lip ; very prominent cheek-bones ; thick lips ; coarse, lank hair ; scanty beard, and lastly a dusky complexion, with a distinct sub-shade of yellow.

It is curious that this description of the type bordering on the Santal Parganahs coincides almost verbally with what Mr. Hodgson says of the Kocch ; and I think no one will deny that both are pictures of the same race ; the same well-defined ethnic type—the yellow, oblique-eyed Indo-Chinese.

As was the case with the Kocch, the pure, Santali-speaking aborigines of the Santal Parganahs are surrounded by a penumbra of the same race type, who have discarded their original tongue for a vocabulary largely of corrupted Sanskrit words; the majority are probably Hindus, though they also include Mussulmans; but these, as we saw in the case of the Kocch, were probably nominal Hindus before they became, by their conversion, at least nominal Mahomedans.

We have, therefore, in this fringe of the Santal Parganahs, a body of "aryan-voiced" Hindus, undoubted and unquestioned members of the Hindu community, but who are nevertheless, in race and character, equally undoubted Indo-Chinese, with eyes aslant, and yellow skin.

The Santalis are indefatigable and successful cultivators, whenever they get a chance to till the soil; and this is especially true of the people of the western highlands of Murshidabad, who though speaking a form of Bengali, still maintain a quite distinct Santali type. Their fields are tilled with unceasing industry, and untiring skill, and their system of irrigation is carefully planned, and admirably carried out.

To turn now to the third chief centre of the yellow men of India,—the Savaras or Saoras of Northern Madras.

My chief authority for this people is Mr. F. Fawcett, whose description of the Savaras, contributed to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, is a model of what an ethnological monograph ought to be. The Savaras occupy a mountainous district of two or three thousand square miles in the northern half of the Eastern Ghats. They have certainly been in the same position for the last two thousand years, for they are described by Pliny (as the Savri) and by Ptolemy (as the Sabarae), and are assigned by them to the locality they still occupy. It is quite possible that they occupied the same position four or five thousand years ago, or at whatever date the Aryan immigrants entered India.

It is a curious coincidence, greatly strengthening the evidence of the racial unity of the Indo-Chinese tribes, that, in describing the Savaras of Southern India, Mr. Fawcett uses almost the identical terms which have been applied to the Kocch of Kocch Behar, in the extreme north, and to the outlying Santalis of Murshidabad. Mr. Fawcett says the Savaras are characterised by: "flat faces: thick lips; high cheek-bones; broad and flat nose; eyes slightly oblique; almost beardless; with very fair, distinctly mongolian"—that is, yellow—"faces: the men being generally under middle height, spare, and well built."

The Savaras are "excellent and industrious cultivators, (to the manner born, like Chinamen)" says Mr. Fawcett, who speaks also of their "Chinese" faces, and their "Chinese" gravity, when at work; thus illustrating I think, the fitness of the term Indo-Chinese which I have used to describe the general race-type to which they belong.

Mr. Fawcett was greatly impressed with the agricultural skill of these yellow Savaras of Madras; "many and many a time," he says "have I tried to find a place where an extra rice field might be made, but never with success.

"It is not too much to say that rice is grown on every available foot of arable ground, all the hill streams being utilised for this purpose. From almost the very tops of the hills, in fact, from wherever the springs are, there are rice fields; at the top of every small area, a few square yards; the front perpendicular revetment sometimes as large in area as the area of the field; and larger and larger, down the hill-side, taking advantage of every available foot of ground, there are fields below fields to the bottom of the valleys. The Savaras shew remarkable engineering skill in constructing their rice fields, and I wish I could do it justice. They seem to construct them in the most impossible places, and certainly at the expense of great labour."

Round the pure Savaras, as round the two other yellow centres, is a fringe of the same race type, more or less assim-

lated in language and religion with their neighbours,—one division of whom are Uriya-speaking—that is, “Aryan-voiced”—Hindus. I think therefore, that I am justified in assuming no further proof to be needed of the existence of three pure and distinct racial centres, in three widely separated regions of India,—Kocch Behar, in the extreme north ; the Santal Country in the middle ; and the Eastern Ghats of Madras, to the south ;—all with marked Indo-Chinese characteristics ; all speaking non-aryan tongues ; all of distinct yellow colour ; and all remarkable as excellent and successful cultivators.

I may also consider it proved, I think, that each of these isolated groups, is really the unassimilated remnant of a much larger racial group, with the same Indo-Chinese characteristics, the same yellow skin, the same agricultural skill ; which has become blended in language and religion with the surrounding tribes ; and these large groups, up to the time of the Mussulman invasions, would have been with perfect propriety described as “Aryan-voiced” Hindus, in spite of their indubitable Indo-Chinese race.

It will be a legitimate conclusion to draw, that this yellow, agricultural race, forms to-day, and formed most probably, five thousand years ago, or even earlier, a very important element in the population of India ; and that, with the gradual growth of the so-called Brahmanical polity in Ancient India, the men of this yellow race were, to a large extent, admitted within the Hindu fold. Many of them remain there to this day ; others have become Mussulmans ; while yet a third section—comprising the three yellow centres I have described,—still maintain their admirable primitive culture, their original customs, and their non-Aryan tongues.

For centuries after the Aryans entered India from their former home in Central Asia, they were in conflict with the populations they found already in possession of the broad plains of Hindustan ; and these populations were probably, for the most part, dark Dravidians, and yellow Indo-

Chinese. I think I see traces of yet another race in ancient India, before the white Aryans entered ; distinct from both Dravidians and Indo-Chinese ; but I must defer the consideration of this interesting point to another occasion. This much is certain, that the Vedic Aryans have recorded in their hymns a long struggle with the earlier races of India, whom they call the Dasyus. One hymn of the Rig Veda\* declares that " Indra bestowed horses, he bestowed the sun, he bestowed the nourishing cow, he bestowed bright wealth ; and, having slain the Dasyus, he protected the Aryan (or, noble) colour ;" and it is very interesting to note that, in a very ancient Sanskrit work† a tribe called the Savaras are mentioned as Dasyus. It is almost certain that this is a branch of the race I have already described, as the Savaras of Madras. If so, then one section of the Dasyus was certainly yellow, and I believe yellow Dasyus are specifically mentioned in the Rig Veda. In the Mahâbhârata, (the date of which is unanimously assigned by Indian tradition to a period almost exactly five thousand years ago,) two tribes of yellow Dasyus are spoken of, the Kirâtas, and the Chinas.‡ They are called " golden " or " yellow coloured " ; and are compared to a forest of trees with yellow flowers.

The former are probably the ancestors of the modern Kiratas of Nepal : the latter are most likely the Chins who have quite recently suffered one of our " little wars."

The " hundred cities " of the Dasyus are frequently alluded to in the Rig Veda, and this coincides exactly with the tradition I have quoted, of the time when the Santali race lived further west, and had Kings and cities of their own, before they were driven back by powerful invaders.

In one passage of the Rig Veda,§ occurs the verse :

" Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the

\* Rig Veda, iii. 34, 9.

† Aitareya Brâhmana, vii. 18.

‡ India : " What can it teach us ? " iv., Prof. Max Müller.

§ Rig Veda, i. 130, 8.

sacrificing Arya. Chastising the neglectors of religious rites, he subjected the black skin to Manu."

This allusion to the black Dravidians as Dasyus completes the picture of two races the Vedic Aryans found in India, and agrees in every particular with the evidence I have brought forward of the character and traditions of the Dasyus themselves, whether of the novel category of the yellow Indo-Chinese, or the long-recognised black Dravidians of the South.

As centuries, or perhaps millenniums passed, and the Aryans became settled in India, we have ample evidence to show that their relations with the "Dasyus" became more peaceful; and that, eventually large bodies of Dasyus found a place in the Brahmanical polity.

It is generally admitted that the black Dasyus,—of Dravidian origin—formed the basis of the Shudra caste, the artisans and craftsmen in the Brahmanical scheme; but I must reserve for another occasion the evidence which I have collected to shew that the yellow Dasyus—the Indo-Chinese—were the nucleus of the Vaishya or agricultural caste; and that their descendants are the "Aryan-voiced"—that is, Hindi or Bengali speaking—cultivators of Behar and Bengal; a section of whom we have seen to be a pure Indo-Chinese race with high cheek-bones, oblique eyes, and yellow skins.

When the Aryan invaders had either conquered or made peace with the Dasyus, and began to share with them their political and religious institutions, the first foundations of the ancient Brahmanical polity were laid. The Dasyus, once absorbed into the Brahmanical fold, began to lose their original tongues, and to adopt a vocabulary of corrupted Sanskrit words. It was probably the efforts of the yellow and black races to pronounce Sanskrit words which gave rise to the ancient Prakrits, such as Mahârâshtri, or Mâgadhi, which generally soften and weaken the Sanskrit words in the same way that the Polynesian tribes soften and weaken English words they adopt; and one

might almost call the various Prakrits dialects of "Pidgin-Sanskrit," from their analogy with Pidgin-English. So that although a Sanskrit-derived vocabulary was adopted by these Indo-Chinese and Dravidian tribes, who thus became, as Manu would say, "Aryan-voiced," yet they left in the resultant speech strong traces of their own tongues; and it is probable that a number of words borrowed from these tribes found their way even into Classical Sanskrit. Bishop Caldwell, in his admirable Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, points out many Dravidian loan-words in Sanskrit, and it is likely that the Indo-Chinese tongues furnished at least an equal number.

If they introduced many of their own words even into the jealously guarded Sanskrit, the "language of the Gods," it is quite certain that they introduced even more of their original beliefs and customs into that curious conglomerate of faiths which sprang up after their admission into the Brahmanical polity, and which to-day bears the name of Hinduism,—a name which indicates a loosely organised social condition rather than any specific practices or beliefs.

It is probable that, to the influence of these half-assimilated Dasyus was due, in part at least, the great though gradual change from the bright Vedic faith to the highly coloured mythology of the Purânas, and the complex beliefs of the modern Hindus. To trace this gradual remoulding of the Vedic religion, and its passage to the legends of the Purânas, is a work that has employed many workers for many years, and is yet but half-completed.

But, while the facts of this change have long been acknowledged, it is only quite recently that the cause has been sought in the influence of the older races of India on the Aryan invaders.

The share of the Dravidians in this influence is already being investigated by competent observers in India, with results of the greatest interest; and I cannot but believe that the influence of the yellow Indo-Chinese on their white conquerors and allies will be found to be as great if not greater.

To decide the question accurately is, however, by no means an easy task ; to do this, we must gain a clear understanding of the social and religious condition of the yellow races, at that remote epoch—how remote no one can tell—when the Aryans entered India from their earlier Asian home.

At first sight, this would seem almost impossible, in the absence of written records among the yellow races of India ; and yet I believe very much may be done to reconstruct the picture of their early life by a careful observation and comparison of the yellow races that still retain their old beliefs and customs, in India to-day : of the primitive unconverted, “mleccha-voiced”\* Kocch, and Savara, and Santali. We may gain greater faith in the accuracy of such a picture if we remember, that among the very conservative peoples of India, the yellow races are perhaps the most conservative, resembling in this their northern kindred in China ; and that even at the present day they have adopted from their Hindu neighbours neither language, nor customs, nor even the use of writing, though the manufacture of paper has been known in India for at least two thousand years.

To an attempt to construct, in some degree, such a picture of the life of the old yellow races of India, before the Aryan invasion, the rest of this study will be devoted ; and, when this is done, and has been supplemented by a comparison of their languages and traditions, we shall be in a better position to determine the nature and extent of their influence on their white conquerors and allies.

For the sake of clearness, I shall divide this study of the yellow races into two parts : their social, and their religious life ; though the two are closely bound together in the case of the vividly-believing peoples of the East.

The picture of the external life of the yellow races, which I have given incidentally, in describing their ethnical character, hardly needs to be supplemented. The Kocch,

\* Manu x. 45.



the Santali, and the Savara are all distinctly agricultural ; spending their days from sunrise to sunset, in tilling, irrigating, and weeding their fields of rice, or indigo or cotton. They all till with an iron-shod hoe, the Savaras sometimes using a light plough, when the nature of the ground permits ; and all three races, when clearing new ground, burn away the jungle instead of cutting it down, being perfectly aware of the fertilising power of wood-ashes.

In their work in the fields, the Kocch, the Santali, and the Savara are largely helped by their wives and daughters when domestic duties allow, and when the women are not engaged in their own peculiar tasks of spinning, dyeing, and weaving. All three peoples are acquainted with the preparation and use of dyes, of which indigo and morinda, for blue, and red, are probably the most popular.

The villages of these three peoples number from ten or twenty to a hundred homes, and their houses are well and strongly constructed,—better perhaps than those of their neighbours of other races.

Every village has its own headman, and amongst the Santalis, at any rate, the headman is supposed to be a descendant of the original founder of the village ; so that the office must be hereditary.

The presence of the headman of the village among the unassimilated yellow tribes disproves the supposition that this institution is peculiarly Hindu.

The life of the Kocch, Santali, and Savara women is characterised by far greater freedom than that of orthodox Hindus ; and the same enlightenment marks the marriage laws of these three tribes.

A few words are sufficient to describe their admirable and yet very simple institutions with regard to marriage ; for, with one or two exceptions, to be noted, the customs of all three are the same.

In the first place, among the Kocch, the Santali, and the Savaras, there is no such thing as habitual marriage of infants, or tender and immature children.

The contracting parties are almost always adults, and the union is brought about by mutual consent, after a few simple ceremonies of feasting and sacrifice. The woman's liberty of choice is carefully guarded. Amongst the Savaras, says Mr. Fawcett, "a woman may leave her husband whenever she pleases. Her husband cannot prevent her."

Among the Kocch, according to Buchanan, "the men are so gallant that they have made over all their property to the women, who in return are most industrious, weaving, spinning, brewing, planting, sowing; in a word, doing all the work not above their strength."

In consequence of the independence of their wives, the Kocch and Savaras are admirable husbands; and I believe substantially the same conditions obtain amongst the Santalis. The second great principle with regard to marriage among these three yellow tribes, which again furnishes a remarkable contrast with the Hindus, is that widows are perfectly free to marry again, and incur no social disability by doing so.

The property of the parents is said to go to the sons among the Savaras, and to the daughters amongst the Kocch; as to the Santalis, I have as yet no certain information; so that the question of inheritance among the yellow tribes may be left open for the present.

Only two more points of importance need be noted; and, in these I believe there is a complete identity between Kocch, Santali, and Savara usage.

These points are, that the men of these three yellow races must marry women of the same tribe, while marriage of relations is absolutely forbidden. I believe that each of these tribes is distinguished by a fairly high standard of social purity, as contrasted with other Indian races. Polygamy exists, to a limited extent, among the richer Savaras, but not so far as I know in the other two tribes.

The Kocch and the Savara both burn their dead, generally in a family or village burning ground, beside a river; I

believe the Santalis do the same, but on this point more exact information is desirable.

In the religion of the three yellow tribes, which is mainly a cult of the dead, the resemblance between Kocch, Santali, and Savara usage, is very striking.

Among the Kocch and the Savaras, and I believe also among the Santalis the sacrifices fall into three classes.

First, an offering to the ghost, a few days after the body has been burned ; secondly, a general sacrifice, (every year, or every second year,) to the ghosts, after the rice has been gathered in ; and, thirdly, a sacrifice to bring the rains or to mark their arrival.

The two latter strongly mark the agricultural character of the yellow races.

From a study of many details of the religious usages of these three yellow races, the Kocch, the Santali and the Savara, I am convinced that the basis of their religion is a firm belief in the ghosts of the dead, joined with an equally firm belief in their uniform malignance. Their gods and the demons of wells and trees are generally found to be ghosts of the dead, if the beliefs regarding them are carefully looked into. They further believe that these ghosts are able and willing to injure the community they belonged to, in three ways ; first, personally, by the infliction of diseases, through obsession or demoniac possession, and by various forms of malignant mischief and spite ; to avert these personal injuries, sacrifices are offered by the relations, a few days after the body is burned.

The second possible injury they attribute to the malignant ghosts of their dead, is the destruction of the harvest ; and to prevent this, or rather, to reward the ghosts for their forbearance, in a case of a good harvest, they offer yearly or biennial sacrifices at the harvest home, expressly dedicated to the ghosts of those who have died within that period.

Thirdly, they believe the ghosts of their dead can impede the yearly rains—thus destroying the prospects of

next year's harvest ; and the beginning of the rains is therefore made the occasion of another sacrifice.

These sacrifices are generally pigs, goats, buffaloes, or fowls, the flesh of which is eaten by the sacrificers.

The Kocch and Savaras, and I believe also the Santalis, communicate with the ghosts of their dead through special individuals, who might almost be called mediums : In Kocch, Deoshi ; in Savara, Kudang ; and to the persons of these, except when in actual communication with the ghosts of the dead, no particular sanctity is attached.

Probably all their gods and demons to whom sacrifices are offered were originally ghosts of deceased persons : they are generally approached in precisely the same way.

It is difficult to understand why the ghost of a Kocch or Savara, who was probably an industrious tiller of the soil, and an excellent husband and father, should become, on his decease, a malignant demon, to be appeased with constant offerings ; perhaps some light may be shed on the question by the beliefs of other races in India.

According to these races, man is a threefold being, composed of soul, passions, and body ; and, at death these three are separated. The body is burned or buried, and it is the passionate nature of the man, which, taking on a semblance of his form, becomes the malignant demon at his death. This wraith or ghost gradually fades away, and can only recover strength through sacrifices.

It is believed that a good man, at his decease becomes even a more malignant demon than an evil man ; because, in the case of the former the soul at once departs, and leaves the ghost or wraith to work its will ; while in the latter, the soul remains for a time, and thus tempers in some degree the malignance of the wraith.

If this belief is shared by the three tribes whom I have described, its existence would go far to explain all the ceremonies I have alluded to. It will be quite clear that the "ancestor-worship" of the three yellow races, the Kocch, the Santali, and the Savara, is not a deification or

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canonization of dead heroes, or anything remotely resembling it ; but, on the contrary, a clearly defined belief in the malignance of ghosts, who cause diseases by obsession, and destroy the harvests, and cause droughts and famines, and who are only to be appeased by offerings and sacrifice.

And in this, I think, we shall find one great contrast with the Vedic faith of the Aryan invaders ; and one great source of the rites and practices of the modern Hindus ; or rather of those tribes of Indo-Chinese race, who have been admitted within the Hindu fold.

To sum up : a considerable proportion of the population of India, belong to a yellow race, with marked Chinese features. The majority, or at any rate an important section of these, have been admitted within the Hindu fold (probably ages ago), and have adopted a corrupted Sanskrit vocabulary ; while another section remains unassimilated, and retains non-Aryan tongues.

All the members of this yellow race, whether Hindus or of aboriginal faiths, are distinguished as industrious cultivators. The unassimilated remnant have much more enlightened marriage laws, and far fewer restrictions in the matter of eating and drinking,—though none of them, I believe, eat the flesh of the cow ; they all use fermented liquor and tobacco, but not opium or hashish. Finally, the unassimilated remnant believe in malignant ghosts of the dead, to whom offerings are made at stated occasions.

So much for a picture of the Indian yellow races as they are to-day. I must reserve for another occasion the history of their past (so far as it can be reconstructed), with the reasons which lead me to trace to that portion of them which was admitted within the Hindu fold, the origin of the Vaishya caste ; the class of cultivators in ancient India.

## THE SALAGRAMA, OR HOLY STONE.\*

BY CHARLES GODFREY LELAND.

It has been wisely said by someone of the great popular philosophers, whose names generally pass into oblivion, that as we grow to be distinguished, or rich, we discover new relations. And so, at this Congress, Oriental Literature has formally recognised its affinity to Folk Lore, which was once regarded as the daughter of a younger sister, Archæology, but which is now becoming rapidly identified with the mother—even as Proserpine is found mixed up with Ceres, in Tuscan tales.

Folk-lore is the science which collects and classifies popular tradition in its broadest as well as its most confined sense. All that which is transmitted from man to man is properly within its scope, from mythology to a game of marbles. It has precisely the same relation to history,—as the latter is generally written,—which the insides of the houses of a city have to their exteriors : in fact it is, when compared to mere dry description of men's lives, what colour is to outline. We all remember when, as school-boys, all the difference which we knew between Romans and Carthaginians, or Greeks and Persians, was that they fought with one another. When, at no distant date, the vivid sense of what people really *were* shall form an essential element in history, it will be found that this new life has resulted from the influence of this new study. It has been objected to it, that it is too indefinite, and means any or every thing. And it is certainly true, that anything which people repeat may, in a certain way, be made into a certain kind of folk-lore. "My son," said a French manufacturer of champagne, sherry, and Madeira, to his heir ; "remember that wine can be made from everything—even

\* A paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists on the 2nd September, 1891.

from grapes." There are folk-lorists who eliminate so resolutely all romance, all naïve or child-like spirit, all *poetry* from their analysis of legends, that it would seem as if they thought that their wine ought to be made of anything but the genial fruit of the vine of life. But there is a place for everything, and in this new science everything will soon find its place. In which arrangement two things have already been discovered, and nowhere more clearly set forth than in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* which I have, as President, the honour to represent. These are firstly the intimate connection of Folk-Lore with Philology, and secondly with Oriental languages and literature—owing to the fact that the germs of nearly all traditions seem to have been drawn from the Morning land.

As an illustration of folk-lore which strangely connects Indian and European traditions, I call your attention to the *Salagrama*. There are found, according to a number of learned authorities,\* by the river Gundak in Nepaul, certain stones bearing this name. They are regarded as very sacred. Once when Vishnu the Preserver was followed by Shiva the Destroyer, he implored the aid of Maia—Illusion, or Glamour—who turned him to a stone. Through this stone, Shiva, in the form of a worm, bored his way. But Vishnu escaped, and when he had resumed his form he commanded that this stone of delusion (or *salamaya*) should be worshipped. As such stones are found by Salipura or *Salagra*, their receive their name from the latter. "They are generally about the size of an orange, and are really a kind of ammonite."

I was somewhat astonished to learn that in Tuscany, there is a peculiar kind of stone, which is, I may say, in a sense, worshipped—so great is the reverence paid to it; and its Italian name is Salagrana, the same as the Indian, with the difference of a single letter. It is nothing more

\* Nork, "Etymologisch-symbolisch-mythologisches Real Wörterbuch," vol. iv., p. 198. Wilford, "Asiatic Researches," xiv., p. 413; Friedrich, "Symbolik der Natur," p. 124; Temme Volksagen von Pommern und Rugen, p. 125.

nor less than ordinary stalagmite, or stalagam, the carbonate of lime deposited by water. But as this looks exactly like an earth-worm's mound, it is believed to be such petrified, or earth, shaped by worms passing through it, which identifies it with the Indian tradition.

There are, in the mountain country of La Toscana-Romagna, men and women who cultivate sorcery, keeping it a secret. From one of these I received as a New Year's present, a Salagrana, which, I was assured, had been worshipped for many generations. It was adorned with little wax-like flowers, such as are usually placed about small images of Christ, or the saints.

The Salagrana stone is in Tuscany, also carried in the pocket, in a red woollen bag, as were all such amulets among the old Romans. Once I found a small one in the streets of Florence. I took it to a professional sorceress who decided that it was really a sacred *Salagrana*, which had been worn and lost, but that, all things considered, it had better be reconsecrated, or conjured. This was done as follows: An incantation, which I carefully wrote down, was pronounced over the stone, and it was put into a red woollen bag, with a bit of gold and silver, and some of the herb *concordia*; "and the whole must be kept a secret from everybody."

The incantation is however of itself extremely interesting, because it opens for us a very different and wonderfully curious field of folk-lore extending literally all over the world. The very literal translation of it is as follows :

" Here the bag I hold and see !  
Bag presented unto me,  
That no wicked witch may come  
To do me evil in my home !  
In the stone which it contains  
Are so many veins and grains  
That no witch can count them all ;  
And so many fissures small  
That she cannot cross the door  
Or do evil any more.  
May I have good luck and love,  
Which I prize all things above."



The allusion in this incantation to veins, grains and holes which the witch cannot count, refers to the belief that when the evil eye rests on anything complicated or interlaced, be it a number of grains or a braid, it must perforce count, or trace them; and, while doing this, the evil power is exhausted. It is not from mere conjecture, but from much sound evidence that I believe that all the interlaces of Gothic tracery and especially those which occur in Keltic and Scandinavian art were based on this belief.

And here it may be truly said that the *Salagrama* stone opens a vast field of not merely curious, but of extremely valuable material for the history of art. A recent traveller in Persia was told that the patterns on carpets were, in that country, made complicated, in order to arrest, bewilder and exhaust the evil eye. It is the same thing to-day in Italy; and the information which I obtained on this subject was complete and satisfactory. It was given to me in these words :

“Interlaced serpents, like everything interlaced, protect against witchcraft, or the evil eye, and bring good luck. They should be painted on the wall, with their heads downwards. But this holds good, not as regards serpents alone, but all kinds of interweaving and braiding and interlacing cords, or whatever can attract the eyes of witches. When a family is afraid of witchcraft, they should undertake some kind of *lavori intrecciati*, or braided work; for witches cannot enter a house where there is anything of the kind hung up—as for instance patterns of two or three serpents twining together—*o altri ricami*—or other kinds of embroidery—but always intertwining. So in making shirts, or drawers, or any garments—for men or women—*camicie, mutande o vestiti*—one should always, in sewing, try to cross the thread, as shoemakers do when they stitch shoes, and make a cross-stitch; because shoes are most susceptible to witchcraft;—*perche le scarpe sono quelle più facili à prendere le stregonerie*. And when the witches see such interlacings, they can do nothing; because they cannot count

either the threads or the stitches—*ne il filo, ne i punti*. And if we have on, or about us, anything of the kind, they cannot enter; because it bewilders or dazzles their sight—*le fa abbagliare la vista*—and they become incapable of mischief. And, to do this well, you should take cotton, or silk, or linen thread, and make a braid of six, seven or eight colours—as many as you will—the more the better—and always carry it in your pocket, and this will protect you from witches. You can get such braids very beautifully made of silk of all colours, in some shops here in Florence; and they keep them for charms against the evil eye.”

When we study with great care—and I have copied hundreds—of the intertwined serpent or lacertine ornaments, of old Irish, Keltic or Scandinavian art—it is impossible to resist the conviction that among races in which sorcery was a deeply-seated religion, these interlaces had a profound meaning; and that this meaning was the same as the Persian and Etrusco-Roman or Italian, is almost a consequence.

You will observe that the Tuscan witch told me that witches must count the threads in the interlace or the grains in the Salagrama stone, or any grains laid about, before they can do evil. There is an herb called *Il Riso della Dea dei quattro venti*—The rice of the Goddess of the Four Winds. This, before its leaves unfold, looks not unlike grains of rice, for which reason it is much used as a protective. There is attached to it a very curious and strange legend abounding in pure old Roman sorcery. You may remember, how, in the Arabian Nights Entertainment, Amina, the ghoulish witch, must eat her rice, grain by grain, when it is set before her. In South Carolina the negroes, to prevent a victim from being hag-ridden, or night-mared by witches, strew rice about his bed. When the sorceress comes she must remove it all—grain by grain—before she can carry out her evil intentions.

The principle on which all this is based in Nature, is very simple. A child, or a savage, is interested in a decorative

design to a degree of which the ordinary man or woman of the world has no conception. Hence all decoration with us is general, repetitive, and utterly meaningless. With the savage it is *particular*, full of interest, and symbolical. When he sees a maze or a mesh, he proceeds to trace it; and, in common with all boys, he always counts the squares in a carpet, or the panes in a window.

Beyond all question it was on a very similar principle that magic rhymes or measured incantations were framed, the witch being compelled to listen to the end, to the words when once begun. This is no mere conjecture of mine; it is understood and recognised among those who use the Tuscan incantations; but my limits will not allow me to depart so widely from my subject.

To return to the *Salagrama*. It puzzles witches with its grains. It also has magical virtue owing to the holes which occur in it. This brings us back to the Indian *Salagrama*, which is also a holy-stone, and which was used as a means of Maya, that is of Illusion, and of magic.

I have not time to go into the details—but I would say that in the Norse sagas, Maya or Illusion is distinctly recognised as a power, synonymy runs with poetry. In the Later Edda we are told that Odin, in order to steal the mead of poetry, once turned himself into a worm, and bored his way through a rock. Hence all stones with holes in them are called Odin Stones, or in England holy-stones. As regards Maya or Illusion, the monk Oddo in his Saga of king Olof, distinctly declares his belief that all magic was based on it. The general resemblance of the Norse myth to the Indian is certainly remarkable, and it becomes much more so, when we consider the *Salagrama* of Italy. I should say, regarding this latter, that Professor Comparetti of Florence suggested to me that it may have been brought with the name and associations by gypsies into Italy. There are also many superstitions attached to holy-stones all over Great Britain. But what is most important is the fact that as amulets against witchcraft or

nightmare, and in being lucky-stones, they correspond exactly to the *Salagrama* stone of India. I know a family in Yorkshire which has a stone in the shape of a harp with a hole in it, which always hangs behind the front door of their house.

It may very easily be conjectured, that stones with holes in them would be anywhere, among any savages, regarded as curiosities, to which superstitions would be soon attached. But when we find the same name with very similar legends attached to them, in countries far apart, there is certainly some reason to suspect a common origin and transmission. Both the theory of sporadic origin, as well as that of tradition have been carried to extravagance; it is the province of Folk-Lore, as a science, to carefully consider the *truth*, and nothing but the truth, in all such cases. Here the work of the merest Dryasdusts may be of great value—provided they do not start from the assumption that there has been *no* borrowing, *no* parentage, and that every tradition is a kind of Topsy which they 'spect growed of itself.

There is another extremely curious belief held among the professors of sorcery in La Toscana Romagna. It is, that if we take a stone with a natural hole in it,—one which comes from the sea is preferred—and if, *in faith*, we pronounce a certain incantation; and then look through the hole; we can see spirits of all kinds which are otherwise invisible. And this can be turned to great pecuniary profit. For whenever a man has died, leaving buried treasure, he must wander about, sad and miserable, without rest or peace, until some mortal discovers it. It is, moreover, a great mistake to suppose that all ghosts can manifest themselves or talk to us at will. Far from it—they must be discovered, exorcised, and exercised vigorously, ere they can be converted to acquaintance, and relieved. And the process as revealed to me by a priestess of the hidden spell, was as follows, which I wrote off, word for word, at dictation: “To see spirits. Take a stone from the sea which has a hole in it—*un buco tondo*—

a round hole. Then go to a *campo santo*, a cemetery, and standing at a little distance from it, close one eye, and looking at the cemetery with the other, through the stone, repeat these words—

“In nome di San Pietro,  
E di San Biagio,  
Fate che da questa pietra  
Io possa vedere che forma  
Hanno gli spiriti ;”

Or in English :

“In the name of St. Peter !  
And for Saint Blasius’ sake !  
That by this stone unto me  
It may be known, and I may see  
What form the spirits take.”

To which were added the following words, which my informant believed to be Latin and an extract from the church service :

“De profundis clamao  
In te Domine, Domino,  
Et Domine, et fiantatis,  
Bugsein et regina materna  
Edognis Domine.”

That there might be no mistake—as I was not a Catholic—the Latin was written out for me. To resume the dictation : “Then you may see, by means of that stone, the spirits which have no peace, all in flame, wandering in such forms as they were when alive, some like priests in white or black garments—some as friars, or as an old woman with a torch in her hand. And of these are many who, having been avaricious in this life, left behind them hidden treasures, the thought of which gives them no rest. Then he who sees them, if he be poor, and would be rich, it will be enough that he have no fear, and then while the spirits are talking among themselves, let him say :

“‘If, in the name of God, you would be at rest (*salvo*), tell me where your treasure is, and what I must do to obtain it ; and so shall ye be saved.’”

The connection of a stone with a hole in it, and a bead,

is apparent enough ; and by means of this superstition as regards seeing the dead, and a certain very simple natural cause, we can trace out why amber beads are so generally believed to strengthen the sight. The natural cause is this :—If we look through any tube we can distinguish objects far, or rather near, more clearly :—even a rolled-up catalogue or short tin funnel, or the rounded hand, enables us to see pictures more clearly in a gallery. That is to say, this little guard keeps off all side-light which strains the eyes. We all know better than to read at night with lights falling on our eyes. Turn your back to the light always, to preserve your sight. Even a bead or a ring has some such action.

Amber beads from their light, aided by the hole in them, were supposed—possibly in pre-historic times—to look like eyes. My readers are all scholars ; so I need not repeat in detail that amber was, in Græco-Roman mythology, the tears of the sun, or of nymphs who mourned their brother. The belief that it was tears, it may, however, be observed, connects it with the eyes.

I have very briefly sketched the outlines of what might be expanded to a book, regarding belief in the occult virtues of stones with holes in them. There is, in all probability, in the East, a vast amount of Folk-lore on this far more than merely curious subject ; and I, therefore, commend it to general attention in the hope that those whose studies lead them in this direction will develop it.

It would be a very valuable contribution to the analysis and history of art, should any scholar, familiar with Indian traditions, be able to find equivalents for all this, either among pundits or the people.

# INEDITED FRAGMENTS OF ARABIC ANTHOLOGY.\*

BY PROFESSOR GUSTAVE DUGAT.

WITH the exception of Orientalists, many educated persons are apt to believe in a mystification when it is asserted that Arabic poetry has a claim on their attention for a variety of reasons, as if the Arabs could not produce men who think, feel and speak like poets of other races. Wanting in long-winded poems, the Arab excels in, what may be termed, *genre* pictures in which *one* thought is circumscribed. The history of man, not of men, is reflected in his Literature. What touches of manners, what revelations of the inner life of Orientals, so often sealed to the whole world, are made known by Arab poets!

This paper has been to me a recreation among more absorbing studies. If I have adopted a familiar poetic form in order to render the Arab verse, it was to give a little more life to thought which prose at times arrests or chills. Yet a prose translation is, in general, the best possible rendering. Still I believe that for short effusions, a translation in verse might be almost as exact. [We prefer giving a literal rendering into English prose, leaving Prof. Dugat's French verse to emulate the charm of the Arab original.]

These fragments have been drawn somewhat from chance reading, but more especially from the collections called "Safina" = ship, which the literary Arabs themselves make. سفينة pl. سفائن is an album of songs or poems, a little copy-book of oblong slips, like a little "ship," whence the name. Gay or comic poems are rare among Arabs. Few poets have cultivated this "genre." Abu Nowás, Ibn Nobata, Ibn el Warrák, Et-Telemsány, and Ab-ul-Husain el Jazzár (the butcher), the author of an elegy on his ass of which here follow a few lines :

\* A paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists on the 2nd September, 1891.

Not every day are travails [travels] useful  
The ass is sold, but not the poems. . .  
He went in space as if he were the wind  
Not every Genius (Jinn) could like him fly. . .  
He was without reproach except that he  
In spite of his sharpness, yet was called an ass. . .

---

The poet says about "*Books*" :  
Books recall to whoever is wise (what they have learnt)  
And their truths with their errors form one Ma'jûn (an in-  
toxicating paste)  
And the mind diving into them comes out  
With the truth in them like a concealed pearl.

---

*The Vine.*

When I die, then bury me by the side of the vine  
Its roots will refresh my bones in the place of the dead  
And do not bury me in the desert, for verily I  
Fear that when I die I will not quench my thirst (from  
which the poet apparently suffered all his life).

---

Thus says Abu Tammām At-tāy : [*The generous man*].  
He is a sea ; from whichever side you come to him  
You will find him generous\* and his shores to be goodness.  
His habit is to open his hands, till he,  
If he wished to close them, his fingers would not obey  
And should there be nothing in his hand except his soul  
He would tender *that*. Fear, therefore, God ye who petition  
him [for favours].

---

The Poet says : [*The Miser*].  
Ever thinkest thou about the loss of what is thine  
And neglectest the loss of thy body and soul  
And the fear of poverty restrains thee from every desire  
And thy fear of becoming poor is worse than poverty itself.

\* The quality for which Arabs are "known" or wish to be "known."



Ibn El Mua'ttaz says : [*The propitious hour*].

Don't seek except by night thine own beloved  
For the sun is a tell-tale and the night is a pander.  
How many a lover when the shades of night veil him  
Meets her who loves him while mankind is sleeping !

---

The Poet says : [*Posthumous glory*].

Thou seest men deny the merits of *the* man  
As long as he lives, but as soon as he goes (becomes gold)  
Then eagerness clamours about him as regards his specks  
And writes them about him in water of gold.

---

The Poet says : [*Epitaph*].

Verily the possessor of this tomb was a pearl  
That was hidden and verily God found it to His glory !  
Indeed the times never knew its value  
So His regard restored it to its shell !

And from what is suitable to the Commander of the  
Faithful according to 'Ali Ibn Abi-Talib : [*Content*].

When man enjoys health in his body  
And God has endowed him with a contented heart  
And he rejects ambitions from his heart  
Verily he to thee is the rich and were he to die of hunger.

---

To the Cadi el-Fâdhil : [*Force*].

Don't yield to blows of fate, but hold thee hard !  
For he who flinches, on *him* fastens fate  
When iron is struck nothing happens, except  
When it begins to soften to the heat of the flame.

---

The poet says : [*Contradictions*].

The lion dies in the forests of hunger  
And the flesh of sheep is thrown to the dogs  
And the fool sleeps upon silk  
And the wise sleeps upon the dust.

And Bahlul recited : [*The inconveniences of polygamy*].

I married two by excess of my folly

What now will happen to thee, O husband of two !

I had said : I will be among them a lamb

Enjoying blessings between two ewes ;

But I became like a sheep pushed and torn

That is tortured between the two fiercest she-wolves.

To this one [I gave] a day and to that one another ;

Wars constantly following between the two days.

If I please the one I anger the other

And yet I do not escape the rage of either tormentor.

Now thou if thou desirest to live, a happy being,

Then keep thy heart free from both hands

And live a bachelor, but if unable

Then one is enough and equals two armies !!

The text of the above and other verses, with some further translations, will be published among the papers of the Oriental Congress of 1891.

EDITOR.

## THE BRUSSELS MONETARY CONFERENCE, AND THE PLANS TO RESTORE SILVER.

SINCE I last addressed the readers of this *Review* in July on the Silver Question, three events of importance have occurred in relation to it. They are, in the order of their importance, (1) the meeting of the International Conference at Brussels to discuss the possibility of raising the price of Silver; (2) the appointment of the Currency Commission in England to discuss the advisability of altering the Indian Currency law: and (3) the agitation in India, led by the merchants and Mr. Mackay, with the object of forcing on the Government of India the alternatives of Bimetallism or of a Gold Currency.

The English Currency Commission held several sittings and took a good deal of evidence; but on the meeting of the Brussels Conference, it adjourned *sine die*, to await the results of the latter. It has held one meeting since, but nothing has transpired as to the object or result of that meeting. The Indian agitation is still going on, and in so far as it is an agitation for Bimetallism, we English Bimetallists are of course in sympathy with it; but in as far as it is an attempt to obtain a Gold Currency or Gold Standard, it is like the cry of a child for the moon, and is as *impossible*. The gold currency would be as unsuitable for daily use to India as the moon would be to the child. The effect of closing the Mints to the coinage of Silver, in order to artificially force up the value of the rupee, would be to greatly diminish the use of Silver, and therefore seriously to decrease its value, yet you must increase the value of the rupee, if you mean to have a gold standard: for, at the present value of the rupee, a gold standard would be impossible.

India and the United States are the only two countries which now maintain the value of Silver. If India gave up the attempt, and introduced a gold standard, the United

States would at once do the same, silver would be practically demonetized, and would fall probably to 20d. an ounce.

The change which has really occurred is the *Appreciation* of Gold and not the *Depreciation* of Silver ; and India only suffers in common with all other countries, which have incurred Gold debts, and have to pay them in silver. India's losses are due, *not* to any special event affecting silver or the rupee ; but to the general conditions which have led to the appreciation of Gold. If then, she does anything to lower the value of Silver, in which alone she collects her revenue, and in which she is forced to pay her debts, she effectually commits suicide, and ruins all those dependent on her.

By introducing a gold standard, India would probably lose as much in the *one* item of Opium Revenue, as she now loses by her *whole* losses on Exchange ; for the Chinese pay in silver ; and, if that were seriously depreciated, even below its present level, as it would be by the action of India in establishing a Gold standard, India would have to bear the *whole* loss on the Opium payments from China, for China would pay no more in silver than it does now.

India would of course lose in many other items of Revenue ; and if she succeeded in artificially *appreciating* the value of the Rupee, she would open the door to an amount of illicit coinage, which would go far to neutralize the effect of closing the Mints ; and would inevitably demoralize the people whom we should thus unnecessarily expose to temptation.\* A Gold standard or currency is a Will-o'-the-Wisp which will inevitably lead India to ruin.

To turn now to the Brussels Conference. The delegates assembled on Nov. 22nd : the Belgian premier M. Beer-naert opened the proceedings with a guarded and politic speech, somewhat in favour of Bimetallism, and pointed out

\* Mr. Probyn denied this at the discussion at the Bankers' Institute on the 15th, but I think it is obvious that, if you increase the nominal value of the rupee without increasing its intrinsic value, you will increase the temptation to manufacture it illicitly ; and, among a poor people, increase of temptation will inevitably lead to increase of crime.

the extreme gravity of the present situation. On the 24th the United States delegates presented their proposals, which were for International Bimetallism; and they requested that, besides their own schemes, those of M. Moritz Lévy (or rather Mr. Lesley Probyn), Prof. Soetbeer, and Mr. Alfred de Rothschild might be considered.

Since then, on Dec. 5th and 6th, M. Tietgen, the Danish Delegate, and Sir William Houldsworth, one of the English Delegates, have proposed two other schemes, so that there are no less than six separate plans for helping Silver to be considered; but, inasmuch as the scheme, originally propounded by Mr. Probyn, for giving up small gold coins and the small notes based on gold, is virtually the same scheme as M. Lévy's, which is admittedly the foundation of Prof. Soetbeer's more elaborate plan, these three may be considered as one; and the total number of plans is reduced to four.

Mr. A. de Rothschild's, which has been for the present rejected by the Conference, but which may very possibly be re-considered later on, is a scheme of an International agreement for the purchase of £5,000,000 worth of Silver annually for 5 years by the European nations at a price not exceeding 43 pence per ounce, on condition that the United States continues her purchases of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions of ounces a month. He was also willing that silver should be made a legal tender in England up to £5. This plan is of course only in the nature of an alleviative: it would probably maintain the price of Silver at 43d. for those 5 years; but that price is in the first place far too low (it leaves the rupee at 1s.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.); and the plan would do nothing to *permanently* augment the price of silver, or to increase its *use*, as apart from its *purchase*. What we want is a plan which will increase the *demand* for silver, and so automatically increase its price.

We now come to the scheme which is most often called M. Moritz Lévy's and which has been elaborately worked out in detail by Professor Soetbeer in his Memorandum

of the 5th August 1892. It is however really to Mr. Lesley Probyn, formerly Accountant-General of Madras, and now Comptroller of Accounts to the Prince of Wales, that the credit of this plan is originally due. In a letter dated the 12th May 1881, which was presented by Lord Reay to the Paris Conference of 1881 on the 19th of May, Mr. Probyn proposed the abolition of half-sovereigns, ten-mark and ten-franc pieces, and also of the smaller paper notes founded on a gold basis.

M. Moritz Lévy's scheme, which is practically identical, is not dated the 27th of *May*, as stated by Professor Soetbeer, but the 27th *June* (Official Proceedings of Conference, p. 17, Vol. ii.) and was not presented to the Conference till the 30th *June*, so there can be no doubt that Mr. Probyn can clearly claim precedence, though M. Lévy had very probably not seen Mr. Probyn's scheme when he wrote his own paper.

The *objects* of Mr. Probyn and of M. Lévy are the same, viz. the greater employment of silver in small transactions, and the limitation of gold to the larger transactions. The only difference in the *remedies* proposed is that M. Lévy at first suggested the total suppression of all small notes, while Mr. Probyn advocates the use of "token-notes" to be "partially supported by a silver token coin reserve." This part of M. Lévy's proposal would probably be found practically impossible (it was at once objected to by Italy), as the continental nations are so accustomed to the use of small notes, that they would probably never agree to the total abolition of them. On the other hand, in order to secure the object aimed at, Mr. Probyn's token-notes should not be "partially," but *entirely* based on a silver reserve, so as to secure the retention of a similar amount of silver in the reserve.

Mr. Probyn only mentions the amount of coin affected as regards England, and estimates it as £18,000,000 in half-sovereigns. M. Lévy estimates the amount at £94,000,000 for the notes and £64,000,000 for the small

gold coins, or £158,000,000 in all, without reckoning those small gold coins, which, being in the State banks, form practically part of the metallic reserve. This is for the seven great States, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, United States, France and England: and he believes that the above amount of gold could be withdrawn from circulation, and that a nearly similar amount of silver would be brought into use.

Towards the end of his letter M. Lévy admits that the total suppression of the smaller notes would be impossible, and suggests the issue of small notes based on silver alone, provided that (1) the same amount of silver as the total of the notes be held in reserve; (2) that the notes should be subject to the same limit of acceptance as the silver coins, for instance 40 shillings in England; and (3) that they should be redeemable, in States which had a single gold standard, under the same rule as silver.

If we now turn to Professor Soetbeer's proposals, we find that he commences by emphasizing the gravity of the present situation, and by stating that, though the number of bimetallists has considerably increased of late years, yet there is no doubt that general public opinion in England is, at present, still decidedly adverse to Bimetallism; and he quotes Mr. Goschen's opinion (April 1890) that bimetallism *might* cause perhaps more dire consequences than even the most unbearable evils of the present condition.

For these reasons he comes to the conclusion that England would not have joined the Conference, if Bimetallism had been the proposed solution of the Silver question; but that, as the proposal was to consider the means of effecting an extended *use* of silver, there was no reason why England should not join the Conference, although she would no doubt positively refuse to consider any *Bimetallic* proposals, which would involve any alteration in her present Gold currency system; that France and Germany would decline to consider any such proposals without the assent of England; that nobody but a Bimetallic fanatic can believe that the

Conference will have practical results based on Bimetallism ; that practical men must therefore put Bimetallism on one side, and consider what other way exists by which *permanent* relief could be obtained by the concerted action of the great nations : and he then goes on to say that M. Moritz Lévy's proposal was the only practical one which he had met with, and that a deep study of "Conferences, congresses, commissions and the whole literature of the Silver question" showed that there was but this *one* proposal which contained the promise of a real remedy, although as I have shown above he would have found Mr. Probyn's identical proposal, if he had turned back but a few pages in the Proceedings of the 1881 Conference, from M. Lévy's letter. However the fact of Mr. Probyn having anticipated M. Lévy, and being really entitled to all the *credit* of the plan does not affect its *value* ; and I quite agree with Professor Soetbeer that it is the most *practical* proposal which has yet been made to secure the advantages of an extended employment of silver, and a diminished drain on gold, without embarking on the risks and political difficulties of Bimetallism, which even those who, like myself, are confirmed Bimetallists, cannot deny to be great and *at present* apparently insuperable,\* owing to the opposition of England.

Prof. Soetbeer, after detailing M. Lévy's proposals very clearly, states that they were repeated in 1882 by Herr von Delhend, the President of the Bank of Germany ; but that both proposals received no attention and were forgotten, because on the one hand Bimetallists would listen to no compromise, while on the other Monometallists did not believe that Silver would fall below 39 pence per oz. ; but that the events of the succeeding ten years (1882-92) have induced him to re-submit these proposals to the new Conference, in the shape of a basis for an International

\* Sir W. Houldsworth said at the Conference on December 6th : "I recognize that an agreement to carry Bimetallism into effect as a complete system, may not yet be possible."



Monetary Agreement to be comprised in 12 rules of which the following is a slightly abbreviated version :

1. A fixed weight of pure gold to be the universal and sole foundation and normal measure of currency.
2. The existing gold currency to be maintained in the several States, subject to a general agreement that in future no gold coins shall be minted or issued which contain less than 5·8 grammes pure gold (20 franc piece), and that all smaller gold coins shall be recalled within 10 years.
3. Seignorage to be always two per thousand.
4. All central treasuries to grant gold certificates for 500 grammes of pure gold, or any multiple, against *effective* gold coins deposited with them.
5. All Bank notes or other paper currency tokens of less value than 5·8 grammes of pure gold to be redeemed within 10 years, and no more based on a gold standard to be issued.
6. All previously coined silver coins, of higher value than one-tenth the value of the future lowest gold coin of that country, to be redeemed within 15 years; and all future silver coins of a high value (afterwards called major silver coins) to be minted in the proportion of 20 pure silver to 1 pure gold, and only by the Government of each State. Each nation to do as it pleases with regard to minor silver coins, and other coins (copper, etc.).
7. Each *Government* to accept at its public treasuries all *major* silver coins of its own minting to any amount.
8. *All persons* to accept *major* silver coins to the amount of three times the value of the future lowest gold coin.
9. Silver certificates to be issued by chief treasuries against deposit to the full value of *effective major* silver coins: but not below half the value of the future lowest gold coin. Such certificates to be repaid on presentation at place of issue in *major* silver coins.
10. No credit notes to be issued against *bar* silver.
11. Each Government to report to all the others any Currency laws or decrees passed, and progress made in redemption of old and coining of new coins.

12. Any State to be able to withdraw from the Convention on giving 12 months' notice.

With regard to India Prof. Soetbeer proposes that it should join the Convention, the rupee remaining legal tender up to 30 rupees, the mints being closed to outside coinage, and the existing rupees being called in, and a new silver coinage issued of the relative value of 20 to 1 (*i.e.*, the rupee = 1s. 6d.): which is of course practically having a gold standard.

Prof. Soetbeer estimates the amount of half-sovereigns at £22,000,000 now, against Mr. Probyn's estimate of £18,000,000 in 1881; and the amount of small gold coins in other countries as follows:

Germany	-	-	-	505,000,000 marks.
Latin Union	-	-	-	600,000,000 francs.
Scandinavia	-	-	-	12,000,000 kronen.
United States	-	-	-	50,000,000 dollars.

With regard to the last rule, about withdrawal from the Convention, he argues, and I think rightly, from the analogy of the Postal Union, that no State would *wish* to withdraw; that the more numerous the States in the Union, the more beneficial it would be to each; and that, though each State would in the *first* instance seek its own convenience or profit, yet *reciprocal* advantages would follow to all in the end, which would ensure their remaining in the Union.

Prof. Soetbeer points out that a State joining *this* Union would not run any of the risks incurred by a State which joined a *Bimetallic* Union; because in the latter the action of one State might disorganize the general currency system, whereas in the former it *could* not do so: and he believes that, if the 7 or 8 great nations joined in this Union "there would be every prospect of a fundamental and permanent solution of the Currency question, which at present agitates the whole civilized world. The progressive depreciation of Silver would be checked, and the consequent fluctuation

in its value would be remedied, and the threatened danger of further disorganization of trade and currency in the future would be removed."

He also says what I believe to be perfectly true that "in fact the wishes of the Bimetallist party are to a great extent met by the above programme, in so far as it provides for an increased use of Silver, and prevents a further depreciation of its value;" and I think all practical Bimetallists who have at heart the *immediate* attainment of *some* measure of relief, rather than the ultimate carrying out of a theoretically perfect plan of currency, will agree with me that we should all accept this most promising and liberal offer of compromise on the part of one of the most eminent of Monometallists; and that we should support it, both at the Conference and in public, most heartily, as being the greatest step towards the attainment of our objects which has been made since 1881. I have given Prof. Soetbeer's scheme in detail, because it will undoubtedly be the basis of any other proposals which would have any chance of being carried, and because it has not been published in detail in England, as far as I am aware. It is already (Dec. 11th) rumoured that Prof. Soetbeer's scheme has been rejected by the Conference; if this is true, and the obtuse and non-possumus speeches of Sir Chas. Rivers-Wilson and Mr. Bertram Currie make it only too probable that it is at any rate true of the Monometallist English delegates, then we have indeed reached a crisis in our Monetary affairs; and we may well despair of anything being done in time to avert the disasters, which have been impending over England and India for the last eleven years, since the Paris Conference of 1881 ended abortively, owing to the obstinacy and inveterate prejudice of the English Government and financial classes. *This* time again, although Mr. A. de Rothschild and Prof. Soetbeer, themselves monometallists of the highest reputation, uttered words of the most serious warning, as to the disasters, which will inevitably follow, if this Conference ends as futilely as the last, yet the English

monometallist delegates were as prejudiced and short-sighted as ever; and could find nothing more apposite to say, in reply to the solemn warnings they had received, than that the English mercantile classes would never give up their dearly-loved half sovereign, even to save a world from financial ruin. (See Sir C. Rivers-Wilson's speech on Dec. 6th.)

It is *not* the Government of India, but the Government of England, which is bringing about by its obstinacy the disasters which are impending; and it will be but justice if the majority of the English nation, which turns a deaf ear to the cry of starving Lancashire, to the distress of the Irish nation and to the ruin of its own agricultural classes, should in the end suffer more severely and bring on itself graver and more lasting penalties than India, which has always shown herself willing, even at serious risks, to listen to reason, and to adopt new ways when their necessity and urgency are made clear. At a time when Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chaplin as leaders of the Conservatives, when Archbishop Walsh as representing Ireland and Catholic opinion, and when almost every Chamber of Commerce and Trades Council in Lancashire and the North say unanimously and positively, that the distress which is admitted on all hands to exist is mainly, if not wholly, due to the demonetization of Silver, a *Liberal* Government sits with folded hands, apparently supremely contented with things as they are, indifferent to the outcry of half the nation, and determined to oppose a stolid *non-possumus* to the demands for justice and fair treatment, not only of India, but of all England except the moneyed and therefore prejudiced classes. The *few* bright exceptions which exist among these classes only make the surrounding darkness blacker; and if an appalling financial catastrophe, greater than anything hitherto known, should follow, as seems almost certain, the English monometallist classes will have the satisfaction of feeling that they have brought on themselves and on the nation a gigantic calamity, which

they might have averted by a little more unselfishness and a little more willingness to open their minds to new ideas.

If any think that I write too strongly on this matter, let them ponder these words of Prof. Soetbeer (a Monometallist and a foreigner) on the responsibility of England. I think they bear out every word which I have said.

“England more than any other country is threatened with increasing difficulties in case this new Currency Conference again ends without any practical result, and if matters are allowed to slide on in the old groove.

“The rupee is below 16 pence\* and India demands a gold standard. The United States *must* come to a final decision as regards their Monetary policy, and they have but two alternatives: they must either declare for a Silver Currency with a premium on Gold or for a cessation of treasury purchases of Silver and a forced importation of large quantities of Gold from Europe, which would result in a further considerable premium on gold and a further fall in Silver. The dangers of the present situation are evident, and should act as a serious warning to England, and induce her to consider seriously whether it is not only advisable, but even a pressing necessity to initiate in the coming Conference some positive proposal for increasing the use of silver as money.” (Note of Aug. 5th.)

To this solemn warning from one of the greatest Monometallists, the English Monometallist Delegates reply, “We will never give up our half-sovereign, though a world should perish.”

A. COTTERELL TUPP,  
(Late Acct.-General, Bombay.)

\* Now 14½d.

## LEGENDS, SONGS, CUSTOMS AND HISTORY OF DARDISTAN.

[CHILÁS, DAREYL, TANGÎR, GILGIT, HUNZA, NAGYR, YASIN,  
CHITRÁL AND KAFIRISTAN.]

(Continued from the October number for 1892.)

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

#### (a) AMUSEMENTS.

THE Chaughan Bazi or Hockey on horseback, so popular everywhere north of Kashmir, and which is called Polo by the Baltis and Ladakis, who both play it to perfection and in a manner which I shall describe elsewhere, is also well known to the Gilgiti and Astóri subdivisions of the Shiná people. On great general holidays as well as on special occasions of rejoicing, the people meet on the playgrounds which are mostly near the larger villages, and pursue the game with great excitement and at the risk of casualties. The first day I was at Astor, I had the greatest difficulty in restoring to his senses a youth of the name of Rustem Ali who, like a famous player of the same name at Mardo, was passionately fond of the game, and had been thrown from his horse. The place of meeting near Astor is called the I'dgah. The game is called *Tope* in Astor, and the grounds for playing it are called *SHAJARAN*. At Gilgit the game is called *BULLA*, and the place *SHAWARAN*. The latter names are evidently of Tibetan origin. [A detailed account of the rules and practice of Polo will be found in my Hunza-Nagyr Handbook.]

The people are also very fond of target practice, shooting with bows, which they use dexterously, but in which they do not excel the people of Nagyr and Hunza.

Game is much stalked during the winter. At Astór any game shot on the three principal hills—*Tshhamô*, a high hill opposite the fort, *Demideldên* and *Tshólokot*—belong to the Nawab of Astór—the sportsman receiving only the head, legs and a haunch—or to his representative, then the Tahsildar Munshi Rozi Khan. At Gilgit everybody claims what he may have shot, but it is customary for the Nawab to

receive some share of it. Men are especially appointed to watch and track game, and when they discover their whereabouts notice is sent to the villages from which parties issue, accompanied by musicians, and surround the game. Early in the morning, when the "Lóhe" dawns, the musicians begin to play and a great noise is made which frightens the game into the several directions where the sportsmen are placed.

The guns are matchlocks and are called in Gilgiti "*turmàk*" and in Astór "*tumák*." At Gilgit they manufacture the guns themselves or receive them from Badakhshan. The balls have only a slight coating of lead, the inside generally being a little stone. The people of Hunza and Nagyr invariably place their guns on little wooden pegs which are permanently fixed to the gun and are called "*Dugazá*." The guns are much lighter than those manufactured elsewhere, much shorter and carry much smaller bullets than the matchlocks of the Maharaja's troops. They carry very much farther than any native Indian gun and are fired with almost unerring accuracy. For "small shot" little stones of any shape—the longest and oval ones being preferred—are used. There is one kind of stone especially which is much used for that purpose; it is called "*Balósh Batt*," which is found in Hunza, Nagyr, Skardo, and near the "*Demíeldèn*" hill already noticed, at a village called Pareshinghi near Astor. It is a very soft stone and large cooking utensils are cut out from it, whence the name, "*Balósh*" Kettle, "*Batt*" stone, "*Balósh Batt*." The stone is cut out with a chisel and hammer; the former is called "*Gútt*" in Astóri and "*Gukk*" in Gilgiti; the hammer "*toá*" and "*Totshúng*" and in Gilgiti "*samdenn*." The gunpowder is manufactured by the people themselves.\*

\* "Powder" is called "*Jebati*" in Astóri and in Gilgiti "*Bilen*," and is, in both dialects, also the word used for medicinal powder. It is made of Sulphur, Saltpetre and coal. Sulphur = *dantzil*. Saltpetre = *Shór* in Astóri, and *Shorá* in Gilgiti. Coal = *Kári*. The general proportion of the composition is, as my informant put it, after dividing the whole into six and a half parts to give 5 of Saltpetre, 1 of coal, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Sulphur. Some put less coal in, but it is generally believed that more than the above proportion of Sulphur would make the powder too explosive.

The people also play at backgammon, [called in Astóri "Patshis," and "TAKK" in Gilgiti,] with dice [called in Astóri and also in Gilgiti "dall."]

Fighting with iron wristbands is confined to Chilâsi women who bring them over their fists which they are said to use with effect.

The people are also fond of wrestling, of butting each other whilst hopping, etc.

To play the Jew's harp is considered meritorious as King David played it. All other music good Mussulmans are bid to avoid.

The "Sitara" [the Eastern Guitar] used to be much played in Yasin, the people of which country as well as the people of Hunza and Nagyr excel in dancing, singing and playing. After them come the Gilgitis, then the Astóris, Chilâsis, Baltis, etc. The people of Nagyr are a comparatively mild race. They carry on goldwashing which is constantly interrupted by kidnapping parties from the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Hunza is the Non-Aryan Khajuná and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shiahs. They are short and stout and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjûtis] who are described\* as "tall skeletons" and who were desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindustani. Badakhshan merchants were the only ones who could travel with perfect safety through Yasin, Chitrál and Hunza.

#### DANCES†

Fall into two main divisions: "slow" or "Búti Harip" = Slow Instrument and Quick "Danni Harip," = Quick Instrument. The Yasin, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Gilgitis; then the Astóris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

\* By the people of Gilgit. My measurements will be found elsewhere. The Anthropological Photograph in this Review of October, 1891, shows both "tall" and short "skeletons."

† A few remarks made under this head and that of music have been taken from Part II, pages 32 and 21, of my "Dardistan," in order to render the accounts more intelligible.



When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "Thapnatt" in Gilgiti, and "Buró" in Astóri. [See further on.]

When there is a solo dance it is called "nàtt" in Gilgiti, and "nott" in Astóri.

"Cheering" is called "Halamush" in Gilgiti, and "Halamùsh" in Astóri. Clapping of hands is called "tza." Cries of "Yú, Yú dea ; tza theá, Hiú Hiú dea ; Halamùsh theá ; shabâsh" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The PRASULKI NATE, is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom's house. This custom is observed at Astór. In this dance men swing above sticks or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The BURO' NAT is a dance performed on the Náo holiday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called THAPPNAT at Gilgit. In Dareyl there is a dance in which the dancers wield swords and engage in a mimic fight. This dance Gilgitis and Astóris call the *Darelâ nat*, but what it is called by the Dareylis themselves I do not know.

The mantle dance is called "GOJA NAT." In this popular dance the dancer throws his cloth over his extended arm.

When I sent a man round with a drum inviting all the Dards that were to be found at Gilgit to a festival, a large number of men appeared, much to the surprise of the invading Dogras, who thought that they had all run to the hills. A few sheep were roasted for their benefit ; bread and fruit were also given them, and when I thought they were getting into a good humour, I proposed that they should sing. Musicians had been procured with great difficulty, and, after some demur, the Gilgitis sang and danced. At first, only one at a time danced, taking his sleeves well over his arm so as to let it fall over, and then moving it up and down according to the cadence of the

music. The movements were, at first, slow, one hand hanging down, the other being extended with a commanding gesture. The left foot appeared to be principally engaged in moving or rather jerking the body forward. All sorts of "pas seuls" were danced; sometimes a rude imitation of the Indian Nátsh; the by-standers clapping their hands and crying out "Shabāsh"; one man, a sort of Master of Ceremonies, used to run in and out amongst them, brandishing a stick, with which, in spite of his very violent gestures, he only lightly touched the bystanders, and exciting them to cheering by repeated calls, which the rest then took up, of "Hiù, Hiù." The most extraordinary dance, however, was when about twelve men arose to dance, of whom six went on one side and six on the other; both sides then, moving forward, jerked out their arms so as to look as if they had all crossed swords, then receded and let their arms drop. This was a war dance, and I was told that properly it ought to have been danced with swords, which, however, out of suspicion of the Dogras, did not seem to be forthcoming. They then formed a circle, again separated, the movements becoming more and more violent till almost all the bystanders joined in the dance, shouting like fiends and literally *kicking* up a frightful amount of dust, which, after I had nearly become choked with it, compelled me to retire.\* I may also notice that before a song is sung the rhythm and melody of it are given in "solo" by some one, for instance

Dānā dāng dānū dāngdā  
nādaṅg dānū, etc., etc., etc.

(b) BEVERAGES.

BEER.

Fine corn (about five or six *seers* in weight) is put into a kettle with water and boiled till it gets soft, but not pulpy. It is then strained through a cloth, and the grain retained and

\* The drawing and description of this scene were given in the *Illustrated London News* of the 12th February, 1870, under the heading of 'A Dance at Gilgit.' (It was reproduced in this Review in January, 1892.)

put into a vessel. Then it is mixed with a drug that comes from Ladak which is called "Papps," and has a salty taste, but in my opinion is nothing more than hardened dough with which some kind of drug is mixed. It is necessary that "the marks of four fingers" be impressed upon the "Papps." The mark of "four fingers" make one stick, 2 fingers' mark  $\frac{1}{2}$  a stick, and so forth. This is scraped and mixed with the corn. The whole is then put into an earthen jar with a narrow neck, after it has received an infusion of an amount of water equal to the proportion of corn. The jar is put out into the sun—if summer—for twelve days, or under the fire-place—if in winter—[where a separate vault is made for it]—for the same period. The orifice is almost hermetically closed with a skin. After twelve days the jar is opened, and contains a drink possessing intoxicating qualities. The first infusion is much prized, but the corn receives a second and sometimes even a third supply of water, to be put out again in a similar manner and to provide a kind of Beer for the consumer. This Beer is called "Mō," and is much drunk by the Astōris and Chilāsis [the latter are rather stricter Mussulmans than the other Shinā people]. After every strength has been taken out of the corn it is given away as food to sheep, etc., which they find exceedingly nourishing.

#### WINE.\*

The Gilgitis are great wine-drinkers, though not so much as the people of Hunza. In Nagyr little wine is made. The mode of the preparation of the wine is a simple one. The grapes are stamped out by a man who, fortunately before entering into the wine press, washes his feet and hands. The juice flows into another reservoir, which is first well laid round with stones, over which a cement is put of chalk mixed with sheep-fat which is previously heated. The juice is kept in this reservoir; the top is closed, cement being put round the sides and only in the

\* Wine is called in Gilgit by the same name as is "beer" by the Astōris, viz. : "Mō." The wine press is called "Mōe Kūrr." The reservoir into which it flows is called "Mōe Sán."

middle an opening is made over which a loose stone is placed. After two or three months the reservoir is opened, and the wine is used at meals and festivals. In Dareyl (and not in Gilgit, as was told to Vigne,) the custom is to sit round the grave of the deceased and eat grapes, nuts and Tshilgōzas (edible pine). In Astór (and in Chilâs ?) the custom is to put a number of Ghi (clarified butter) cakes before the Mulla, [after the earth has been put on the deceased] who, after reading prayers over them, distributes them to the company who are standing round with their caps on. In Gilgit, three days after the burial, bread is generally distributed to the friends and acquaintances of the deceased. To return to the wine presses, it is to be noticed that no one ever interferes with the store of another. I passed several of them on my road from Tshakerkōt onward, but they appeared to have been destroyed. This brings me to another custom which all the Dards seem to have of burying provisions of every kind in cellars that are scooped out in the mountains or near their houses, and of which they alone have any knowledge. The Maharaja's troops when invading Gilgit often suffered severely from want of food when, unknown to them, large stores of grain of every kind, butter, ghi, etc., were buried close to them. The Gilgitis and other so-called rebels, generally, were well off, knowing where to go for food. Even in subject Astór it is the custom to lay up provisions in this manner. On the day of birth of anyone in that country it is the custom to bury a stock of provisions which are opened on the day of betrothal of the young man and distributed. The Ghi, which by that time turns frightfully sour, and [to our taste] unpalatable and the colour of which is red, is esteemed a great delicacy and is said to bring much luck.

The chalk used for cementing the stones is called "San Bätt." Grapes are called "Djatsh," and are said, together with wine, to have been the principal food of Ghazanfar, the Raja of Hunza, of whom it is reported that when he

heard of the arrival of the first European in Astór (probably Vigne) "he fled to a fort called Gojal and shut himself up in it with his flocks, family and retainers." He had been told that the European was a great sorcerer, who carried an army with him in his trunks and who had serpents at his command that stretched themselves over any river in his way to afford him a passage. I found this reputation of European sorcery of great use, and the wild mountaineers looked with respect and awe on a little box which I carried with me, and which contained some pictures of clowns and soldiers belonging to a small magic lantern. The Gilgitis consider the use of wine as unlawful; probably it is not very long since they have become so religious and drink it with remorse. My Gilgitis told me that the Mughullí—a sect living in Hunza, Gojál, Yasin and Punyal\*—considered the use of wine with prayers to be rather meritorious than otherwise. A Drunkard is called "Máto."

#### (c) BIRTH CEREMONIES.

As soon as the child is born the father or the Mulla repeats the "Bâng" in his ear "Allah Akbar" (which an Astóri, of the name of Mirza Khan, said was never again repeated in one's life!). Three days after the reading of the "Bâng" or "Namáz" in Gilgit and seven days after that ceremony in Astor, a large company assembles in which the father or grandfather of the newborn gives him a name or the Mulla fixes on a name by putting his hand on some word in the Koran, which may serve the purpose or by getting somebody else to fix his hand at random on a passage or word in the Koran. Men and women assemble at that meeting. There appears to be no pardah whatsoever in Dardu land, and the women are remarkably chaste. The little imitation of pardah amongst the Ranis of Gilgit was a mere fashion imported from elsewhere. Till the child receives a name the woman is declared impure for the seven days previous to the ceremony. In Gilgit 27 days are allowed to elapse

\* These are the strange sect of the Muláís about whom more in my "Handbook of Hunza, Nagyr and a part of Yasin."—*Second Edition*, 1893.

till the woman is declared pure. Then the bed and clothes are washed and the woman is restored to the company of her husband and the visits of her friends. Men and women eat together everywhere in Dardu land. In Astór, raw milk alone cannot be drunk together with a woman unless thereby it is intended that she should be a sister by faith and come within the prohibited degrees of relationship. When men drink of the same raw milk they thereby swear each other eternal friendship. In Gilgit this custom does not exist, but it will at once be perceived that much of what has been noted above belongs to Mussulman custom generally. When a son is born great rejoicings take place, and in Gilgit a musket is fired off by the father whilst the "Bâng" is being read.

#### (d) MARRIAGE.

In Gilgit it appears to be a more simple ceremony than in Chilâs and Astór. The father of the boy goes to the father of the girl and presents him with a knife about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, 4 yards of cloth and a pumpkin filled with wine. If the father accepts the present the betrothal is arranged. It is generally the fashion that after the betrothal, which is named: "*Shêir qatar wîye, ballî pîye*, = 4 yards of cloth and a knife he has given, the pumpkin he has drunk," the marriage takes place. A betrothal is inviolable, and is only dissolved by death so far as the woman is concerned. The young man is at liberty to dissolve the contract. When the marriage day arrives the men and women who are acquainted with the parties range themselves in rows at the house of the bride, the bridegroom with her at his left sitting together at the end of the row. The Mulla then reads the prayers, the ceremony is completed and the playing, dancing and drinking begin. It is considered the proper thing for the bridegroom's father, if he belongs to the true Shîn race, to pay 12 tolas of gold of the value [at Gilgit] of 15 Rupees Nanakshahi (10 annas each) to the bride's father, who, however, generally, returns it with the

bride, in kind—dresses, ornaments, &c., &c. The 12 tolas are not always, or even generally, taken in gold, but oftener in kind—clothes, provisions and ornaments. At Astór the ceremony seems to be a little more complicated. There the arrangements are managed by third parties ; an agent being appointed on either side. The father of the young man sends a present of a needle and three real (red) “múngs” called “lújum” in Chilâsi, which, if accepted, establishes the betrothal of the parties. Then the father of the bride demands *pro formâ* 12 tolas [which in Astór and Chilâs are worth 24 Rupees of the value of ten annas each.]

All real “Shín” people must pay this dowry for their wives in money, provisions or in the clothes which the bride’s father may require. The marriage takes place when the girl reaches puberty, or perhaps rather the age when she is considered fit to be married. It may be mentioned here in general terms that those features in the ceremony which remind one of Indian customs are undoubtedly of Indian origin introduced into the country since the occupation of Astór by the Maharaja’s troops. Gilgit which is further off is less subject to such influences, and whatever it may have of civilization is indigenous or more so than is the case at Astór, the roughness of whose manners is truly Chilâsi, whilst its apparent refinement in some things is a foreign importation.

When the marriage ceremony commences the young man, accompanied by twelve of his friends and by musicians, sits in front of the girl’s house. The mother of the girl brings out bread and Ghi-cakes on plates, which she places before the bridegroom, round whom she goes three times, caressing him and finally kissing his hand. The bridegroom then sends her back with a present of a few rupees or tolas in the emptied plates. Then, after some time, as the evening draws on, the agent of the father of the boy sends to say that it is time that the ceremony should commence. The mother of the bride then stands in the doorway of her house with a few other platefuls of cakes and bread, and the young man accompanied by his

bridesman ["Shunèrr" in Astóri and "Shamaderr" in Gilgiti,] enters the house. At his approach, the girl, who also has her particular friend, the "Shaneroy" in Astóri, and "Shamaderoy" in Gilgiti, rises. The boy is seated at her right, but both in Astór and in Gilgit it is considered indecent for the boy to turn round and look at her. Then a particular friend, the "Dharm-bhai" \* of the girl's brother asks her if she consents to the marriage. In receiving, or imagining, an affirmative, he turns round to the Mulla, who after asking three times whether he, she and the bridegroom as well as all present are satisfied, reads the prayers and completes the ceremonial. Then some rice, boiled in milk, is brought in, of which the boy and the girl take a spoonful. They do not retire the first night, but grace the company with their presence. The people assembled then amuse themselves by hearing the musicians, eating, &c.

It appears to be the custom that a person leaves an entertainment whenever he likes, which is generally the case after he has eaten enough.

It must, however, not be imagined that the sexes are secluded from each other in Dardistan. Young people have continual opportunities of meeting each other in the fields at their work or at festive gatherings. Love declarations often take place on these occasions, but if any evil intention is perceived the seducer of a girl is punished by

\* The "brother in the faith" with whom raw milk has been drunk, *Vide* page 41.

Betrothal,	= balli	= pumpkin in Gilgiti, Soél—Astóri
Bridegroom,	= hileléo, Gil.	hiláleo. Astóri.
Bride,	= hilal	
Bridegroom's MEN,	= garóni, Gil.	hilalée, Astóri.
Marriage سادى	= garr, Gil.	Kàsh. Astóri.
Dowry,	= "dab," Gil. and Astóri	

(the grain, ghee and sheep that may accompany the betrothal-present is called by the Astóris "sakáro.")

Husband,	= baráo, Gil.	baréyo, Astóri.
Wife,	= Greyn, Gil.	gréyn, Astóri.

Wedding dinner "garéy tiki" in Gilgiti. "Kajjéyn bai kyas," in Astóri (?) ["tikki" is bread, "bai" is a chippati, kyas = food].



this savage, but virtuous, race with death. The Dards know and speak of the existence of "pure love." "pâk âshiqi." Their love songs show sufficiently that they are capable of a deeper, than mere sexual, feeling. No objection to lawful love terminating in matrimony is ever made unless the girl or the boy is of a lower caste. In Gilgit, however, the girl may be of a lower caste than the bridegroom. In Astór it appears that a young man, whose parents—to whom he must mention his desire for marrying any particular person—refuse to intercede, often attains his point by threatening to live in the family of the bride and become an adopted son. A "Shîn" of true race at Astor may live in concubinage with a girl of lower caste, but the relatives of the girl if they discover the intrigue revenge the insult by murdering the paramour, who, however, does not lose caste by the alliance.

The bridegroom dances as well as his twelve companions. The girl ought not to be older than 15 years; but at 12 girls are generally engaged.\*

The Balti custom of having merely a *claim to dowry* on the part of the woman—the prosecution of which claim so often depends on her satisfaction with her husband or the rapacity of her relatives—is in spite of the intercourse of the Baltis with the Shin people never observed by the latter; not even by the Shin colonists of little Tibet who are called "Brokhpá."

When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village he is furnished with a bow. On arriving at his native place he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow and then shoots it off. He generally shoots three arrows off in the direction of his home.

At Astór the custom is sometimes to fire guns as a sign of rejoicing. This is not done at Gilgit.

When the bridegroom fetches his bride on the second day to his own home, the girl is crying with the women of

\* The Turks say "a girl of 15 years of age should be either married or buried."

her household and the young man catches hold of her dress in front (at Gilgit by the hand) and leads her to the door. If the girl cannot get over embracing her people and crying with them quickly, the twelve men who have come along with the bridegroom (who in Astóri are called "hilalée" = bridegrooms and "garóni" in Gilgiti) sing the following song :—

INVITATION TO THE BRIDE.

*Nikàstali quáray kusúni* ("astali" is added to  
Come out hawk's daughter. *the fem. Imp).*

*Nikastali ke karanílic* ("balanile," in Gilgiti).  
Come out why delayest thou!

*Nikastali máleyn gutíjo.*  
Come out (from) thy father's tent.

*Nikastali ke karanílic.*  
Come out why delayest thou.

*Né ro tsharéyn baráye.*  
Do not weep waterfall's fairy.

*Né ro teyn róng boje.*  
Do not weep thy colour will go.

*Né ro jaro shidati.*  
Do not weep brethren's beloved.

*Né ro téy róng boje.*  
Do not weep thy colour will go.

*Né ro maleyn shidati.*  
Do not weep father's beloved.

*Né ro téy róng boje.*  
Do not weep thy colour will go.

*Translation.*

Come out, O daughter of the hawk!

Come out, why dost thou delay?

Come forth from thy father's tent,

Come out and do not delay.

Weep not! O fairy of the waterfall!

Weep not! thy colour will fade;

Weep not! thou art the beloved of us all who are thy  
brethren,

Weep not! thy colour will fade.

O Weep not! thou beloved of fathers, [or "thy father's darling."]

For if thou weepest, thy face will grow pale.

Then the young man catches hold of her dress, or in Gilgit of her arm, puts her on horseback, and rides off with her, heedless of her tears and of those of her companions.

(e) FUNERALS.

Funerals are conducted in a very simple manner. The custom of eating grapes at funerals I have already touched upon in my allusion to Dureyl in the chapter on "Wine." Bread is commonly distributed together with Ghî, etc., three days after the funeral, to people in general, a custom which is called "Nashî" by the Astóris, and "Khatm" by the Gilgitis. When a person is dead, the Mulla, assisted generally by a near friend of the deceased, washes the body which is then placed in a shroud. Women assemble, weep and relate the virtues of the deceased. The body is conveyed to the grave the very day of the decease. In Astor there is something in the shape of a bier for conveying the dead. At Gilgit two poles, across which little bits of wood are placed sideways and then fastened, serve for the same purpose. The persons who carry the body think it a meritorious act. The women accompany the body for some fifty yards and then return to the house to weep. The body is then placed in the earth which has been dug up to admit of its interment. Sometimes the grave is well-cemented and a kind of small vault is made over it with pieces of wood closely jammed together. A Pir or saint receives a hewn stone standing as a sign-post from the tomb. I have seen no inscriptions anywhere. The tomb of one of their famous saints at Gilgit has none. I have heard people there say that he was killed at that place in order to provide the country with a shrine. My Gilgiti who, like all his countrymen, was very patriotic, denied it, but I heard it at Gilgit from several persons, among whom was one of the descendants of the saint. As the Saint was a Kashmiri, the veracity of his descendant may

be doubted. To return to the funeral. The body is conveyed to the cemetery, which is generally at some distance from the village, accompanied by friends. When they reach the spot the Mulla reads the prayers standing as in the "Djenazá"—any genuflexion, "ruku" رکوع and prostration are, of course, inadmissible. After the body has been interred the Mulla recites the Fatiha, [opening prayer of the Koran] all people standing up and holding out their hands as if they were reading a book. The Mulla prays that the deceased may be preserved from the fire of hell as he was a good man, etc. Then after a short benediction the people separate. For three days at Gilgit and seven days at Astor the near relatives of the deceased do not eat meat. After that period the grave is again visited by the deceased's friends, who, on reaching the grave, eat some ghí and bread, offer up prayers, and, on returning, slaughter a sheep, whose kidney is roasted and divided in small bits amongst those present. Bread is distributed amongst those present and a little feast is indulged in, in memory of the deceased. I doubt, however, whether the Gilgitis are very exact in their religious exercises. The mention of death was always received with shouts of laughter by them, and one of them told me that a dead person deserved only to be kicked. He possibly only joked and there can be little doubt that the Gilgit people are not very communicative about their better feelings. It would be ridiculous, however, to deny them the possession of natural feelings, although I certainly believe that they are not over-burdened with sentiment. In Astór the influence of Kashmir has made the people attend a little more to the ceremonies of the Mussulman religion.

In Chilás rigour is observed in the maintenance of religious practices, but elsewhere there exists the greatest laxity. In fact, so rude are the people that they have no written character of their own, and till very recently the art of writing (Persian) was confined to, perhaps, the Rajas of these countries or rather to their Munshis, whenever they had any. Some of them may be able to read the

Koran. Even this I doubt, as of hundreds of people I saw only one who could read at Gilgit, and he was a Kashmiri who had travelled far and wide and had at last settled in that country.

(f) HOLIDAYS.

The great holiday of the Shīn people happened in 1867, during the month succeeding the Ramazan, but seems to be generally on the sixth of February. It is called the "Shinó náo," "the new day of the Shīn people." The Gilgitis call the day "Shinó bazóno," "the spring of the Shīn people." [The year, it will be remembered, is divided into bazono = spring; walo = summer; shero = autumn; yono = winter.] The snow is now becoming a little softer and out-of-door life is more possible. The festivities are kept up for twelve days. Visits take place and man and wife are invited out to dinner during that period. Formerly, when the Shins had a Raja or Nawab of their own, it used to be the custom for women to dance during those twelve days. Now the advent of the Sepoys and the ridiculous pseudo-morality of the Kashmir rule have introduced a kind of Pardah and the chaste Shīn women do not like to expose themselves to the strangers. Then there is the Naurôz, which is celebrated for three, and sometimes for six, days.

There are five great holidays in the year :

The I'd of Ramazân.

The Shinó-Náo.

The Naurôz.

Kurbanī I'd.

The Kùý Náo,*	{	Astóri,	...
Dúmniká,		Gilgiti,	...

On the last-named holiday the game of Polo is played, good clothes are put on, and men and women amuse themselves at public meetings.

The Shīn people are very patriotic. Since the Maharaja's rule many of their old customs have died out, and the separation of the sexes is becoming greater. Their great national festival I have already described under the head of "Historical Legend of Gilgit."

\* Is celebrated in Autumn when the fruit and corn have become ripe.

(g) THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE DARDS.

If the Dards—the races living between the Hindu-Kush and Kaghán—have preserved many Aryan customs and traditions, it is partly because they have lived in almost perfect seclusion from other Muhammadans. In Chilás, where the Sunni form of that faith prevails, there is little to relieve the austerity of that creed. The rest of the Muhammadan Dards are Shiahhs, and that belief is more elastic and seems to be more suited to a quick-witted race, than the orthodox form of Islam. Sunniism, however, is advancing in Dardistan and will, no doubt, sweep away many of the existing traditions. The progress, too, of the present invasion by Kashmir, which, although governed by Hindus, is chiefly Sunni, will familiarize the Dards with the notions of orthodox Muhammadans and will tend to substitute a monotonous worship for a multiform superstition. I have already noticed that, in spite of the exclusiveness of Hinduism, attempts are made by the Maharaja of Kashmir to gather into the fold those races and creeds which, merely because they are not Muhammadan, are induced by him to consider themselves Hindu. For instance, the Siah Posh Kafirs, whom I venture also to consider Dards, have an ancient form of nature-worship which is being encroached upon by Hindu myths, not because they are altogether congenial but because they constitute the religion of the enemies of Muhammadans, their own bitter foes who kidnap the pretty Kafir girls and to kill whom establishes a claim among Kafirs to consideration. In the same way there is a revival of Hinduism in the Buddhist countries of Ladak and Zanskar, which belong to Kashmir, and ideas of caste are welcomed where a few years ago they were unknown. As no one can become a Hindu, but any one can become a Muhammadan, Hinduism is at a natural disadvantage in its contact with an advancing creed and, therefore, there is the more reason why zealous Hindus should seek to strengthen themselves by amalgamation with other idolatrous creeds. To return to the

Mussulman Dards, it will be easy to perceive by a reference to my ethnographical vocabulary what notions are Muhammadan and what traces there remain of a more ancient belief. The "world of Gods" is not the mere *اخرة* which their professed religion teaches, nor is the "serpent world" a Muhammadan term for our present existence. Of course, their Maulvis may read "religious lessons" and talk to them of Paradise and Hell, but it is from a more ancient source that they derive a kindly sympathy with the evil spirits "Yatsh;" credit them with good actions, describe their worship of the sun and moon, and fill the interior of mountains with their palaces and songs. Again, it is not Islam that tells them of the regeneration of their country by fairies—that places these lovely beings on the top of the Himalayas and makes them visit, and ally themselves to, mankind. The fairies too are not all good, as the Yatsh are not all bad. They destroy the man who seeks to surprise their secrets, although, perhaps, they condone the offence by making him live for ever after in fairy-land. Indeed, the more we look into the national life of the Dards the less do we find it tainted by Muhammadan distaste of compromise. Outwardly their customs may conform to that ceremonial, but when they make death an opportunity for jokes and amusement we cannot refuse attention to the circumstance by merely explaining it away on the ground that they are savages. I have noticed the prevalence of caste among them, how proud they are of their Shīn descent, how little (with the exception of the more devout Chilāsis) they draw upon Scripture for their personal names, how they honour women and how they like the dog, an animal deemed unclean by other Muhammadans. The Dards had no hesitation in eating with me, but I should not be surprised to hear that they did not do so when Mr. Hayward visited them, for the Hinduized Mussulman servants that one takes on tours might have availed themselves of their supposed superior knowledge of the faith to inform the natives that they were making an

improper concession to an infidel. A good many Dards, however, have the impression that the English are Mussulmans—a belief that would not deter them from killing or robbing a European traveller in some districts, if he had anything “worth taking.” Gouhar-Amán [called “Gôrmán” by the people] of Yasin used to say that as the Koran, the word of God, was sold, there could be no objection to sell an expounder of the word of God, a Mulla, who unfortunately fell into his hands. I did not meet any real Shīn who was a Mulla,\* but I have no doubt that, especially in Hunza, they are using the services of Mullas in order to give a religious sanction to their predatory excursions. I have said that the Dards were generally Shiah—perhaps I ought not to include the Shiah Hunzas among Dards as they speak a non-Aryan language unlike any other that I know†—and as a rule the Shiah are preyed upon by Sunnis. Shiah children are kidnapped by Sunnis as an act both religious and profitable. Shiah have to go through the markets of Bokhara denying their religion, for which deception, by the way, they have the sanction of their own priests.‡ Can we, therefore, wonder that the Mulái Hunzas make the best of both worlds by preferring to kidnap Sunnis to their own co-religionists? A very curious fact is the attachment of Shiah to their distant priesthood. We know how the Indian Shiah look to Persia; how all expect the advent of their Messiah, the Imám Mahdi; how the ap-

\* I have already related that a foreign Mulla had found his way to Gilgit, and that the people, desirous that so holy a man should not leave them and solicitous about the reputation that their country had no shrine, killed him in order to have some place for pilgrimage. Similar stories are, however, also told about shrines in Afghanistan. My Sazini speaks of shrines in Nagyr, Chilás and Yasin, and says that in Sunni Chilás there are many Mullahs belonging to all the castes—two of the most eminent being Kramins of Shatíál, about 8 miles from Sazin. About Castes, *vide* page 172.

† I refer to the Khajuná, or Burishki, a language also spoken in Nagyr and a part of Yasin, whose inhabitants are Dards.

‡ I refer to the practice of “Taqqíah.” In the interior of Kabul Hazara, on the contrary, I have been told that Pathan Sunni merchants have to pretend to be Shiah, in order to escape being murdered.



pointment of Kazis (civil functionaries) is made through the Mujtehid [a kind of high priest] and is ratified by the ruling power, rather than emanate direct from the secular authorities, as is the case with Sunnis. The well-known Sayad residing at Bombay, Agha Khan, has adherents even in Dardistan, and any command that may reach them from him [generally a demand for money] is obeyed implicitly. Indeed, throughout India and Central Asia there are men, some of whom lead an apparently obscure life, whose importance for good or evil should not be underrated by the authorities. [See my "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook, 1893."]

What we know about the religion of the Siah-Posh Kafirs [whom I include in the term "Dards"] is very little. My informants were two Kafir lads, who lived for some weeks in my compound and whose religious notions had, no doubt, been affected on their way down through Kashmir. That they go once a year to the top of a mountain as a religious exercise and put a stone on to a cairn; that the number of Muhammadan heads hung up in front of their doors indicates their position in the tribe; that they are said to sit on benches rather than squat on the ground like other Asiatics; that they are reported to like all those who wear a curl in front; that they are fair and have blue eyes; that they drink a portion of the blood of a killed enemy—this and the few words which have been collected of their language is very nearly all we have hitherto known about them. What I have been able to ascertain regarding them, will be mentioned elsewhere.\*

(b) FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AMONG THE DARDS.

Chilâs, which sends a tribute every year to Kashmir for the sake of larger return—presents rather than as a sign of subjection, is said to be governed by a council of elders, in which even women are admitted.† When I visited Gilgit,

\* Since writing the above, in 1867, a third Kafir from Katâr has entered my service, and I have derived some detailed information from him and others regarding the languages and customs of this mysterious race, which will be embodied in my next volume. [This note was written in 1872.]

† I have heard this denied by a man from Sazin, but state it on the authority of two Chilâsis who were formerly in my service.

in 1866, it was practically without a ruler, the invading troops of Kashmir barely holding their own within a few yards of the Gilgit Fort—a remarkable construction which, according to the report of newspapers, was blown up by accident in 1876, and of which the only record is the drawing published in the *Illustrated London News* of the 12th February 1870.\* There is now (1877) a Thanadar of Gilgit, whose rule is probably not very different from that of his rapacious colleagues in Kashmir. The Gilgitis are kept quiet by the presence of the Kashmir army, and by the fact that their chiefs are prisoners at Srinagar, where other representatives of once reigning houses are also under surveillance. Mansur Ali Khan, the supposed rightful Raja of Gilgit is there; he is the son of Asghar Ali Khan, son of Raja Khan, son of Gurtam Khan—but legitimate descent has little weight in countries that are constantly disturbed by violence, except in Hunza, where the supreme right to rob is hereditary.† The Gilgitis, who are a little more settled than their neighbours to the West, North and South, and who possess the most refined Dardu dialect and traditions, were constantly exposed to marauding parties, and the late ruler of Yasin, Gouhar-Amán, who had conquered Gilgit, made it a practice to sell them into slavery on the pretext that they were Shiahs and infidels. Yasin was lately ruled by Mir Wali, the supposed murderer of Mr. Hayward, and is a dependency of Chitrál, a country which is ruled by Amán-ul-mulk. The Hunza people are under Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar,‡ and seem to delight in plundering their Kirghiz neighbours, although all travellers through that inhospitable

\* My Sazini says that only a portion of the Fort was blown up.

† *Vide* Chapter "Modern History of Dardistan" for details of the contending dynasties of that region.

‡ Major Montgomery remarks "the coins have the word Gujanfar on them, the name, I suppose, of some emblematic animal. I was however unable to find out its meaning." The word is غُصْنَفَر, Ghazanfar [which means in *Arabic*: lion, hero] and is the name of the former ruler of Hunza whose name is on the coins. In Hunza itself, coined money is unknown. [For changes since 1866, see "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook, 1893."]

region, with the exception of Badakhshan merchants, are impartially attacked by these robbers, whose depredations have caused the nearest pass from Central Asia to India to be almost entirely deserted (1866). At Gilgit I saw the young Raja of Nagyr, with a servant, also a Nagyri. He was a most amiable and intelligent lad, whose articulation was very much more refined than that of his companion, who prefixed a guttural to every Khajuná word beginning with a vowel. The boy was kept a prisoner in the Gilgit Fort as a hostage to Kashmir for his father's good behaviour, and it was with some difficulty that he was allowed to see me and answer certain linguistic questions which I put to him. If he has not been sent back to his country, it would be a good opportunity for our Government to get him to the Panjab in the cold weather with the view of our obtaining more detailed information than we now possess regarding the Khajuná, that extraordinary language to which I have several times alluded. [This was done on my second official mission to Kashmir in 1886.]

The name of *Rá*, *Rásh*, *Raja*, applied to Muhammadans, may sound singular to those accustomed to connect them with Hindu rulers. but it is the ancient name for "King" at Gilgit (for which "Nawab" seems a modern substitute in that country)—whilst Shah Kathor\* in Chitrál, Tham in Hunza and Nagyr, Miterr (Mehter) and Bakhté in Yasin and Trakhné in Gilgit offer food for speculation. The Hunza people say that the King's race is Mogholote (or Mogul ?); they call the King *Sawwash* and affirm that he is Aishea (this probably means that he is descended from Ayesha, the wife of Muhammad).† Under the king or chief, for the

\* This was the *name* of the grandfather of Amán-ul-Mulk, the present ruler of Chitrál (1877). Cunningham says that the *title* of "Kathor" has been held for 2000 years. I may incidentally mention that natives of India who had visited Chitrál did not know it by any other name than "Kashkar" the name of the principal town, whilst Chitrál was called "a Kafir village surrounded by mountains" by Neyk Muhammad, a Lughmáni Nimtsha (or half) Mussulman in 1866.

† This is the plausible Gilgit story, which will, perhaps, be adopted in Hunza when it becomes truly Muhammadan. In the meanwhile, my en-

time being, the most daring or intriguing hold office and a new element of disturbance has now been introduced into Dardistan by the Kashmir faction at every court [or rather robber's nest] which seeks to advance the interests or ulterior plans of conquest of the Maharaja, our feudatory. Whilst the name of Wazir is now common for a "minister," we find the names of the subordinate offices of Trangpá, Yarfá, Zeytú, Gopá, etc., etc., which point to the reminiscences of Tibetan Government and a reference to the "Official Designations" in Part II. of my "Dardistan" will direct speculation on other matters connected with the subject.

I need scarcely add that under a Government, like that of Chitrál, which used to derive a large portion of its revenue from kidnapping, the position of the official slave-dealer (Diwánbigi)\* was a high one. Shortly before I visited Gilgit, a man used to sell for a good hunting dog (of which animal the Dards are very fond), two men for a pony and three men for a large piece of pattú (a kind of woollen stuff). Women and weak men received the preference, it being difficult for them to escape once they have reached their destination. Practically, all the hillmen are republicans. The name for servant is identical with that of "companion;" it is only the prisoner of another tribe who is a "slave." The progress of Kashmir will certainly have the effect of stopping, at any rate nominally, the trade in *male* slaves, but it will reduce all subjects to the same dead level of slavery and extinguish that spirit of freedom, and with it many of the traditions, that have preserved the Dard races from the degeneracy which has been the fate of the Aryans who reached Kashmir and India. The indigenous

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deavour in 1866 to find traces of Alexander the Great's invasion in Dardistan, has led to the adoption of the myth of descent from that Conqueror by the Chinese Governor or the ancient hereditary "Thàm" of Hunza, who really is "*ayeshó*," or "heaven-born," owing to the miraculous conception of a female ancestor. "Mogholot" is the direct ancestor of the kindred Nagyr line, "Girkis," his twin-brother and deadly foe, being the ancestor of the Hunza dynasty.

\* This designation is really that of the Minister of Finances.

Government is one whose occasional tyranny is often relieved by rebellion. I think the Dard Legends and Songs show that the Dards are a superior people to the Dogras, who wish to take their country in defiance of treaty obligations, and I, for one, would almost prefer the continuance of present anarchy which may end in a national solution or in a *direct alliance* with the British, to the *épiciér* policy of Kashmir which, without shedding blood,\* has drained the resources of that Paradise on earth and killed the intellectual and moral life of its people. The administration of justice and the collection of the taxes in Dardistan are carried on, the former with some show of respect for religious injunctions, the latter with sole regard to whatever the tax-gatherer can immediately lay his hand upon.

#### (i) HABITATIONS.

Most of the villages, whose names I have given elsewhere, are situate on the main line of roads which, as everywhere in Himalayan countries, generally coincides with the course of rivers. The villages are sometimes scattered, but as a rule, the houses are closely packed together. Stones are heaped up and closely cemented, and the upper story, which often is only a space shielded by a cloth or by grass-bundles on a few poles, is generally reached by a staircase from the outside.† Most villages are protected by one or more wooden forts, which—with the exception of the Gilgit fort—are rude blockhouses, garnished with rows of beams, behind which it is easy to fight as long as the place is not set on fire. Most villages also contain an open space, generally near a fountain, where the villagers meet in the evening and young people make love to each other.‡ Sometimes the houses contain a

\* I refer only to the present rule of Kashmir itself and not to the massacres by Kashmir troops in Dardistan, of which details are given elsewhere.

† *Vide* my comparison between Dardu buildings, etc., and certain excavations which I made at Takht-i-Bahi in Yusufzai in 1870.

‡ Seduction and adultery are punished with death in Chilās and the neighbouring independent Districts. Morality is, perhaps, not quite so stern at Gilgit, whilst in Yasin and Nagyr great laxity is said to prevail.

subterranean apartment which is used as a cellar or stable—at other times, the stable forms the lower part of the house and the family live on the roof under a kind of grass-tent. In Ládak, a little earth heaped up before the door and impressed with a large wooden seal, was sufficient, some years ago, to protect a house in the absence of its owner. In Dardistan bolts, etc., show the prevailing insecurity. I have seen houses which had a courtyard, round which the rooms were built, but generally all buildings in Dardistan are of the meanest description—the mosque of Gilgit, in which I slept one night whilst the Sepoys were burying two or three yards away from me, those who were killed by the so-called rebels, being almost as miserable a construction as the rest. The inner part of the house is generally divided from the outer by a beam which goes right across. My vocabulary will show all the implements, material, etc., used in building, etc. Water-mills and wind-mills are to be found.

Cradles were an unknown commodity till lately. I have already referred to the wine and treasury cellars excavated in the mountains, and which provided the Dards with food during the war in 1866, whilst the invading Kashmir troops around them were starving. Baths (which were unknown till lately) are sheltered constructions under waterfalls; in fact, they are mere sheltered douche-baths. There is no pavement except so far as stones are placed in order to show where there are *no* roads. The rooms have a fire-place, which at Astor (where it is used for the reception of live coals) is in the middle of the room. The conservancy arrangements are on the slope of the hills close to the villages, in front of which are fields of Indian corn, etc.

#### (j) DIVISIONS OF THE DARD RACES.

The name of Dardistan (a hybrid between the “Darada” of Sanscrit writings and a Persian termination) seems now to be generally accepted. I include in it all the countries lying between the Hindu Kush and Kaghan (lat. 37° N. and long. <

73° E. to lat. 35° N., long. 74° 30' E.). In a restricted sense the Dards are the race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shináki, detailed further on, but I include under that designation not only the Chilâsis, Astóris, Gilgitis, Dureylis, etc., but also the people of Hunza, Nagyr, Chitrál and Kafiristan.\* As is the case with uncivilized races generally, the Dards have no name in common, but call each Dard tribe that inhabits a different valley by a different name. This will be seen in subjoined Extract from my Ethnographical Vocabulary. The name "Dard" itself was not claimed by any of the race that I met. If asked whether they were "Dards" they said "certainly," thinking I mispronounced the word "dâde" of the Hill Panjabi which means "wild" "independent," and is a name given them by foreigners as well as "yaghi,"=rebellious [the country is indifferently known as Yaghistan, Kohistan and, since my visit in 1866 as "Dardistan," a name which I see Mr. Hayward has adopted]. I hope the name of Dard will be retained, for, besides being the designation of, at least, *one* tribe, it connects the country with a range known in Hindu mythology and history. However, I must leave this and other disputed points for the present, and confine myself now to quoting a page of Part II. of my "Dardistán" for the service of those whom the philological portion of that work has deterred from looking at the descriptive part.

"SHIN are all the people of Chilâs, Astór, Dureyl or *Darèll*, Gôr, Ghilghit† or *Gilît*. All these tribes do not acknowledge the 'Guraizis,' a people inhabiting the Guraiz valley between Chilâs and Kashmir, as *Shîn*, although the Guraizis themselves think so. The Guraizi dialect, however, is undoubtedly Shiná. much mixed with Kashmiri.

\* Since writing the above I have discovered that the people of Kandíá—an unsuspected race and country lying between Swat and the Indus—are Dards and speak a Dialect of Shiná, of which specimens are given elsewhere in my "Races of the Hindukush."

† The word ought to be transliterated "Gilgit" گیلگیت and pronounced as it would be in German, but this might expose it to being pronounced as "Jiljit" by some English readers, so I have spelt it here as "Ghilghit."

“The Shîns\* call themselves ‘Shîn, Shiná lôk, Shinâki,’ and are very proud of the appellation, and in addition to the above-named races include in it the people of Tòrr, Hárben, Sazîn, [districts of, or rather near, Chilâs]; Tanyîre [Tangîr] belonging to Darèll; also the people of Kholi-Palus whose origin is Shîn, but who are mixed with Afghans. Some do not consider the people of Kholi-Palus as Shîn.† They speak both Shiná and Pukhtu [pronounced by the Shîn people ‘Postó.’] The Baltis, or Little Tibetans, call the Shîn and also the Nagyr people ‘Brokhpá,’ or, as a term of respect, ‘Brokhpá bábo.’‡ Offshoots of the ‘Shîn’ people live in Little Tibet and even the district of Dras, near the Zojilá pass on the Ladâk road towards Kashmir, was once Shîn and was called by them *Huméss*. I was the first traveller who discovered that there were Shîn colonies in Little Tibet, viz.: the villages of Shingôtsh, Sáspur, Brashbrialdo, Bashó, Danàl djúnele, Tâtshin, Dorôt (inhabited by pure Shîns), Zungôt, Tortzé (in the direction of Rongdu) and Durò, one day’s march from Skardo.”§

The Chilâsis call themselves *Boté*.||

„ „ „ their fellow-countrymen of Takk =  
“*Kané*” or *Takke-Kané*.

[the *Matshuké* are now an extinct race, at all events in Dardistan proper.]

\* In a restricted sense “Shîn” is the name of the highest *caste* of the Shîn race. “Róno” is the highest official caste next to the ruling families.

† My Sazîni says that they are really Shîns, Yashkuns, Dòms and Kramins, but pretend to be Afghans. *Vide* List of Castes, page 172. Kholi-Palus are *two* Districts, Khóli and Palus, whose inhabitants are generally fighting with each other. Shepherds from these places often bring their flocks for sale to Gilgit. I met a few.

‡ This name is also and properly given by the Baltis to their Dard fellow-countrymen. Indeed the Little Tibetans look more like Dards than Ladákis.

§ *Place aux dames!* For six years I believed myself “the discoverer” of this fact, but I find that, as regards Kartakchun in Little Tibet, I have been nearly anticipated by Mrs. Harvey, who calls the inhabitants “Dards,” “Dâruds” (or “Dardoos”).

|| My Sazîni calls the people of his own place = Bigé; those of Tórr = *Manuké*, and those of Harbenn = *Jure*.



The Chilâsis call Gilgitis = *Gilîti*.

„ „ „ Astôris = *Astorîjje*.

„ „ „ Gôrs = *Gorîje*.

„ „ „ Dureylis = *Darêle*.

„ „ „ Baltis = *Palôye*. Gil. = *Polôle*.

„ „ „ Ladâki = *Botî*. Pl. of Bôt.

„ „ „ Kashmiris = *Kashîre*.

„ „ „ Dogras = *Sikkî* [Sikhs] now “Dôgréy.”

„ „ „ Affghans = *Patâni*.

„ „ „ Nagyris = *Khadjunî*.

„ „ „ Hunzas = *Hunzîje*.

„ „ „ Yasînis = *Porî*.

„ „ „ Punyalis = *Punyé*.

„ „ „ Kirghiz = *Kirghîz*.

NOTE.—The Kirghiz are described by the Chilâsis as having flat faces and small noses and are supposed to be very white and beautiful, to be Nomads and to feed on milk, butter and mutton.

The Chilâsis call the people between Hunza and the Pamêr [our Pamir] on the Yarkand road = Gôjâl.

There are also other Gojâls under a Raja of Gojâl on the Badakhshân road.

The Chilâsis call the Siah Pôsh Kâfirs = Bashgalî (Bashgalî is the name of the country inhabited by this people who enjoy the very worst reputation for cruelty). They are supposed to kill every traveller that comes within their reach and to cut his nose or ear off as a trophy.\*

The Chilâsis were originally four tribes; viz. :

The Bagoté of Buner.

The Kané of Takk.

The Boté of the Chilâs fort.

The Matshuké of the Matshukó fort.

\* The two Kafirs in my service in 1866, one of whom was a Bashgalî, seemed inoffensive young men. They admitted drinking a portion of the blood of a killed enemy or eating a bit of his heart, but I fancy this practice proceeds more from bravado than appetite. In “Davies’ Trade Report” I find the following Note to Appendix XXX., page CCCLXII. “The ruler of Chitrâl is in the habit of enslaving all persons from the tribes of Kalâsh, Dangini and Bashghali, idolaters living in the Chitrâl territory.”

The Boté and the Matshuké fought. The latter were defeated, and are said to have fled into Astor and Little Tibet territory.

A Foreigner is called "ósho."

Fellow-countrymen are called "malêki."

The stature of the Dards is generally slender and wiry and well suited to the life of a mountaineer. They are now gradually adopting Indian clothes, and whilst this will displace their own rather picturesque dress and strong, though rough, indigenous manufacture, it may also render them less manly. They are fairer than the people of the plains (the women of Yasin being particularly beautiful and almost reminding one of European women), but on the frontier they are rather mixed—the Chilâsis with the Kaghânis and Astóris—the Astóris and Gilgitis with the Tibetans, and the Guraizis with the Tibetans on the one hand and the Kashmiris on the other. The consequence is that their sharp and comparatively clear complexion (where it is not under a crust of dirt) approaches, in some Districts, a Tatar or Moghal appearance. Again, the Nagyris are shorter than the people of Hunza to whom I have already referred. Just before I reached the Gilgit fort, I met a Nagyri, whose yellow moustache and general appearance almost made me believe that I had come across a Russian in disguise. I have little hesitation in stating that the pure Shin looks more like a European than any high-caste Brahmin of India. Measurements were taken by Dr. Neil of the Lahore Medical College, but have, unfortunately, been lost, of the two Shins who accompanied me to the Panjab, where they stayed in my house for a few months, together with other representatives of the various races whom I had brought down with me. The prevalence of caste among the Shins also deserves attention. We have not the Muhammadan Sayad, Sheykh, Moghal, and Pathan (which, no doubt, will be substituted in future for the existing caste designations), nor the Kashmiri Muhammadan equivalents of what are generally mere names for

occupations. The following List of Dard Castes may be quoted appropriately from Part II. of my "Dardistan":—

"CASTES.

"Raja (highest on account of position).

"Wazîr (of SHÎN race, and also the official caste of 'Róno').

"SHIN the highest caste; the Shiná people of pure origin, whether they be Astóris, Gilgitis, Chilâsis, etc., etc.\*

They say that it is the same race as the 'Moghals' of India. Probably this name only suggested itself to them when coming in contact with Mussulmans from Kashmir or the Panjab. The following castes are named in their order of rank (for exact details, see "Hunza Handbook"):

"*Yáshkunn* = a caste formed by the intermixture (?) between the Shin and a lower [aboriginal?] race. A Shin may marry a *Yáshkunn* woman [called 'Yáshkûni;'] but no *Yáshkunn* can marry a Shinóy = Shin woman.

"*Tatshön* = caste of carpenters.

"*Tshâjjâ* = weavers. The Gilgitis call this caste: 'Byêtshei.'

"*Akár* = ironmonger.

"*Kûlâl* = potter.

"*Dôm†*

= musician }

"*Kramîn*

= tanner ? }

(the lowest castes).

\* Both my Gilgiti follower, Ghulam Muhammad, and the Astóri retainer, Mirza Khan, claimed to be pure Shins.

† My Sazini says that the Dôms are below the Kramîns and that there are only 4 original castes: Shin, Yáshkunn, Kramîn [or "Kaminn"] and Dôm, who, to quote his words, occupy the following relative ranks: "The Shin is the right hand, the Yáshkunn the left; the Kramîn the right foot, the Dôm the left foot." "The other castes are mere names for occupations." "A Shin or Yáshkunn can trade, cultivate land or be a shepherd without loss of dignity — Kramîns are weavers, carpenters, etc., but not musicians—as for leather, it is not prepared in the country. Kramîns who cultivate land consider themselves equal to Shins. Dôms can follow any employment, but, if a Dôm becomes a Mulla, he is respected. Members of the several castes who misbehave are called Mîn, Pashgun, Mamîn and Môm respectively. "A man of good caste will espouse sides and fight to the last even against his own brother." Revenge is a duty, as among Afghans, but is not transmitted from generation to generation, if the first murderer is killed. A man who has killed another, by mistake, in a fight or otherwise, seeks a frank forgiveness by bringing a rope, shroud and a buffalo to the relatives of the deceased. The upper castes can, if

"*N.B.*—The *Brokhpâ* are a mixed race of Dardu-Tibetans, as indeed are the Astoris [the latter of whom, however, consider themselves very pure Shins]; the *Gurdîzis* are probably Dardu-Kashmiris; but I presume that the above division of caste is known, if not upheld, by every section of the Shinâ people. The castes most prevalent in Guraiz are evidently Kashmiri as:

"Bhat. Lôn. Dâr. Wây. Râter. Thôkr. Bagâ."

*GENEALOGY OF THE GILGIT, YASIN, CHITRAL,  
NAGYR, HUNZA, AND OTHER DYNASTIES  
SINCE 1800.*

I.—GILGIT ... .. Gurtam Khan (1800), hereditary ruler of Gilgit, whose dynasty can be traced to the daughter of Shiribadatt, the last, almost mythical, Heathen Shin Raja of Gilgit. Killed in 1810 by Suleyman Shah of Yasin.

Raja Khan (?) died  
1814.

Muhammad Khan reigns till  
1826 and is killed by  
Suleyman Shah of Yasin.

Abbas Ali, killed  
in 1815 by Sulei-  
man Shah.

Asghar Ali killed on his flight to Nagyr by Suleyman Shah.

Mansur Ali Khan,  
(the rightful Raja of Gilgit, probably still a prisoner in Srinagar).

1827.—Azad Shah, Raja of Gakutsh, appointed ruler of Gilgit by Suleyman Shah whom he kills in 1829.

Tahir Shah of Nagyr conquers Gilgit in 1834  
and kills Azad.

Sakandar Khan, killed  
by Gauhar Aman of  
Yasin, in 1844.

Kerim Khan, (Raja of Gôr),  
(calls in Kashmir troops  
under Nathe Shah in 1844)  
was killed in 1848 in Hunza.

Suleyman Khan.

Muhammad Khan died  
in 1859 when on a  
visit to Srinagar.

Suleyman Khan.

Sultan Muham-  
mad.

Rustam  
Khan.

Alidâd Khan (son of Mu-  
hammad Khan's sister).

Ghulam Hayder.

II.—YASIN DYNASTY. It is said that both the Yasin and the Chitral dynasties are descended from a common ancestor "Kathôr." The Gilgitis call the Yasinis "Poryalé" and the Chitralis "Katoré."

there are no Kramins in their villages, do ironmonger's and carpenter's work, without disgrace; but must wait for Kramins or Dôms for weaver's work. The women spin. The "Dôms" are the "Rôms" of Gipsy lore.

*Khushwakt* (?) died 1800 (?) from whom the present dynasty derives the name of "Khushwaktia." [A Raja of that name and dignity often met me at Srinagar in 1886.]

He had two sons, *Suleyman Shah* and *Malik Amán Shah*. The former died about 1829 and left four sons and a daughter whom he married to Ghazanfar, the Rajah of Hunza. The names of the sons are Azmat Shah, the eldest, Ahmad Shah, Rahim Khan and Zarmast Khan.

*Malik Amán Shah* was the father of seven or, as some say, of ten sons, the most famous of whom was GAUHAR AMAN, surnamed "Adam farosh" (the man-seller) the third son. The names of the sons are: Khuda Amán, Duda Amán, Gauhar Amán, Khalil Amán, Akbar Amán (who was killed by his nephew Malik Amán, eldest son of his brother Gauhar-Amán); ISA BAHADUR (son of Malik Amán Shah by a concubine), Gulsher, Mahter Sakhi, Bahadur Khan (who was murdered) and Mir Amán (?) of Mistuch (?).

*Gauhar Amán* left seven sons: MALIK AMÁN (also called Mir Kammu ? now in Tangir ?) Bahadur Amán, murdered by Lochan Singh, MIR VALI (who killed Hayward), Mir Gházi, PAHLWAN (who killed Mir Vali), Khan Daurán and Shajáyat Khan. [The Khushwaktia Dynasty has since been dispossessed by the kindred dynasty of Chitrál in 1884.]

### III.—CHITRAL OR "SHAH KATHORIA" DYNASTY.

SHAH KATHOR, the son of Shah Afzal, (who died about 1800) was a soldier of fortune who dispossessed the former ruler, whose grandson, Vigne saw in the service of Ahmad Shah, the independent ruler of Little Tibet in 1835. Cunningham considers that the name of Kathôr is a title that has been borne by the rulers of Chitrál for 2,000 years.

*Shah Kathor* had a brother, Sarbaland Khan, whose descendants do not concern us, and four sons and a daughter married to Gauhar Amán of Yasin. The names of the sons were: *Shah Afzal* (who died in 1858), Tajammul Shah who was killed in 1865 by his nephew Adam-khor—or man-eater—(so called from his murderous disposition; his real name was Muhtarim Shah), Ghazab Shah (who died a natural death) and Afrasiab (who was killed). The murdered Tajammul Shah left two sons namely Malik Shah (who revenged his father's death by killing Adam Khôr), and Sayad Ali Shah.

*Shah Afzal* left AMÁN-UL-MULK, his eldest son, the present ruler of Chitrál [1872] Adam-khôr (who usurped the rule for a time); Kohkán Beg, ruler of Drus; a daughter whom he married to Rahmat-ulla-Khan, chief of Dir; Muhammad Ali Beg; Yadgar Beg; Bahadur Khan; and another daughter whom Gauhar-Amán married as well as Shah Afzal's sister and had Pahlwan by her.

Amán-ul-Mulk married a daughter of the late Ghazan Khan, chief of Dir, by whom he had Sardar (his eldest son), also called Nizam-ul-Mulk. Amán-ul-Mulk's other sons are Murad and others whose names will be found elsewhere. One of his daughters is married to Jehandar Shah, the former ruler of Badakhshán and the other to the son of the present Chief, Mir Mahmud Shah. [Full details are given elsewhere of the Yasin-Chitrál house.]

IV.—The names of the principal chiefs of the Chilâsis and of the Yaghistanis (the independent Hill tribes of Darêl, Hôdûr, Tangir, etc.)

have already been given in my "history" of their "Wars with Kashmir." Just as in Chilás and Kandíá, the administration is in the hands of a Board of Elders. The Maharaja of Kashmir only obtains tribute from three villages in Chilaz, *viz.*, the villages of Chilás, Takk and Bundar.

V.—NAGYR,\* [is tributary to Ahmad Shah of Little Tibet about the beginning of this century, but soon throws off this allegiance to Ahmad Shah under Alif Khan.] (?) ... ..

Alif Khan. 1800 (?)

[“Nagyr,” which Col. Bid-dulph very properly writes “Nager” (like “Pamèr”) is now spelt “Nagar,” so as to confound it with the Indian “Nagar” for “town,” from which it is quite different.]

Rajah Zahid Jafar (the present Raja of Nagyr).

Son (a hostage for his father's adhesion to Kashmir, whom I saw at Gilgit in 1866). The names of his maternal uncles are Shah Iskandar and Raja Kerim Khan (?) the elder brother. (The full genealogy of Hunza-Nagyr is given elsewhere.)

VI.—HUNZA ... ..

Ghazanfar, died 1865.

Ghazan Khan, present ruler.†

VII.—BADAKHSHAN ... ..

*Sultán Shah.*

Rejeb Shah.

Mirza Kalán.

Ahmad Shah.

NIZAM-UD-DIN  
(surnamed  
MIR SHAH).

Yusuf  
Ali  
Khan.

Saad-ulla  
Khan.

Rahmat  
Shah.

Shah Ibra-  
him Khan.

MAHMUD SHAH [1872] (present ruler of Badakhshan under Kabul) stayed a long time with his maternal uncle, the ruler of Kunduz, whence he has often been miscalled “a Sayad from Kunduz.”

Shajá-ul  
Mulk.

JEHAN-  
DAR  
SHAH,

Suley-  
man  
Shah.

Shah-  
zada  
Hasan.

the former ruler, independent of Kabul (now (1872) a fugitive; infests the Kolab road).

Abdulla Khan (by a concubine).

Yusuf Ali Khan had seven sons: Mirza Kalán, surnamed Mir Jan; Hazrat Ján; Ismail Khan; Akbar Khan; Umr Khan, Sultan Shah; Abdurrahim Khan (by a concubine).

Saad-ulla Khan had two sons: Baba Khan and Mahmud Khan (by a concubine).

\* Only so much has been mentioned of the Genealogies of the rulers of Nagyr, Hunza, and Dir, as belongs to this portion of my account of Dardistan.

† Full details of the successor of Ghazan Khan to the present vassal of the Kashmir (Anglo-Indian) Government are given elsewhere.

VIII.—DIR ... .. Ghazan Khan (a very powerful ruler.  
Chitrál is said to have once  
been tributary to him).

Rahmat-ulla Khan and other eight  
sons (dispersed or killed in  
struggles for the Chiefship).

The connection of Little Tibet with the Dard countries had ceased  
before 1800.

### *ROUGH CHRONOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF DARDISTAN SINCE 1800.*

- 1800.—Gurtam Khan, hereditary ruler of the now dispossessed Gilgit  
Dynasty, rules 10 years in peace; is killed in an engagement  
with Suleyman Khan, Khushwaktia, great uncle of the famous  
Gauhar Amán (or Gormán) of Yasin.
- 1811.—Muhammad Khan, the son of Gurtam Khan, defeats Suleyman  
Khan, rules Gilgit for 15 years in peace and perfect independence  
whilst—
- 1814.—(Sirdar Muhammad Azim Khan, Barakzai, is ruler of Kashmir).
- 1819.—Ranjit Singh annexes Kashmir.
- 1826.—Suleyman Khan of Yasin again attacks Gilgit and kills Muhammad  
Khan and his brother, Abbas Ali. Muhammad Khan's son,  
Asghar Ali, is also killed on his flight to Nagyr.
- 1827.—Suleyman Shah appoints Azad Khan (?), petty Raja of Gakutsh,  
over Gilgit as far as Bunji; Azad Khan ingratiates himself with  
the people and rebels against Suleyman Shah whom he kills (?)  
in 1829.
- 1829.—Suleyman Shah, head of the Khushwaktia family of Yasin, dies.
- 1833.—Gauhar Amán turns his uncle, Azmat Shah, out of Yasin.
- 1834.—Azad Khan is attacked by Tahir Shah of Nagyr and killed. Tahir  
Shah, a Shiah, treats his subjects well. Dies 1839. Vigne visits  
Astór in 1835, but Tahir Shah will not allow him to cross over  
to Gilgit. At that time the Sikhs had not conquered any Dard  
country. Ahmad Shah was independent ruler of Little Tibet  
(Baltistan) and under him was Jabar Khan, chief of Astór (whose  
descendants,\* like those of Ahmad Shah himself and of the  
Ladak rulers are now petty pensioners under Kashmir surveil-  
lance). (The Little Tibet dynasty had once, under Shah Murad,  
about 1660, conquered Hunza, Nagyr, Gilgit and Chitrál, where  
that ruler built a bridge near the fort.) Zorawar Singh conquers  
Little Tibet in 1840, but no interference in Dard affairs takes  
place till 1841 when the Sikhs are called in as temporary allies  
by the Gilgit ruler against Gauhar Amán of Yasin.
- 1840.—Sakandar Khan, son of Tahir Shah, succeeds to the throne of  
Gilgit and rules the country—with his brothers, Kerim Khan and  
Suleyman Khan.

\* Abbas Khan (?) now at Srinagur and Bahadur Khan (?).

1841.—Gauhar Amán of Yasin conquers Gilgit. Its ruler, Sikandar Khan, asks Sheikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-din, Governor of Kashmir on behalf of the Sikhs, for help.

1842.—1,000 Kashmir troops sent under Nathe Shah, a Panjabi.

1843.—Sikandar Khan is murdered at Bakrôt at the instigation of Gauhar Amán.

1844.—Gauhar Amán of Yasin re-conquers the whole country, selling many of its inhabitants into slavery.

Nathe Shah, joined by Kerim Khan, younger brother of Sikandar Khan and 4,000 reinforcements, takes Numal Fort, but his subordinate Mathra Das is met at Sher Kila (20 miles from Gilgit) by Gauhar Amán and defeated.

1845.—Karim Khan succeeds his brother as ruler (called "Raja," although a Muhammadan) of Gilgit and pays a small sum for the retention of some Kashmir troops in the Gilgit Fort under Nathe Shah. The Rajas of Hunza, Nagyr and Yasin [Gauhar Amán sending his brother Khalil Amán to Sheikh Iman-ud-din] now seek to be on good terms with Kashmir, especially as its representatives, the tyrannical Nathe Shah and his equally unpopular successor, Atar Singh, are removed by its Muhammadan Governor.

1846.—Karim Khan, Raja of Gor, another son of Tahir Shah, calls in Nathe Shah and defeats Gauhar Amán at Basin, close to Gilgit. A succession of officers of Ghulab Singh then administer the country in connexion with the Raja of Gilgit (Wazir Singh, Ranjit Rai, Bakhshu, Ali Bakhsh and Ahmad Ali Shah, brother or cousin of Nathe Shah).

"KASHMIR AND ITS DEPENDENCIES EASTWARD OF THE INDUS" are made over by the British to the Hindu Ghulab Singh. Gilgit, which lies to the *westward* of the Indus, is thus excluded from the dominions of that Maharaja. Gilgit was also, strictly speaking, not a dependency of Kashmir.

1847.—The Maharaja restores Nathe Shah, whilst confirming his cousin Nazar Ali Shah as Military Commandant of Gilgit. Raja Kerim Khan sends his brother Suleyman Khan on a friendly mission to Srinagar, where he dies. Vans Agnew arrives at Chalt on the Gilgit frontier towards Nagyr and makes friends with the people, who at first thought that he came accompanied by troops.

1848.—Isa Bahadur, the half-brother of Gauhar Amán by a concubine of Malik Amán Shah, is expelled from Sher Kila, a Fort belonging to Punyal, a dependency of Yasin, and finds refuge with the Maharaja, who refuses to give him up. Gauhar Amán accordingly sends troops under his brother Akbar Amán and captures the Bargu and Shukayôt Forts in Gilgit territory. The Rajas of Hunza and Nagyr combine with Gauhar Amán and assisted by the Gilgit people, with whom Kerim Khan was unpopular because of his friendship for Kashmir, defeat and kill Nathe Shah and Kerim Khan. Gauhar Amán captures the Gilgit and Chaprôt Forts. The Kashmir troops re-invade the country and at the beginning of



- 1849.—Wrest all the forts in Gilgit territory from Gauhar Amán, and make over the rule of that country to Raja Muhammad Khan, son of Kerim Khan, assisted by the Kashmir representative, Aman Ali Shah as Thanadar, soon removed for oppression.
- 1850.—The raids of the Chilâsis on Astór is made the occasion for invading the country of Chilâs, which, not being a dependency of Kashmir, is not included in the treaty of 1846. The Maharaja gives out that he is acting under orders of the British Government. Great consternation among petty chiefs about Muzaffarabad, regarding ulterior plans of the Maharaja. The Sikhs send a large army, which is defeated before the Fort of Chilâs.
- 1851.—Bakhshi Hari Singh and Dewan Hari Chand are sent with 10,000 men against Chilâs and succeed in destroying the fort and scattering the hostile hill tribes which assisted the Chilâsis.
- 1852.—The Maharaja's head officers, Santu Singh and Ramdhan, are murdered by the people of Gilgit whom they oppressed. The people again assist Gauhar Amán, who defeats and kills Bhup Singh and Ruknuddin (for details *vide* Appendix, and drives the Kashmir troops across the Indus to Astór.
- 1853.—The Maharaja now confines himself to the frontier, assigned to him by nature as well as the treaty, at Bunji, on the east of the Indus, but sends agents to sow discord in the family of Gauhar Amán. In addition to Isa Bahadur, he gained over two other brothers, Khalil Amán and Akbar Amán, but failed with Mahtar Sakhi, although an exile. He also attracted to his side Azmat Shah, Gauhar Amán's uncle.
- 1854.—The Maharaja instigated Shah Afzal of Chitrál to attack Gauhar Amán, and accordingly in
- 1855.—Adam Khor, son of Shah Afzal of Chitrál, drove Gauhar Amán from the possession of Mistuch and Yasin and restricted him to Punyal and Gilgit.
- 1856.—The Maharaja sends a force across the Indus under Wazir Zoraweru and Atar Singh assisted by Raja Zahid Jafar of Nagyr,\* and Gauhar Amán thus attacked in front and flank, retreats from Gilgit and dispossesses Adam Khor from Yasin and Mistuch.
- 1857.—Gauhar Amán again conquers Gilgit and drives out Isa Bahadur, officiating Thanadar of that place. Gauhar Amán and the Maharaja intrigue against each other in Chitrál, Nagyr, Hunza, etc.
- 1858.—Shah Afzal of the Shah Kathor branch, ruler of Chitrál, dies.
- Intrigues in Gilgit against Gauhar Amán, by Muhammad Khan, son of Raja Karim Khan, assisted by Kashmir. Muhammad Khan is conciliated by marrying the daughter of Gauhar Amán. The Sai District of Gilgit beyond the Niludar range is still held by the Sikhs.

\* I believe that Raja Zahid Jafar's wife was a sister of Raja Kerim Khan and Sakandar Khan of Gilgit (also of Nagyr descent). *Vide* page 63 and Heading V. on page 65. This connexion might account for Jafar helping the Dogras, who had reinstated Kerim Khan in Gilgit.

1859.—Mir Shah of Badakhshan and Raja Ghazanfar of Hunza assist Gauhar Amán in attacking Nagyr, which is under the friendly Raja Zahid Jafar, and in trying to turn out the Sikhs from Sai and even Bunji. Azmat Shah, uncle of Gauhar Amán, is expelled from Chitrál where he had sought refuge.

Aman-ul-Mulk, King of Chitrál, dispossesses his younger brother, Adam Khor, who had usurped the throne, from the rule of Chitrál and joins Gauhar Amán against Kashmir.

1860.—The Maharaja instigates Adam Khor and Azmat Shah, who were in the country of Dir with Ghazan Khan, a friendly chief to Kashmir, to fight Gauhar Amán—Adam Khor was to have Yasin. Azmat Shah was to take Mistuch and Sher Kila (Payal) was to be given to Isa Bahadur, the Maharaja to have Gilgit. Intrigues of the Maharaja with the Chiefs of Dir, Badakhshan, etc.

Gauhar Amán dies, which is the signal for an attack by the Maharaja co-operating with the sons of Raja Kerim Khan of Gilgit. Gilgit falls easily to Lochan Singh, who murders Bahadur Khan, brother of Gauhar Amán, who was sent with presents from Malik Amán, also called Mulk Amán, son of Gauhar Amán. The Sikhs, under Colonels Devi Singh and Hushara and Radha Kishen, march to Yasin expelling Mulk Amán from that country (which is made over to Azmat Shah) as also from Mistuch. Isa Bahadur is reinstated as ruler of Payal, but Mulk Amán returns and drives him and Azmat Shah out. The Kashmir troops fail in their counter-attacks on Yasin, but capture some prisoners, including Mulk Amán's wife.

1861.—Malik Amán murders his uncle, Akbar Amán, a partisan of Kashmir. Badakhshan, Chitrál and Dir ask the Maharaja to assist them against the dreaded invasion of the Kabul Amirs, Afzal Khan and Azim Khan. Amán-ul-Mulk tries to get up a religious war (Jehád) among all the Muhammadan Chiefs. Hunza and Nagyr make friends. Both Adam Khor and Amán-ul-Mulk, who have again become reconciled, send conciliatory messages to the Maharaja, who frustrates their designs, as they are secretly conspiring against him.

Even Mulk Amán makes overtures, but unsuccessfully.

1862.—Kashmir troops take the Fort of Roshan. A combination is made against Mulk Amán, whose uncle Gulsher and brother Mir Ghazi go over to the Maharaja.

1863.—Mulk Amán advancing on Gilgit is defeated in a very bloody battle at the Yasin Fort of Shamir. Massacre of women and children by the Kashmir troops at Yasin.

1864.—Mir Vali and his Vazir Rahmat become partisans of the Maharaja.

1865.—Ghazanfar, the Raja of Hunza and father-in-law of Mulk-Amán, dies, which causes Mirza Bahadur of the rival Nagyr to combine for an attack on Hunza with Kashmir. Adam Khor murders his uncle, Tajammul Shah, whose son, Malik Shah, murders

- 1866.—Adam Khor (some say at the instigation of his elder brother, Amán-ul-Mulk). Malik Shah seeks refuge with the Maharaja who will not give him up to Amán-ul-Mulk. Amán-ul-Mulk then sprung the mine he had long prepared, and when the long contemplated campaign against Hunza took place in 1866, all the Mussulman Chiefs who had been adherents of the Maharaja, including Mir Vali, fell away. The Kashmir troops which had advanced on Nummal were betrayed, and defeated by the Hunza people (now ruled by Ghazan Khan, son of Ghazanfar).

All the hill tribes combine against Kashmir and reduce the Dogras to the bare possession of Gilgit, which however held out successfully against more than 20,000 of the allied Dards, headed by Amán-ul-Mulk, Ghazan Khan and Mir Vali. Very large reinforcements were sent by Kashmir,\* at whose approach the besiegers retreated, leaving, however, skirmishers all over the country.

Wazir Zoraweru followed up the advantage gained by invading Dareyl. Whilst the place was yet partially invested, Dr. Leitner made his way to the Gilgit Fort and frustrated two attempts made against him by the employés of the Maharaja, who ostensibly were friends.

- 1867.—Jehandár Shah of Badakhshan is expelled from his country by the Governor of Balkh and seeks refuge in Kabul, where he is restored a year afterwards to his ancestral throne by the influence of Abdurrahman Khan, son of the Amir Afzal Khan and by his popularity. His rival, Mahmud Shah, leaves without a struggle. Mir Vali, joining Mulk Amán, made an unsuccessful attack on Isa Bahadur and Azmat Shah, who beat them off with the help of Kashmir troops from Gilgit. The consequence was general disappointment among the Muhammadan Chiefs and the Hill tribe of Dareyl (which had been subdued in the meantime) and all opened friendly relations with Kashmir, especially.

- 1868.—Mir Vali rules Yasin with Pahlwan.† Mulk Amán flees to Chitrál.

- 1869.—Mulk Amán takes service with Kashmir and is appointed on a salary, but under surveillance, at Gilgit.

- 1870.—Mr. Hayward visits Yasin in March; is well received by the Chief, Mir Vali, but returns, as he finds the passes on to the Pamir closed by snow—visits the country a second time in July, after exposing the conduct and breach of treaty of the Kashmir authorities, and is murdered, apparently without any object, at

\* Jewahir Singh went by Shigar with 13,000 Baltis (Little Tibetans), 2,000 light infantry came *via* Jagloth under Sirdar Mahmud Khan. The general of all the "Khulle" Regiments was Bakhshi Radha Kishn. Colonel Hoshiára went by the Nomal road to Nagvr, and after destroying 3,000 head of sheep and many villages returned.

Wazir Zoraweru went to Darél with Colonel Devi Singh and 10,000 men (?). Bija Singh was at Gor (?) and Hussani Ali was in command of the Artillery.

† Mir Vali and Pahlwan are brothers by different mothers. Mulk Amán and Nura Guzú (Mir Ghazi ?) are brothers by the same mother—so one of my men says. Pahlwan is Amán-ul-Mulk's sister's son (*vide* "History of Wars with Kashmir," Dardistan, Part III., page 67).

Darkôt in Yasin, one stage on to Wakhan, by some men in the service of his former friend, Mir Vali, who, however, soon flies the country in the direction of Badakhshan, then seeks refuge with the Akhund of Swat, and finally returns to Yasin, where he is reported to have been well received by Pahlwan. Whilst in Chitrál, he was seen by Major Montgomerie's Havildar and was on good terms with Amán-ul-Mulk, who is supposed, chiefly on the authority of a doubtful seal, to be the instigator of a murder which was not, apparently, to his interests and which did not enrich him or Mir Vali with any booty, excepting a gun and a few other trifles. Much of the property of Mr. Hayward was recovered by the Kashmir authorities, and a monument was erected by them to his memory at Gilgit, where there is already a shrine, which is referred to on pages 46 and 51.

1871.—Jehandár Shah, son of Mir Shah, who had again been turned out of the rule of Badakhshan in October 1869 by Mir Mahmud Shah with the help of the Afghan troops of Amir Sher Ali, finds an asylum in Chitrál with Amán-ul-Mulk (whose daughter had been married to his son) after having for some time shared the fortunes of his friend, the fugitive Abdurrahman Khan of Kabul. (Chitrál pays an annual tribute to the Chief of Badakhshan in slaves, which it raises either by kidnapping travellers or independent Kafirs or by enslaving some of its own Shiah and Kafir subjects—the ruler being of the Sunni persuasion.)

1872.—Late accounts are confused, but the influence of Amir Sher Ali seems to be pressing through Badakhshán on Chitrál and through Bajaur on Swat on the one hand and on the Kafir races on the other. The Maharaja of Kashmir on the one side and the Amir of Kabul on the other seem to endeavour to approach their frontiers at the expense of the intervening Dard and other tribes. Jehandár Shah infests the Kolab road and would be hailed by the people of Badakhshan as a deliverer from the oppressive rule of Mahmud Shah, as soon as the Kabul troops were to withdraw.

So far my "Dardistan," in which a detailed "History of the Wars with Kashmir" will be found. The events since 1872 need only to be indicated here in rough outline, and, unfortunately, confirm my worst anticipations as to the destruction of the independence of the Dardu tribes, of their legendary lore, and, above all, of the purity of their languages, including the prehistoric Khajuná or "Burishki" spoken in Hunza-Nagyr, and a part of Yasin. What are the admitted encroachments of our Ally, the Maharaja of Kashmir, have been utilized in our supposed interests, and we have stepped in to profit, as we foolishly think, by his sins, whilst he is tricked out of their reward. Falsely alleging that Hunza-Nagyr were rebellious vassals of Kashmir, when Hunza at all events was under Chinese protectorate, we have reduced their patriotic defenders to practical servitude, and, by to-day's *Times* (21st November, 1892), are starting, along with 250 rifles and two guns, some 100 men of a Hunza levy to Chitrál to put down a trouble which our ill-judged interference has created in another independent principality, where we have put aside the rightful heir, Nizám-ul-Mulk, for his

younger brother, Afzul-ul-Mulk, on the pretext that the former was intriguing with the Russians. I believe this allegation to be absolutely false, for I know him to be most friendly to British interests. In 1886 he offered to send a thousand men from Warshigum over the passes to the relief of Colonel (now General Sir) W. Lockhart, then a temporary prisoner at Panjah Fort in Affghan hands. As Padishah of Turikoh, Nizám-ul-Mulk was, in his father's life-time, the *acknowledged* heir to the Chitrál throne, and he was made by his father Raja of Yasin in succession to Afzul, who had taken it in 1884 from Mir Amán, the maternal uncle of Pehliwán, who was ruler of Yasin in 1880, when Colonel Biddulph wrote his "Tribes of the Hindukush," and with whom the Khushwaqtia dynasty, as such, came to an end. This Pehliwan killed Mir Wali, the murderer of Hayward, but Pehliwan made the mistake of attacking Biddulph in 1880, and was ousted by Mir Amán. With Nizám-ul-Mulk, therefore, begins the rule over Yasin by the Kathoria Dynasty of Chitrál. He is now a fugitive at Gilgit; had he been intriguing with Russia he would certainly not have sought refuge from his brother in the British lion's mouth at Gilgit. All I can say is that in 1886 he did not even know the name of Russia, and that when he wrote to me in 1887 he referred to the advent of the French explorers Capus, Pepin and Bonvalot, as follows: "they call themselves sometimes French, and at other times Russians." In the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1891, there is a paper from Raja Nizám-ul-Mulk on "the Legends of Chitrál," he thus being the first Central Asian prince whose literary effusion has appeared in the pages of a British, or indeed of any, Review. His first letters, sent in the hollow of a twig, like his latter ones sent through British officers, all breathe a spirit of what may be called the sincerest loyalty to the Queen-Empress, were he not an absolutely independent ruler. There will be an evil day of reckoning when the "meddling and muddling," which has created the Russian Frankenstein, will be followed by the exasperation of princes and people, within and beyond our legitimate frontier. To revert to Hunza and Nagyr, Mr. F. Drew, an Assistant Master of Eton College, who was *in the service of the Maharaja of Kashmir*, wrote in 1877 in his "Northern Barrier of India"—which, alas! our practical annexation of Kashmir, and our interference with the Hindukush tribes are breaking down—as follows: "Hunza and Nagyr are two small INDEPENDENT RAJASHIPS. Nagyr has generally shown a desire to be on friendly terms with the Dogras at Gilgit, while Hunza has been a thorn in their side." There is not a word here of these States being tributaries of Kashmir, whilst Colonel Biddulph, who was our Resident at Gilgit, shows that the last Hunza raid was committed in 1867, and that slavery and kidnapping were unknown in inoffensive, if not "timid," Nagyr. My article in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1892, shows that raiding and slavery had been recently revived in consequence of alike Russian and English advances, and that the fussiness and ambition of our officials have alone *indicated and paved* "the nearest way to India."

*Woking, 21st November, 1892.*

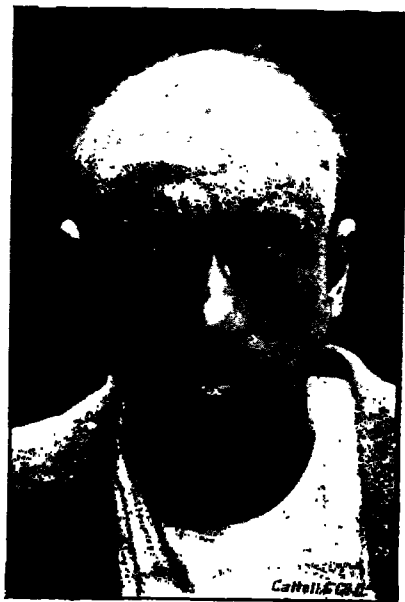
P.S.—In correcting this proof of a paper on the Fairy-land that adjoins "the Roof of the World," which our imprudence has drawn within the range of practical politics, I never anticipated that I should have to refer to my "rough sketch of the History of Dardistan" brought down to 1872 as a refutation of the history written to order by some of our leading journals which, to suit the policy of the moment, would make the Amir of Affghanistan responsible for Badakhshan, and yet blame him for interfering with Chitrál, as is hinted in a telegram in to-day's *Times*. I shall deal with this matter elsewhere.

*Woking, 29th November, 1892.*

# OUR MANUFACTURED FOES.



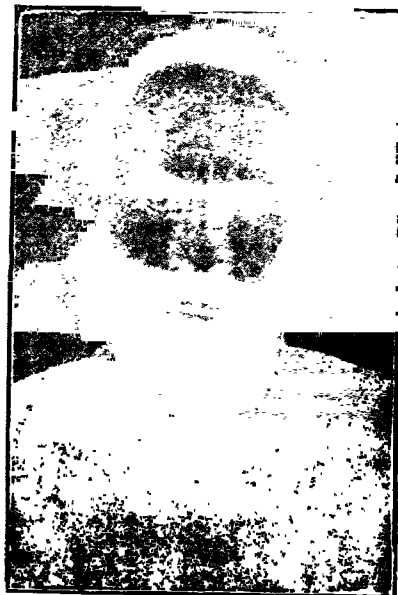
A STUDENT FROM TANGIR.



A NAGYRI PEASANT.



A DAREYLI HERDSMAN.



*(Already published.)*

A WELL-KNOWN HUNZA FIGHTER, BROUGHT  
TO ENGLAND BY DR. LEITNER IN 1887.



## A MARRIAGE CUSTOM OF THE ABORIGINES OF BENGAL: A STUDY IN THE SYMBOLISM OF MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

BY E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

IN his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Col. Dalton describes repeatedly a curious ceremony at marriages among several of the aboriginal tribes. It is known as *sindúr* (or *sindra*) *dán*, and consists in the bridegroom's marking his bride's forehead with red lead. Among the tribes who practise this ceremony it is the essential part of the marriage rite, which renders the union of bride and bridegroom complete, in the same way as the putting on of the ring in the marriage service of this country. In general the bride alone is marked; but among the Bírhors (who daub the neck and not the head) and the Kúrmis of Singbhúm both parties are marked; and this appears sometimes to be the case also among the Oráons. Another variation of the custom is found among the Bírhors, where it is indeed the only ceremony observed at a wedding. Blood is drawn from the little fingers of the bride and bridegroom; and with this they are marked, instead of red lead. In Singbhúm, too, they "touch and mark each other with blood."\*

The origin and meaning of the ceremony have been often discussed, but so far as I am aware no satisfactory attempt has been made to compare it with similar customs elsewhere. There can be little doubt that the Bírhors and the Kúrmis of Singbhúm in marking with blood have preserved the primitive material of the rite, and that the *sindúr* or red lead is a mere substitute for it. But what does the daubing with blood signify? Two suggestions have been made. Colonel Dalton's own guess is that it symbolizes the fact that bride and bridegroom have now become one flesh. The other view is that it is a relic of marriage by capture, in which the husband, as a preliminary to connubial felicity, had broken his wife's head.

\* Dalton, 160, 216, 220, 252, 273, 317, 319, 321.



The latter explanation has in its favour the prevalent custom of marking only the bride. Moreover, brides are captured in many savage tribes with the club. A native Australian will steal upon his lady-love's slumbers and striking her senseless will bear her off to his haunt in the bush. If this rough wooing had become gradually disused by the blackfellows, it is quite conceivable that a semblance of it might have survived in dashes of blood, or of red paint, inflicted by the bridegrooms of gentler generations upon the objects of their choice. But in that case it is probable that some horse-play would accompany the act; and if any retaliatory daubing by the bride upon the bridegroom took place, it would be a late development, after all trace of the real meaning had faded from the tribal memory.

When, however, we examine the cases mentioned by Col. Dalton we do not find these indications of an earlier wooing by the club. Among the Kharriás the rite is performed after the bride reaches her father-in-law's house, and after she and her husband have been bathed and anointed. The Oráons surround it with an elaborate ceremonial of a domestic and agricultural character, which is enshrouded with some little mystery, and takes place in a bower specially constructed for the purpose in front of the lady's dwelling. A bridegroom among the Hillmen of Rájmahál is first, with his relations, entertained by the bride's father at a feast. Her hand is then placed in his; and her father in doing so, charges the husband to be loving and kind to her. This is the moment chosen for the *sindra dán*, which is accomplished with the bridegroom's little finger; and then linking that finger in the bride's he leads her away to his own house. The complex rituals of the Gopas and the Kúrmis are of the same pacific character; and this may be said of all. Everything points to consent and goodwill by the bride and her party. Nothing in the shape of a weapon appears to be carried or used by the husband. He does not even strike his chosen with a whip, as in ancient Russia.

Then if we inquire whether the reciprocal daubing by the bride of her bridegroom is one of the older or newer parts of the ceremony, we find the indications all in the direction of its antiquity. Col. Dalton mentions three instances,—those of the Oraons, the Bírhors and the Kúrmis of Singbhúm. The first is somewhat doubtful, as the propriety of the procedure is stated to be a controverted point. It takes place behind and beneath screens of cloth, both parties standing in a special attitude on a curry-stone under which a sheaf of corn lies upon a plough-yoke. The symbolism here shows but little sign of modern degradation; and though outside the screens the men of both parties keep watch with raised weapons and fierce looks, they are evidently only the guardians of the solemn and peaceful performance within. But the other two instances are still more unequivocally archaic. For here it is that the marking is made with blood; and among the Kúrmis it is preceded by the curious custom of wedding each of the spouses to a tree—a custom with which we have no further concern for the moment than to note its antique and savage character.

Moreover, the marks are not always inflicted by the bridegroom on the bride. Among the Bodos it would seem to be the rule for two women to accompany the bridegroom and his friends in their procession to the bride's house. These women it is, who, penetrating to her apartment, anoint her head with oil, mixed with red lead prior to her being presented to her husband.\* Conversely, the Santal bridegroom in some districts, after reaching the bride's village, is stripped by her clanswomen, and by them bathed and dressed in new garments properly stained with red lead.†

Beyond the limits of Bengal blood is not often a prominent feature in marriage rites. Yet some significant instances may be cited. We cannot reckon that of the ancient

\* Featherman, "Social History of the Races of Mankind, Turanians," 30.

† *Ibid.*, 63.

Aztecs among these. When, after the marriage feast, the Aztec bridal pair retired to their chamber, it was only to fast and pray during four days, and to draw blood from various parts of their bodies. The object of this bleeding, however, is said to have been the propitiation of their cruel gods. The ceremonies of the Wukas, a tribe inhabiting the mountains of New Guinea, however, are exactly in point. Their weddings begin with an elopement, followed by pursuit and capture of both fugitives. The next step is to bargain for the price of the bride. When this is settled, and not before, the marriage is effected by mutual cuts made by husband and wife in one another's foreheads, so that the blood flows. The other members of both families then do likewise—a proceeding, we are told, “which binds together all the relations on both sides in the closest fraternal alliance.”\* The writer I am quoting does not, indeed, *mention* any daubing or exchange of blood; but, as we shall see hereafter, this must be understood. The Gipsies of Hungary preserve some remarkable ceremonies and superstitions. A bride and bridegroom of the northern stock, before setting out for their wedding smear the soles of their left feet with one another's blood. And a bride of the southern stock, or a bride of the Serbian Gipsies, will seek on her wedding night to smear unobserved a drop of blood from her left hand in her husband's hair, in order that he may be constant to her.† The Caribs are reported to have had no specific rites of marriage. But a full-grown

\* Featherman, “Social History of the Races of Mankind, Papuo-Melanesians,” 32.

† Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki in iii “Am Urquell,” 93. Is it a relic of some kindred ceremony in the South of France, when a wag sometimes amuses himself by pricking bride and bridegroom, while they are kneeling before the altar, *until the blood flows*? The object, we are told, is to test their characters, for the one who cries out the louder at the pain is the more jealous or the less amiable of the pair. It does not follow that this was the original object. Béranger-Féraud, “Traditions et Réminiscences Populaires de la Provence,” 202. But other jocular tests have also been common, e.g., pinching. See Laisnel de la Salle, ii “Croyances et Légendes du Centre de la France,” 39.

man would sometimes betroth himself to an unborn child, conditionally on its proving a girl. When this was done it was the custom for him to mark the mother's body with a red cross.\* This is an act hardly susceptible of more than one interpretation. As the child itself could not be reached, the next best thing was done. The red mark over the mother's womb was no doubt originally made with the man's blood, and symbolized the union henceforth existing between him and the unborn infant.

There is one piece of evidence pointing to a practice among the Scandinavian Aryans, or rather perhaps among the non-Aryan races with whom they came into contact, similar to that of the Bengal Turanians. A Norwegian youth was curious to see if it were really true that the Huldren, or wood-women (a kind of supernatural beings), occupied the mountain dwelling in the autumn after it was deserted by the family for the lowlands. The tale runs that he crept under a large upturned tub, and there waited until it began to grow dark. Then he heard a noise of coming and going; and it was not long before the house was filled with Huldrenfolk. They immediately smelt Christian flesh, but could not find the lad, until at length a maiden discovered him beneath the tub, and pointed at him with her finger. He drew his knife and scratched her finger, so that the blood flowed. Scarcely had he done it, when the whole party surrounded him; and the girl's mother, supported by the rest, demanded that he must now marry her daughter, *because he had marked her with blood*. There was nothing for it but to promise marriage; and it is satisfactory to add that when she had been instructed in the Word of God and baptized, she lost the tail which she had hitherto borne, like all her race, and she made the youth a faithful and loving spouse.† Now it may very well be that the reason for compelling this marriage is incomprehensible to the modern teller of the tale, at least as a serious ground.

\* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 267.

† H. F. Feilberg in iii "Am Urquell," 3, citing Haukenaes.

But the tale can hardly have arisen and been propagated, with the incident in question as its catastrophe, unless a custom of marking with blood in connection with a wedding ceremony had been known to the original tellers. The exact form of that custom is still to seek. It must, however, have been analogous to those we have passed in review; and its barbarous nature points back to a remote antiquity, and a much lower grade of civilization, than the Norwegian people has now, and long since, attained.

From the examination, therefore, of the rites of other races, as well as of the Bengal aborigines, Col. Dalton's interpretation of the custom of marking the bride with red lead, and of its more archaic form of marking her with blood, is found to be correct. It is the obvious correlative of the practice of making covenants by blood, found among so many savage nations. Mr. Ward describes this ceremony minutely on the occasion when he himself entered into the blood-covenant with Mata Bwiki, a chief of the Upper Congo. Its essential part consisted in making an incision in the fore-arm of each of them, and rubbing their arms together, "so that the flowing blood intermingled. We were declared," he adds, "to be brothers of one blood, whose interests henceforth should be united as our blood now was."\* Other savages perform the rite differently. The Karens suck a portion of one another's blood from a puncture in the arm, or infuse it in water and drink it; and Giraldus Cambrensis describes the Irish of his day as forming a league in the same manner.† It must be by mixture in one of these ways that the kindred of the Papuan wedded pair cement their alliance. Ellis describes the female relatives of a bride and bridegroom in the Society Islands as cutting their faces, receiving the flowing blood on a piece of native cloth, and depositing the cloth, "sprinkled with the mingled blood of the mothers of the

\* Herbert Ward, "Five Years with the Congo Cannibals," 2nd edn., 131.

† Macmahon, "The Karens of the Golden Chersonese," 396. Gir. Camb., "The Topography of Ireland," ch. 22.

married pair, at the feet of the bride." And he tells us in so many words that this removed any inequality of rank that might have existed between them, and that "the two families to which they respectively belonged were ever afterwards regarded as one."\*

At this point we may pause to glance at some other ceremonies bearing a similar import to the *sindra dán*.

Both at Hindoo marriages and among the non-Aryan population of India it is usual to tie the clothes of bride and bridegroom together.† The ancient Aztec priest was wont to take the pair by the hands, asking if they were willing to marry, and on having their consent he tied a corner of the maiden's veil to her lover's gown, and led them thus tied together to the bridegroom's house, where further ceremonies awaited them.‡ The same rite is recorded of the tribes of Nicaragua.§ The Kúrmis of Bengal, who take the precaution of first wedding the bride and bridegroom each to a tree, attach some of the leaves of the tree thus married to the wrist of its human spouse: an adaptation, probably, of the same symbolism.||

An image more expressive still of union is found in the practice of covering both persons with one cloth. This obtains not only among several Dravidian tribes, but also among the Abyssinians, and the Chippeway Indians, and in the Society Islands; and it was one of the Aztec rites.¶ A recent writer in *L'Anthropologie* describes it as still in

\* Ellis, i "Polynesian Researches," 272.

† Dalton, 148, 234, 321. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 63, 120, 141. [Compare also the "Chaddar-dalna" "sheet-throwing" marriage form (second-class but still legitimate) among Hindus, especially Sikhs.—Ed.]

‡ Acosta, "History of the Indies" (Hakluyt Soc.), 370.

§ Stoll, "Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala," 8, 10.

|| Dalton, 319.

¶ Dalton, 252. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 30, 141; Aramæans, 605; Aoneo-Maranonians, 249; Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 101. Ellis, i. *op. cit.*, 117. The skin of a mare killed and eaten at the wedding banquet forms the first shelter of the happy Patagonian couple. Guinnard, "Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians," 139. Inasmuch as the horse has been known less than four hundred years in Patagonia, this must be a modern practice. What animal's skin was used previously?

use in Hebrew marriages, as it appears to have been in the days when Ruth was described as praying Boaz to "spread his skirt over his handmaid."\* Indeed up to a recent time, if not now, this very symbolism has been employed among the nations of modern Europe. In France a canopy, or veil, is held suspended over the heads of the pair during the ceremony: it bears the significant name of *abrifou*, or fool-shelter.† The most picturesque form of the practice was a Hessian usage now extinct. The bridegroom wore a large black mantle; and as he stood with his bride before the altar he flung with one strong sweep its ample folds around her, so that both of them were covered by it. If the bride or her husband had any child, born before marriage, and she took it there and then under the canopy, or the mantle, this act was sufficient to render it legitimate.‡ Much more than mere protection was here symbolized: unity of flesh was proclaimed. Had mere protection been all that was intended, it would have been more to the purpose to place bride and child beneath a shield, or indeed any other weapon. The cloth, or the mantle, represented the solitary garment of a primitive savage; and those who in a solemn ceremony were thus taken beneath it were identified in a peculiar manner with its owner.

The same meaning doubtless underlies a much ruder rite reported of the inhabitants of several of the East Indian islands. On the island of Nias, off the coast of Sumatra, the bridegroom, after a resistance, real or feigned, on the part of the maiden and her friends, gets possession of her, and both prostrate themselves before an idol made for the occasion, while a medicine-man presses them to-

\* iii "L'Anthropologie," 365. Cf. Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," 87.

† Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.*, ii 13, 39.

‡ Kolbe, "Hessische Volks-Sitten und Gebräuche," 176. A belief is said to have lingered into modern times among "the folk" in England that a mother might legitimate her children born before marriage by taking them under her clothes during the ceremony. Brayley's "Graphic and Historical Illustrator," 36.

gether\* so that their heads strike.\* Among one of the Dyak tribes of Borneo the heads of the affianced pair are knocked together; and in like manner on the Kingsmill Islands their foreheads are pressed together, in both cases by the officiating priest.† This uncouth practice appears happily to be confined to peoples of the Melanesian race.

But perhaps the most striking, as well as the most widely spread, of all these ceremonies is that familiar to us in the Roman law under the name of *Confarreatio*. This solemn form of marriage took its name from the central rite, in which the man and woman ate together a round cake, called the *panis farreus*. In one shape or other this rite is found in many lands. It has been too often described to need an extended notice here; but we may select for mention a few of the more significant instances. Beginning with the Santals—the couple to be married fast on the wedding-day until after the *sindra dān*, when they sit down together and eat. Col. Dalton, in speaking of this custom, reminds us that it is the more remarkable because the Hindoo husband and wife never eat together, and tells us that this meal is the first time the maiden is supposed to have sat with a man at his food, and that it “is the most important part of the ceremony, as by the act the girl ceases to belong to her father’s tribe, and becomes a member of her husband’s family.”‡ Father Bourien was present at several marriages of Mantras,§ an aboriginal people of the Malay Peninsula. According to his report, “a plate containing small packages of rice wrapped up in banana-leaves having been presented, the husband offered

\* Modigliani, “Un Viaggio a Nias,” 550. Cf. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Melanesians, 354.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Melanesians, 267. Westermarck, “Hist. of Human Marriage,” 423, citing Wilkes’ “Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition.”

‡ Dalton, 216. One form of the blood-covenant among the Karens is eating together of a bullock. Macmahon, *loc. cit.*

§ This term, as also that of Basisi, is applied by the civilized Malays somewhat vaguely to all the wild tribes of the interior, whether of Negrito or Malay origin.—Prof. A. H. Keane, Malay Peninsula, page 7.



one to his future wife, who showed herself eager to accept it, and ate it; she then in her turn gave some to her husband, and they afterwards both assisted in distributing them to the other members of the assemblage." In the feast which followed the remaining ceremonies husband and wife ate from one dish.\* So among the tribes of New Guinea when the bride is brought to her husband's dwelling a dish of food is presented to them, out of which they both eat; and on the island of Mangaia, in the Hervey Group, they are seated the while on a single piece of the finest white native cloth, just as at Rome they sat, during one portion of the proceedings, on the fell of a sheep which had just been slain in sacrifice.† Variants in the ceremony among the Papuans are the eating of three mouthfuls in alternate succession out of a pot of sago mush, served by one another, and the eating of a roasted banana, one half by the bride, the other by the bridegroom.‡

The division of the roasted banana brings us more nearly to the Roman rite. In like manner in the celebration of a Yezeedee wedding a loaf of consecrated bread is handed to the husband, and he and his wife eat it between them.§ The Nestorians require the pair to take the communion.|| Nor is this requirement by any means confined to the Nestorians among Christian sects; and even until the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer the Church of England herself commanded, in the final rubric of the solemnization of matrimony, that "the new married persons *the same day of their marriage* must receive the holy communion."

It would be a small and obvious modification of the symbolism of eating together out of the same dish, or of the same cake, to include a common drink out of the same vessel, or even to substitute it for the eating. On the Philippine Islands eating from one plate and drinking

\* iii. Trans. Ethnol. Soc. of London, N.S., 81.

† 2nd Report Australian Assoc., 314, 319, 330.

‡ Featherman, *op. cit.*, Melanesians, 32, 33.

§ *Ibid.*, Aramæans, 62.

|| *Ibid.*, 75.

from one cup constitute the essential ceremony. Col. Dalton ascribes the same value to a rite which takes place at the marriage feast in Singbhúm. The young couple mix the beer they have been helped to, the bridegroom pouring some of his into the bride's cup, and she in turn pouring from her cup into his. They then drink, "and thus become of the same *kili* or clan."\* Among some allied tribes when the bride is conducted to her husband's dwelling she is seated on a pile of unhusked rice. Oil is then poured over her head, and she is presented with some boiled rice and meat cooked in her new home. This she simply touches with her hand, and declares herself to belong to her husband's *kili*.† The touching is doubtless the simplified equivalent of tasting, the simplification being accompanied by words explanatory of the intention of the rite. It was the ancient custom in China for bride and bridegroom to eat together of the same sacrificed animal, and to drink out of cups made from two halves of the same melon, the bride drinking from the bridegroom's half and he from hers,—thus showing, as we are expressly told in the *Lî Kî*, "that they now formed one body, were of equal rank and pledged to mutual affection."‡ In country places in Hesse it is still the custom to take a hasty meal before the bridal party starts for church; and the first act of this is for the pair about to be married to drink together out of one cup or to eat together off one plate with one spoon, as a token of their union.§ According to the old Lombardic laws no further ceremony was necessary to constitute a valid marriage than a kiss and a drink together. The Church struggled long against this practice, but was in the end obliged to sanction it, subject to the condition that a priest should be present to impart the benediction and a "spousal sermon." To this day in Hesse the custom is preserved in the *weinkauf*,|| or assembly of relatives on

\* vi. Trans. Ethnol. Soc. of London, N.S., 26. Dalton, 193.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 60.

‡ xxvii "Sacred Books of the East," 441 : xxviii, 429.

§ Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 171.

|| *Lit.*, wine-purchase.

both sides. At this assembly the conditions are fixed on which the bride is to be discharged from her native kin to enter the kindred and protection of the bridegroom. When these are arranged she drinks to her bridegroom in token of her consent, and both then drink out of the same glass. From that moment they are regarded as practically husband and wife ; and it only remains to obtain ecclesiastical sanction for the union. This usually follows shortly after ; and between the *weinkauf* and the wedding it was formerly not thought proper for a virtuous maiden to go out of doors.\*

The list might be indefinitely lengthened ; but the customs with which we are concerned all resolve themselves into the thought presented on another side to us by the tale, said to be of Oriental origin, that on the first day Allah took an apple and cut it in two, giving one half to Adam and the other to Eve, and directing each at the same time to seek for the missing half. That is why one half of humanity has ever since been seeking its corresponding half.†

But here we must go a step further. The remains of the cake, which, in the Roman ceremony of *Confarreatio*, had been broken and eaten by the bride and bridegroom, were distributed among the guests ; just as our own bride-cake, after being cut by the bride and bridegroom, is shared with the entire wedding party. In the same way at a marriage in the Ukrainian provinces a cake called the *korovai* is made with a number of ritual observances. Immediately before the bride is conducted to her husband's house this cake is solemnly cut. The moon which crowns it is divided between the happy pair, and the rest is distributed among the relatives in order of age, great care being manifested that everyone shall have his due portion. The cutting and distribution are performed with ceremonies showing the importance attached to the act ; and we learn from an ancient song that it was formerly the custom to

\* Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 147.

† iv. Rev. des Trad. Pop., 362.

light a candle and search diligently every corner, to see that no one had been overlooked.\* As with other rites already referred to, this is one regarded not only among comparatively civilized peoples. Backward races, as convivial in their instincts as the most enlightened, join not merely in feasting on these occasions, but also in partaking formally of a special article of food or drink as a necessary part of the ceremony. It will be enough to recall two instances. Among the Garos of North-eastern India the married couple complete their wedding festivities by each drinking a bowl of rice-beer and presenting a cup to every guest.† On the Kingsmill Islands bride and bridegroom are led to their hut by an old woman who spreads for them a new mat of cocoa-palm leaves, and makes around them a circle of cooked pandanus fruits. Of these she takes two and hands them to the pair, having first called on the goddess Eibong to take them under her protection, and bless their union richly with children. When these two fruits have been eaten the others are divided among the relatives and friends, who are waiting outside to receive them.‡ I have already mentioned the rite among the Mantras.

The meaning of this extension of the symbolic observance cannot be widely divergent from its meaning and intention when limited to husband and wife. It is not merely assent to the marriage on the part of the guests. It is indeed that ; but assent, though, as we shall see, very necessary, may be obtained and given in other ways. To understand its full force we must turn back to some of the examples I have cited. By sitting and eating with her husband the Santal maiden "ceases to belong to her father's tribe, and becomes a member of her husband's family." The Múnda bride and bridegroom, drinking the blended liquor from their two cups, become of one *kili*. But the woman who enters her husband's *kili*, or clan, becomes related to all its

\* Théodore Volkov, in ii "L'Anthropologie," 558.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 88.

‡ R. Parkinson, in ii "Internationales Archiv. für Ethnographie," 38.

members. Becoming of one flesh with him she becomes of one flesh with all of his kindred. This is implicitly recognised by those Bengali tribes among which it is not the bridegroom but the women who accompany him who anoint the bride with red lead, and where the bride's clanswomen bathe the bridegroom and dress him in new clothes stained with red lead before he is presented to the bride. The Wukas of New Guinea express it more frankly and crudely when the members of both families follow the example set by the wedded pair of cutting one another slightly in the forehead until the blood flows, and so bind together "all the relations on both sides in the closest fraternal alliance." A hideous rite susceptible of no other interpretation is that performed by the Kingsmill Islanders immediately upon the consummation of a marriage.\* The scientific reader will be able to verify the reference at the foot of this page for himself. Lastly, the legitimization in mediæval Europe of the child taken under the cloak which the bridegroom wrapped around himself and his bride, or under the cloth which covered them, belongs to the same order of thought.

It is also presented to us by other usages. In countries where the widely diffused custom of bride-purchase obtains, as in Guatemala, the price is furnished by the relatives or clansmen of the bridegroom.† This is a point to which I shall return presently. Among the Toaripi, a tribe of New Guinea, the bride is decked by her parents not only in her best petticoats, but in feathers, arm-shells, and shell-necklaces. When she arrives in her husband's home all this finery is stripped off her and appropriated by his parents. She and all that is hers apparently pass into the possession of her husband and his kindred. In Esthonian marriages the contents of the

\* R. Parkinson, in ii. "Internationales Archiv. für Ethnographie," 39.

† Stoll. *op. cit.*, 8. Compare the Araucanian custom (Featherman, *op. cit.*, Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 472), the Kurdish and other customs (ii "L'Anthropologie," 539, n.), the Melanesian custom (Codrington, "The Melanesians," 237), and many others.

lady's bridal box are distributed among the relatives and friends present in the bridegroom's house, who in return are expected to make gifts of money. And a similar custom prevails among the Tcheremiss in other provinces of Russia.\*

Many of the Esthonian ceremonies are of great interest. Only one other, however, shall be here mentioned, a ceremony by no means limited to the Esthonians, but practised over a wide area by many different stocks. When the bride has at length been brought into the bridegroom's house a repast is served, and the day is concluded with a dance, wherein all the guests in turn dance with her, for which she is entitled to a piece of money from each of them.† Sir John Lubbock in a note to his work on *The Origin of Civilization* has brought together a number of examples of what he designates as Expiations for Marriage. I cannot help thinking he has there confused two distinct customs. I see no evidence that ceremonial prostitution, such as that ascribed by Herodotus to the Babylonian women, is identical with the even more objectionable rule of the Auxiles, an Ethiopian tribe mentioned by Pomponius Mela, among whom the bride was, on the wedding night, considered as common property. This is not the place to

\* 2nd Rep. Austr. Assn., 314. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 490, 539. Among the Osages the bride is stripped for the benefit of the bridegroom's mother; but inasmuch as he goes to live with the bride's family, this is probably a propitiatory gift, notwithstanding its equivalent is returned. See Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aoneo-Maranonians, 308.

† Featherman, *loc. cit.* The wedding-dance in Dalecarlia, mentioned by Du Chaillu, ii "Land of the Midnight Sun," 240, seems to be analogous. It appears to have taken place in the bridegroom's father's house. Among the Wends, every male guest is expected to dance with the bride, formal permission first being obtained from the *Brautführer*. The bridegroom is sent away during these dances, which last until midnight. They take place, however, in the bride's house. iii "Zeitschrift für Volkskunde," 478. For other examples see Bérenger-Féraud, *op. cit.*, 194, 196, 200, 201. Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.*, ii, 50, 66. Zingerle, "Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Tirol," 457. Rogers, "Scotland: Social and Domestic," 112. iii Zeits. f. Volkskunde, 230. A comparison of these passages renders the meaning of the rite unmistakable.

discuss the question fully; but, whatever were the origin and meaning of the Babylonian custom, it seems to me that that of the Ethiopian tribe is to be traced to an assertion by the husband's kindred of their rights on admitting the woman into the clan, and that the Esthonian dance is a civilized survival of a similar practice. It is significant in this connection that the latter takes place in the bridegroom's house. The rights referred to may never again be exercised during the continuance of the marriage. Probably they never would be, at all events without the assent of the husband. But, whether exercised or not, there the rights would be, ready to arise upon a favourable opportunity.

The information we have about most of the peoples referred to in Sir John Lubbock's note is meagre and fragmentary. About the Kurnai of Australia, however, we have full and precise statements. Their only recognised form of marriage was by a species of elopement or capture, performed with the aid of the other unmarried youths of the tribe. With all these youths the unfortunate bride had to observe the Auxilian rite. She then went off with her new husband. This process had to be repeated once, if not twice again, before her relatives could be got to assent to the match; and meantime both bride and bridegroom incurred their wrath, which was much more than a mere form. But when once the elopement had been condoned, if the bride had an unmarried sister, it is said that she also would be handed over to the husband; and in any case on his wife's death he had a right to her. Moreover, on his death, his widow, if he left but one, went by right to his brother; if more than one, they went to his brothers in order of seniority. If the wife ran away from her husband with another man, "all the neighbouring men might turn out and seek for her, and in the event of her being discovered, she became common property to them until released by her husband or her male relatives." Further, the husband was obliged to supply his wife's parents with

the best of the food he killed; but on the other hand he was free to hunt over their country as well as the country of his own ancestors.\*

In considering these particulars we must remember that the constitution of society among the Australian aborigines is in process of transformation. They had a system of group-marriage, whereby every tribe consisted of certain classes, all exogamous. Their table of prohibited affinities is highly complex, and need not be here discussed. It is enough to say that the members of each class were looked upon among themselves as brothers and sisters; but towards the class into which they could marry they were husbands and wives; and they were entitled to act accordingly whenever they met any members of the latter class. No sexual relations were permitted with any other class. The system has been in a state of decadence—greater in some tribes, like the Kurnai, less in others—from a time probably anterior to the English settlement. A custom had arisen, it matters not from what causes, of appropriating one woman, or more, to one man. This custom, if not interfered with, would have issued in the evolution of a different idea of kinship, and ultimately of the true family. In group-marriage the wives were not regarded as akin to the husbands. Marriage was the status into which husbands and wives alike were born. The union required no ceremonies to its consummation, because no relationships were changed by it. But with the rise of monopoly by individuals of one another the unappropriated women would be kept at a greater distance from the men, and the act of appropri-

\* Fison and Howitt, "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," 201-5. The punishment for a guilty wife among some of the North American Indians was similar to that of the Kurnai. See Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aoneo-Maranonians, 161. Cf. Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," 137. Other traces of the Auxilian rite are to be found among the North American Indians. See, for example, a curious Ponka legend given by Dorsey, "The Cegiha Language," 616. The right of the husband to his wife's sister is widespread. See Bancroft, i "Native Races of the Pacific States," 277, 388. Other instances in both hemispheres might be cited.



tion would gradually assume a ceremonial form. The kindred would be called upon to take part in it, both as assistants and as witnesses. The woman would be introduced by it into a special relation with them. The exogamous classes would be gradually effaced ; a new idea of the clan would supersede them ; and the act of marriage would at length operate as an admission into the clan.\*

Now, it is clear from Mr. Howitt's account that, by the marriage, rights were acquired on the part of the husband's kin in the wife and on the part of the wife's kin in the husband. The decaying system would doubtless have sufficient vitality at that stage to permit only members of the husband's class to take part in the capture of a bride, or of a runaway wife ; and they would as yet be all reckoned of his kin. The rights they then exercised would afterwards be held in abeyance ; but, subject to the husband's monopoly, they would survive, to reappear upon his death, if not upon any other occasion in his lifetime. The gradual circumscription of the kindred, by the recognition of closer ties than those of the exogamous class, is indicated by the duty laid upon the husband to supply his wife's parents with food, as well as by the limitation to his brothers of the right to his widows. The Auxiles and other peoples referred to by Sir John Lubbock were probably in the stage in which group-marriage had died, or was dying, out in favour of individual unions. The bride was hardly yet conceived of as taken into the kindred. The Nasamonian habits in particular, as recorded by Herodotus, appear little, if at all, advanced beyond those of the Kurnai. Both among the Nasamonians, however, and the Auxiles it was the practice for each of the guests who had taken part in the rite to reward the bride with a gift, just as among the

\* It will be seen that I am assuming that the evolution would be in the direction of patriarchal clans. This seems likely from Mr. Howitt's account ; and, at all events, it would no doubt be the ultimate direction. It will also be seen that I do not accept M. Westermarck's criticism of Messrs. Fison and Howitt's work. My reasons would be irrelevant in the text, and are too long for a note.

Esthonians the bride is rewarded for her dance : an indication that her complaisance was becoming something more than the guests could demand,—something they had, therefore, to purchase. This does not appear to have been the case, however, among the Balearic Islanders—at least Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the custom, says nothing about any gift. Nor is it recorded in an account of the marriage rites of the Wa-taveta given by a lady who has recently travelled in Eastern Africa. In other respects the Wa-taveta would appear to be somewhat higher in the scale of civilization than the Kurnai or the Baleares. The bridegroom's friends are limited to four in number. The capture of the bride in which they aid him is a mere ceremony followed by a five days' feast, during which they participate in the Auxilian rite.\*

But until group-marriage had practically passed away, and society had organized itself into true clans, there could be no reception of the wife into the kin. We must, therefore, not look to so archaic a condition for ceremonies bearing that meaning, or for the resulting status of the wife. Where the clan has been most completely organized, we may expect to find its results most logically carried out ; and some of the most logical results will often remain even when society has passed into a still higher development. So it was in Rome, where the wife entered into the *familia* of the husband, or, if her husband had a father living and were still in his power, into that of her husband's father. Her offering, on the day following her marriage, to her husband's Penates seems to have been a solemn initiation, in so far at least as that had not been effected by the ceremonies of the *confarreatio*. This is also the interpretation of somewhat similar rites performed by a bride in Ukrania on entering her new home, where she is first welcomed by all the female neighbours of her bridegroom's family,†—and of many ceremonies of the same kind else-

\* Mrs. French-Sheldon, in xxi "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," 365.

† Volkov, in ii "L'Anthropologie," 568.

where. A Chinese married woman is taught to regard her husband's parents and his remoter ancestors in every respect as if they were her own ; while she ceases on the other hand to have any but a secondary interest in her own relatives. According to Confucius the very object of marriage was to furnish those who should preside at the sacrifices, among which a prominent place is given to the ancestral offerings. This was indeed expressed in the formula of demand for the hand of a maiden in ancient times. And just as at Rome the bride offered sacrifices to her husband's Penates, so in China, on the day after the marriage, she prepared and presented a sucking-pig to her husband's parents, and when they had done eating she finished what was left.\* In this way among the polite Chinese the union of the bride with her husband's parents is signified and completed. Among the more barbarous islanders of Bonabe in Micronesia "the wife is tattooed with the marks standing for the names of her husband's ancestors."†

Conversely, it would seem that, at some early stages of civilization at all events, a man on marrying was received into the clan of his wife. It is now generally recognised that the words "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife : and they shall be one flesh" could have originated only at a period when it was customary for a husband to go and dwell with his wife's kin,—that is to say, before the development of the patriarchal system on which the Hebrews in later times were organized. Professor Robertson Smith suggests, ingeniously and with probability, that the expression implies "that the husband is conceived as adopted into his wife's kin ;" for, as he has previously pointed out, both in Arabic and in Hebrew (notably in the priestly legislation, Lev. xxv. 49) the word for *flesh* is equivalent to *kindred*, or *clan*.‡

\* De Groot, i "Religious System of China," 3 ; xxviii "Sacred Books of the East," 238, 264 ; xxvii, 442.

† Lubbock, *op. cit.*, 84, quoting Hale's United States Explor. Exped.

‡ "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," 148, 176. Cf. *idem*. 66.

Residence is one of the tests of kindred. But it is only one, and by no means a conclusive one. For this reason the stories of Isaac's marriage and those of Jacob cannot be safely cited in support of this suggestion. The curious incident of the bargain with Shechem is more to the point ; for in that case a rite was to be undergone which would have the effect of making Shechemites and Israelites "one people." If, however, we find cases of marriage where not only does the husband dwell with his wife and her family, but his property and earnings also go to them, or are shared in common with them, this will be further evidence of reception into the kin. Among the Kocch a man is taken on marriage to live with his wife and her mother, and all his property is made over to her.\* The Bayaga, a tribe of dwarfs in Equatorial Africa, require the husband to live with his wife's family, and all the produce of his hunting belongs to them. He may, however, return to his own community and take his wife, but only when he has a son and that son has killed an elephant. And then he leaves the son behind to fill the place of the daughter taken away.† This appears to be an instance of the archaic system of mother-right in process of decay. The North American Indians had customs in their various tribes, which exhibited almost all gradations between the complete absorption of the husband in his wife's clan and the last stages of dissolution of the system of mother-right.

The severance of the married person from the clan of which he or she has been previously a member is, as might be expected, sometimes the subject of a special symbol in marriage ceremonies. Thus among the Santals when the clothes of the married pair have been tied together (the symbol, as we have seen, of their union) burning charcoal is pounded with the household pestle and the glow-

\* MacLennan, "Studies in Ancient History," 103, citing Latham's "Descriptive Ethnology."

† ii "L'Anthropologie," 117, quoting a communication by M. Crampel to the Société de Géographie.

ing embers are extinguished with water. In this way the old household fire of the bride is, so far as she is concerned, put out for ever.\* Among the Wends there are traces of mother-right, though it is no longer the system on which their society is organized. The first night of marriage is always spent at the bride's home; and sometimes it would seem the bridegroom takes up his permanent residence with his wife's family. On such occasions he bids a solemn farewell, and says to his parents: "Henceforth you will see me no more, nor speak to me; for I am leaving you. Amen."† The separation of a Chinese woman from her own family on marriage is so complete that when she returns home on a visit no brother, nor even her father, may sit with her on the same mat, nor eat with her from the same dish.‡

The inheritance by the brother, or other male relative, of the widow of a kinsman is a custom so well-known and so widespread that it needs no more than a passing mention, as a mark of the close union of the wife with her husband's family. The right of a man to his wife's sister, either in his wife's lifetime, or after her death, or, as it is found among some races, the right of a woman to share her sister's husband, even in her lifetime, is a corresponding obligation, arising probably at a stage in civilization when the husband enters the wife's family. Among the Tasmanians a widow became the common property of the men of the tribe; and in several of the tribes of New Guinea, as well as among the Smoos of Honduras, when a widow married again the payment for her would be made to her first husband's relatives, just as if she had been a daughter or a sister.§

The reference to payment brings us to an important point, the last I shall touch upon. The practice of bride-

\* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 63.

† iii "Zeitschrift für Volkskunde," 391, 479.

‡ xxvii "Sacred Books of the East," 77; xxviii, 299.

§ 2nd Report of the Australasian Assoc., 314, 320, 601. Bancroft, i "Native Races of the Pacific States," 731.

purchase is one that we are here concerned with only in a single aspect. If the consequences of marriage were the severance from the family, or clan, of one of its members, and the union of that member to another family, or clan, so as to become one flesh with it, it is obvious that each of the two families, or clans, had a very important interest in the transaction. The marriage would affect not only the two principals; it would extend to every member of the family, or clan, forsaken, and every member of the family, or clan, entered. Such an interest as this would entitle every member of both to be consulted; and, in the one at least, their assent would be required to its validity. Such assent would be shown, as we have already noted, by the presence and assistance of the kindred at the act of marriage; or it might be signified by gifts. But, however shown, it would in many cases have to be purchased by gifts; and these sometimes constitute the price of the bride. I have mentioned in an earlier paragraph an instance, that of the natives of Guatemala, where the price, or dowry, of the bride is contributed by the bridegroom's kinsmen. We are about to deal with the converse case, wherein the price, however made up, is divided between the bride's relatives.

Bride-purchase is a custom which has been, at some time or other, practised almost all over the world; and where we do not find it still in all its ancient force we frequently find the relics of it. As, in the progress of civilization, the bonds of the family are drawn tighter, the power of the father over his children increases, and that of the more distant kinsfolk decreases. The substantial price in such cases is paid to the parent, and the other kinsmen are recognized only by a smaller, frequently a nominal, present. Lastly, the gifts on both sides are transformed into a dowry for the bride, and into wedding presents intended for the behoof of the happy couple. In various nations the application of the marriage gifts is found in all stages of transition, from the rudest bargain and sale up to the

settlements so dear to English lawyers, and the useless toys which the resources of the newest culture enable us to bestow upon our friends on these interesting occasions, to assist their early efforts in housekeeping. The examples following are drawn, of course, from conditions of barbarism when purchase prevails, or when survivals of its former practice have not yet been all swept away. Incidentally we shall find evidence, even outside the contribution on the one hand, and the payment on the other, of the wide extent of kindred whose assent is necessary in early stages of civilization.

Among the Osages a youth is not required to consult his parents in a love affair ; but the consent of his elder brother, if he have one, or his uncle, is the first condition of proceeding in it. Having obtained this preliminary approval the rest of the family are informed of his intention. He then takes a number of horses and ties them in front of the maiden's wigwam. This is equivalent to a formal proposal ; and the damsel's eldest brother, or uncle, is the first to be informed of it. If he approve the match he accepts the horses and distributes them among the members of the family.\* The Osages are still, or were when the account was written on which this statement was founded, in the state of society where the husband enters the wife's family and becomes its head. The Omahas, another North American tribe, have passed into the stage where the wife goes to reside with her husband and his family. A wooer is not obliged to give presents to others than the parents, but often does ; and after marriage there is a custom now growing obsolete for the husband's kindred to collect gifts which are sent by the wife's hand to her kindred, who are thereupon entertained by her father at a feast, and the gifts distributed. A year or so later presents are sometimes made in return.† Among the Hidatsas a wooer has to show

\* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aoneo-Maranonians, 307.

† J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology" (Bureau of Ethnology, 1884), 259, 261.

himself liberal in his presents among the bride's relations, though the gifts are generally returned in due course if he prove a kind husband. In order to win a Seminole maiden the suitor has to prove to her uncles and aunts that he is a good hunter. This is done by supplying them with a quantity of bear's oil and venison. It is they and the lady's brothers who have the disposal—always, however, with her own consent—of her hand; and the father has no voice in the matter.\* Among the Peguanches and Patagonians the bridegroom must satisfy the bride's kindred with his offerings,—not always an easy task, especially where the number is considerable.†

Turning to Africa, we find that the Kroomen of Liberia buy and sell their women; and the price of a girl is distributed between the relations of her father and those of her mother.‡ On the opposite side of the continent, where, with Mohammedanism, a somewhat higher degree of civilization has been reached, the payment for a Somali maiden forms her marriage portion. It is arranged, we are told in vague language, by her relations§—an expression including many beside the immediate parents. No doubt in more primitive times the persons who fixed the payment were the ones who received it.

The customs of various Turanian peoples point similarly to the need of obtaining the consent of the general body of the bride's kinsmen. A bridegroom of the Paharias of Rajmahál is required to present not only a turban and a rupee to his father-in-law and a piece of cloth and a rupee to his mother-in-law, but also to several of the nearest relations.|| Striking are the ceremonies performed by two of the northern branches of this widespread race. After

\* Featherman, *op. cit.*, *id.* 174, 319.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 459. Guinard, 136.

‡ Featherman, *op. cit.*, Nigritians, 287.

§ C. P. Rigby, in "Trans. Ethnol. Soc. of London," N.S., 93. The Muhammadan Law prescribes the "Míhr" or dowry from the husband to the wife.

|| Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 107.



the purchase-money has been agreed upon, but before it is paid, among the Kirghis the bridegroom is allowed to visit the bride. This is done by some tribes with great formality. The young man presents himself first to the oldest member of his bride's family, and asks permission to pitch his tent at the encampment. "This request being granted he distributes presents among the members of the family, and begs them to use their efforts in persuading the bride to pay him a visit in his tent. As success always crowns their efforts, the bride makes her appearance in the tent, where the young couple are left alone. During this interview the marriage is consummated, though the union is not yet formally consecrated. They are now bound to each other, and neither can withdraw from the mutual obligation they have contracted without being exposed to the vengeance of the injured party." Further presents are given to the relatives on the formal celebration of the marriage after the purchase-money has been paid.\* Among the tribes of Turkestan, after the payment of the purchase-money to the father, each party is represented by two witnesses at the wedding ceremony, and a *mollah* is employed to legalize the contract. All goes on smoothly until "the bride's witnesses suddenly raise some objection, pretending that they are unwilling to deliver up the bride who is entrusted to their keeping, unless some suitable present is offered for renouncing, on their part, the great treasure placed in their custody." Nor can the marriage proceed until they are satisfied.†

The same part is played in Central Europe by the Wendish bridesmaids. The bride awaits her bridegroom sitting at a table by herself. When his procession arrives, his master of the ceremonies advances to the table and begs her politely to follow him to the wedding. The bridesmaids interfere, and refuse to give her up without being paid for it: they must have the whole table full of gold! After an amount of haggling, which depends on the

\* Featherman, *op. cit.*, *id.*, 263.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, *id.*, 283.

persuasive powers of the damsels and the wealth of the bridegroom, they are at length satisfied; and sometimes the business is not concluded until a considerable sum has been paid.\*

At an Ukrainian marriage presents are made with ritual formalities to every one of the bride's relations by name, and a formal agreement is entered into by which the number, and even the value, of these presents is declared. Among the persons present are women who are strangers to the family. When the presents to the relatives have been settled these women climb on a bench beside the family hearth, taking a sieve which they beat like a tambourine, clamouring also for their share of the ransom. And the bridegroom is compelled to throw some small pieces of money into the sieve for them. As M. Volkov says, it is clear that all this represents a payment in respect of the bride for the benefit of her whole clan. Among the Bulgarians a like payment, distinguished from that paid to the father, is made in money for all the members of the family, or rather, for the family-community. The father usually gives what he receives to his daughter by way of dowry.†

The final difficulties on the part of the bridesmaids among the Wends may be compared with the conduct of the women of the bride's party at a marriage of the Banks islanders. When the last instalments of the purchase-money have been paid, and the bridegroom's father and his party, after the interposition of all sorts of difficulties, are on the point of succeeding in obtaining delivery of the bride, the women step in and refuse to give her up until an extra sum has been made over to them to induce them to let her go.‡

Many more illustrations might be cited; but enough has probably been said to establish a great range of the

\* iii "Zeitschrift für Volkskunde," 433.

† Volkov in ii "L'Anthropologie," 553.

‡ Codrington, *op. cit.*, 237.

custom of purchasing the bride not merely from her father, who in the higher planes of civilization has the largest amount of control over her, but from her whole kin. The reason for this, as I have already said, is to be deduced from the loss which the entire kin sustains when one member is cut off from it, to be united to a different kin. This loss necessitates consent, and consent is usually, though not always, purchased. The price may be commuted for a feast, or a feast may be added to it, and after the custom of purchase has died out the feast only may remain. So among the Arabs, for example, the stipulated purchase-money (which forms the dowry and belongs to the bride) is paid to the girl's father; but before the husband can claim his rights he has to feast the bride, and her relations and friends.\* In other cases the price consists of services rendered. When this, however, takes more definite form than going to reside with the bride's kindred and generally casting the produce of labour and skill into a common stock with theirs, it is usually confined to services, like Jacob's, to the bride's father.

An able writer, whose researches into the history of marriage have borne valuable fruit, has lately, if I understand him aright, thrown doubt on the proposition that the consent of the kin generally was required to the gift of a woman in marriage.† The contrary view here urged has been based mainly on a consideration of the marriage ceremonies among widely scattered races. It is only one of many inferences resulting from an inquiry into the meaning of the curious rite from which we started. Its correctness has been confirmed by instances drawn from Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and some of the islands of the Southern Sea. A full discussion on these and other points, on

\* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aramæans, 422.

† Westermarck, *op. cit.*, 215. But cf. 233 (where he admits, as regards men, that they "had apparently in early days to take counsel with their kinsfolk," in choosing a wife), and 393 (where he cites the Banyai as requiring many head of cattle for a family to give up its claim on the offspring of a girl who had come from it).

which, as it seems to me, M. Westermarck has arrived at mistaken conclusions, would require a treatise well nigh as large as his own. The reasons of his mistakes may, however, be summed up in a single sentence: he has not grasped the importance of the study of ceremonies. In a work of 550 pages on *The History of Human Marriage* he has devoted only fourteen pages to Marriage Ceremonies and Rites. He has forgotten the conservatism of habit. He has overlooked the fact that the symbolism of to-day preserves the serious belief of yesterday, and that what in an age more or less distant was a vital motive inspiring an appropriate course of conduct survives in the conduct it has inspired long after it has itself ceased to be active and powerful. He has thus been blind to the stores of material for the investigation of the history of marriage preserved in traditions which are not simply repeated as tales, but handed down as practices from generation to generation. Had M. Westermarck added to his other and varied qualifications for writing a great work on the history of marriage that of a student of Folklore, it is safe to say that his conclusions on many points would have been different from those he has adopted.

NOTE.—Since the above has been in type I have found a passage in a Finnish poem, entitled *The Sun's Son*, descriptive of the hero's wedding ceremony. It runs thus:—The bride's father "leads and places them on the whale's, the sea king's, hide. He scratches them both on their little fingers, unites the blood together, lays hand in hand, unites breast to breast, knits the kisses together, bans the knots which jealousy has conjured, separates the hands, and looses the knots of the espousal." (Castrén, "Vorlesungen über die Finnische Mythologie," 323.) This probably explains the ceremony alluded to in the Norwegian story cited above on page 187, and confirms the suggestion that the practice was non-Aryan. As an example of the contrary effect of mixture of blood, I may refer to the Irish saga of *The Wooing of Emer*. There Cuchulaind wounds with a sling-stone the maiden whom he is to marry. He sucks out the stone with a clot of blood round it. "I shall not wed thee now, said Cuchulaind, for I have drunk thy blood." (i Archæol. Rev., 304.) The explanation is that he had thus involuntarily contracted blood-relationship with her, and hence could not marry her.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

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A CORRESPONDENT from Tientsin, China, writes :

### THE PAMIRS AND CHINA.

The Russian invasion of the "Roof of the World" has exposed the weakness of the Anglo-Chinese Alliance ; and the episode illustrates the danger of relying on anybody but ourselves to defend the frontiers. The Chinese Government did not know where the Pamirs were. They got their information from Europe as to what was going on there ; and were unable to respond to the efforts of foreign diplomats to arouse their interest in these nebulous operations. The Governor of Turkestan, they considered, knew all about it, and would do whatever was needful ;—besides, they could always censure and degrade him should he turn out not to be omniscient. They felt something like the canny Scot who was in danger of shipwreck and consoled his nervous son by "Man, the ship does na belong to us." True, after many telegrams had been bandied to and fro, a glimmering of the situation reached the Foreign Board, but it was only a second-hand reflected light, and did not affect the Ministers so much as some trivial matter of daily office routine. Failing to make the desired impression on the Tsungli Yamên in Peking, the British Minister deputed H.M. Consul in Tientsin to work upon the Viceroy Li Hungchang ; but that astute man has never shown any alacrity in pulling chestnuts for anybody, and is not likely to be hustled into action which he does not clearly understand.

A. M.

### KOREA.

The British Minister to China, who is also accredited to the Korean Court, has retired, after six years' residence in Peking, without having visited Korea to deliver his credentials. The omission has only this importance, that while on the one hand it would seem to be a slight to the Korean King, on the other it may possibly flatter that feeble monarch by seeming to countenance the relaxation of the tie which connects the affairs of the peninsula with the interests of the Chinese Empire. As, however, Great Britain has no interests in Korea excepting to preserve the *status quo* as between the peninsula and neighbouring Powers, and as other influences are diligently exercised to change that *status*, it is difficult to reconcile the omission of the late Minister with the settled policy of the British Government. It is true that certain steps had already been taken to give the British representation at the Korean Court the appearance of being independent of Peking, but this was understood to be not so much an indication of any change of policy on the part of Great Britain as of a desire to please certain individuals about the Royal Court. The Korean peninsula, however, with its weak and facile Government, is just one of

those critical spots on the Earth's surface respecting which there should be no ambiguity whatever, in regard to British policy ; because the intentions of certain other Powers which are clear and consistent and are steadily pursued, will secure to them an easy triumph over a flabby, vacillating policy on the part of Great Britain.

It is impossible for Secretaries of State with the most competent staff ever seen to exercise a practical supervision over every actual and potential imperial interest in every corner of the world. The task must be almost entirely left to the judgment and vigilance of the officials on the spot ; and the Government gets better results, as a rule, by selecting and placing its men well, than by too much interference with them in the details of their work. Even that much of effective supervision, however, seems to be hardly possible under our Consular service regulations, which work rather too like a machine that grinds up wheat and chaff indiscriminately—tempered here and there by a little personal scheming. An apt illustration of this defect in the system has just occurred in Korea, whence the one man who knows the country has been removed from his post under the stern decrees of Service regulations and planted in Shanghai, among a crowd of other Consular officials all as good as he. Mr. James Scott had made a deep study of the Korean language, the only British official at present in the service who has done so, though one Englishman in the Customs Service has also acquired facility in the spoken language. Mr. Scott's mastery of the politics of the kingdom, its history, official customs, etc., is, with possibly the above exception, unique, while his general capacity and zeal are thought highly of, by the public at all events. To retain such a man in the country it would almost have been worth while to create a sinecure post, if necessary ; but there was no such necessity. The post Mr. Scott occupied, as acting Vice-Consul at Chemulpo, was exactly suited to serve the various useful purposes indicated. But the time came for promotion, and the service regulations did not, I suppose, admit of an official of full vice-consular rank remaining in that particular post. So this valuable officer is, according to the newspapers, to be moved off by a stroke of the great machine, and his services as a Korean specialist, services which cannot be bought for money, simply because there is no other man with the same qualifications, will thus be lost to Her Majesty's Government. Such a misfortune as that might possibly have been avoided by a personal visit of the British Minister to the Korean peninsula ; though perhaps even he would have been powerless to turn the great machine out of its rut.

A. MICHIE.

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A valued correspondent, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, who is at present engaged in the important task of collecting material from all quarters *re* the early Russian invasion of Constantinople in the ninth and tenth centuries under the Valangians or Norsemen, writes to us from St. Petersburg and gives interesting extracts from a correspondence with General Kiréeff, in connexion with this Review, on the Anglo-Russian imbroglio in Central Asia. An opinion is expressed in many circles in Russia, that the whole Central-Asian muddle is neither more nor less than "Much ado about nothing ;" whether this opinion is merely a conventional one to hide deeper thought is difficult to say ; but in a short conversation with the learned Secretary of the Imperial Geographical Society at St. Petersburg, Mr. Steveni was impressed with the fact that such were the views of his acquaintance and General Kiréeff inclines also to this opinion, for in a passage in one of

his letters he writes: "I have been told by my friend Kourapotkin, that the Pamir (the plateau itself) is and *will remain a res nullius*, as being utterly uninhabitable." Mr. Steveni thinks that the distinguished General himself is sincerely desirous of coming to a PEACEFUL agreement with England—not only with regard to the Central-Asian, but also the Eastern Question generally. General Kiréeff writes to our correspondent as follows: "Put a good orthodox prince in Bulgaria, don't touch the religious question, and we will not prevent you from making any commercial treatise for opium or any other stuff you have to sell. I still think the best way of preventing difficulties in Central Asia is to divide it between us! I have seen a criticism of my letters in the '*A. Q. R.*,' stating that 'I intend to put England's hand in a "wasps' nest." Well; but as soon as we put our hand in that very same nest, your politicians begin to object. What is to be done? *Tertium non datur*. We must come to an understanding; besides the buffer system is already proved impossible to solve the difficulties." On this letter our esteemed correspondent, Mr. Barnes Steveni remarks, that it is gratifying to know that a Russian General of such rank and influence in Imperial Circles has such opinions. "It is to be hoped," says Mr. Steveni, "that he will be able to make converts amongst his many distinguished friends; for I am certain that, unless we can come to an amicable arrangement with Russia regarding these questions and the free passage of the Dardanelles, a war between her and England is inevitable. When that war will break out, I know not. It may be next year, or when Russia has completed her armaments, which I believe will be more formidable than ever. This is in fact the calm before the storm, and it would be well if we could prevent the latter ever reaching us. There is no doubt, a large empire like Russia will not remain content to see a Catholic Prince always on the throne of Bulgaria, or the Dardanelles blocking her free outlet to the ocean."

### THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA.

With reference to a communication from an anonymous correspondent, criticising a paper of mine on "The Physical Geography of Persia" in the July Number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which appeared in your issue of October last, I may remark:

1. That the "Report upon a Visit to Persia" alluded to was never published. A limited number of copies were printed in December, 1891, and issued for the information of the Imperial Tobacco Corporation of Persia, for whose use it was compiled. Your correspondent could not possibly thus have bought a copy of it, though he may possibly have received one—not last year, as he states,—as being interested in the Corporation, not as a Shareholder presumably, to judge from the sanguineness of the view which he takes of Persian affairs.

2. That Northern Beloochistan is not practically rainless. The same physical conditions exist there as in Persia. Heavy snow and rain fall thereon and in the neighbourhood of the Mountain Ranges at certain times of the year, and it is upon this fact that the *kanats*, or *karezas* as they are called, are dependent for their supply of water.

3. That the simplest method of demonstration on the part of your correspondent of the feasibility of the construction of roads and railways in Persia would be for him to inform the public, as he is doubtless in a position to do, on the following points:

- (a) What progress has been made with the proposed road between Shuster and Teheran? How many miles of it are now open to wheeled traffic? And at what cost per mile?

- (b) Whether the road from Teheran to Kum is open to wheeled traffic, and, if so, what is the average daily number of vehicles traversing it?

4. I cannot challenge your correspondent's figures regarding the distances in a bee line and by the new road respectively from Teheran to Kum, as

e has evidently sources of information at his disposal to which I have never had access ; but, assuming his to be correct, the proportion would be about the same as that resulting from my figures :

$$\begin{array}{l} 74\frac{1}{2} : 93\frac{1}{2} :: 1 : 1\frac{1}{4}. \\ 80 : \text{say } 108 :: 1 : 1\frac{1}{4}. \end{array}$$

I repeat, however, that out of the 150 odd miles intervening between Teheran and Ispahan not less than 100 miles are composed of mountainous, hilly, and broken ground, involving abrupt and repeated ascents and descents, which it is impossible to turn in any way, and which would render the construction of a Railway between these two places almost impossible, and that of a road suitable for wheeled traffic only possible at ruinous expense.

In conclusion, I may mention that I forwarded a copy of my "Report upon a Visit to Persia" to Sir Joseph Tholozan, the Doctor to the Shah, who has resided for upwards of thirty years in Persia, and who is well known as a thoroughly reliable and disinterested authority upon all matters connected with the country. His remark upon it was, "*Je trouve que c'est très sage, vous parlez selon les faits et non pas selon l'imagination.*"

Gen. Sir Frederic Goldsmid, to whom I sent a copy for criticism, says :

"Allow me to say that it is a highly valuable and interesting paper, but that it would be more valuable if completer. Full of truths, it has yet statements which require corroboration, and which may, as now presented, be open to criticism. I am, perhaps, rather alluding to deductions than to facts." He disagrees with me, however, upon the following points : (a) The sufficiency of the supplies of the necessities of life at present available. (b) That the resources of Persia are not capable of much further development. (c) That the experience of the Armenian Christian has had to do with the prejudice against other Christians of the present day ; and he remarks : (1) "In paragraph 35, page 28, you have omitted to include the Afghans with the Turks as Sunnis. Persia is wedged in between two Sunni Powers" (2) "At page 29, reason (2), the 'variety of nationalities' needs illustration by statistics."

I should not have thought it worth my while to take any notice of the remarks of an anonymous correspondent, had it not been that you mention that he is "one of your most valued supporters in Persia."

I am, yours truly,

C. E. BIDDULPH,

Officiating Cantonment Magistrate.

Secundrabad, India, November 7th, 1892.

#### INDIA'S VIEW OF EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY.

Though all classes in India suffer from the fluctuation of Exchange, for three of them the loss is only partial and comparatively small, while it weighs chiefly and heavily on the fourth and most important. European employés and European and native merchants may and do lose ; but it is the Indian Ryot or taxpayer who eventually bears the entire loss on Exchange, whatever arrangements be made to content the other three. But



while these can, by their power, organization and education, lay their case before the public and loudly do so, both in the press and before the Currency Commission, the Ryot, ignorant of the matter (which they feel but cannot understand) cannot approach either. Most of their self-styled leaders fail to see that there is an Indian Ryot's view of the Exchange question, far different from that of people accidentally living in India. This case I give briefly, merely premising that if I seem to dogmatize, I have figures and facts which your space does not allow me to produce here.

A Parliamentary paper shows that from 1881 to 1892 £41,000,000 in gold and £99,000,000 in silver—a total of £140,000,000,—(one-sixth of the world's produce), flowed into India, to balance her trade with the world. In other words, India had not to send out *money*, gold or silver :—she had only to send out produce ; and after cancelling credit *versus* debit, she still had, each year, to receive in payment of debts due to her by silver and gold using countries, large quantities of these metals. India's currency therefore, is not needed to pay her debts : all these can be paid by her own drafts on her debtors. Her Exchange would always be above par, but for artificial checks. What are these ?

1. *Free coinage of silver*, enabling her foreign debtors to flood India with cheap silver in return for good produce. Stop this by reserving solely to the Indian Government the coinage of whatever silver India needs. Make outsiders pay India in gold for her produce.

2. *Absence of a gold reserve in India*. The gold need not be actually coined ; for from her low prices and high credit she needs no gold for internal circulation ; and from her favourable balance of trade (including all payments in England) she need never send out a single coin. Only to meet the interested cry of “depreciated silver” should there be a gold reserve to steady the Rupee, as a token coin—just as the Sovereign steadies the Florin, the twin sister of the Rupee. Let India declare, as Lawrence did, that the Rupee represents  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a Sovereign, coining such Sovereigns when necessary. When will that be ? Nor for many years, owing to India's favourable balance of trade.

3. That balance is artificially upset, in England by the *sale of “Council Bills,”* solely in the interest of English merchants and financiers. Stop these sales, which, besides vast loss on Government remittances, fix a false exchange entailing loss on every transaction of India with the whole world. India herself should buy gold at the current price and send enough to England to pay one quarter's dues. In the absence of these (to India) murderous sales the exchange, (backed by the fact that the gold reserve had made the Rupee a token for  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a Sovereign) would within a year fly up to over par.

Would this be an artificial inflation of the Rupee ? Not at all : is the florin inflated by being fixed at  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a sovereign ? or the German mark ? No ; and Why ? Because the value of a coinage, besides its metallic price, is fixed by the *solvency and honesty of the government* which issues it. India is as solvent as England and Germany. Let her declare that her Rupee, like the florin and mark, represents  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a sovereign ; and that he who buys 10 Rupees' worth of her produce must pay her a sovereign down

in gold; as she will pay a sovereign for 10 rupees and *vice versâ* for all she owes. What she owes is less than is owed her annually by 4 gold-producing countries alone, not to speak of all. She can, therefore, cancel all her debts by drafts against part of her credits, and still have silver and gold flowing to her, for her vast produce, if she be not handicapped by these Council Bills.

The results of these 3 measures would be: 1, All Indian payments could still be made in gold by Indian drafts on Indian debtors in gold-using countries and all over the world;—2, the world would still have to send bullion to India;—3, Indian finances would no longer be jeopardized by the present artificial exchange;—4, Her trade would increase immensely; 5, Taxation would go down, and more public works be undertaken; 6, None would lose except the financiers etc., who now by *secret* tenders exploit the Indian exchange, backed up by those who ought to defend Indian interests but do not. It is singular that the Secretary of State says no Act of Parliament is needed for changing the Indian currency, but his own consent is! Is he greater than Parliament, then? In Parliament there would have to be an open discussion. The India Office, on the other hand, can issue a bureaucratic and autocratic decree.

I conclude by remarking, about "hoarding," that *all* countries, and not India only, hoard. What are gold watches and chains and jewellery and plate except particular kinds of hoarding? Is there no such hoarding in England itself?

J. P. V.

*To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."*

It is premature to criticise the deliberations of the Brussels Conference, but so far as matters have progressed it is to be regretted that the Government of India has cast a damper on the proceedings by their recent telegram. It was however to be expected that the Government would decline to have its hands forced and would prefer to retain complete liberty of action though it is not reassuring to those who suffer by the state of exchange to find that now the time for drastic measures has arrived the Government is inclined to continue its policy of what may seem masterly inactivity.

Doubtless it is a serious matter for them to interfere in the natural operations of trade, but still it is the duty of Governments to preserve the standard of currency in such wise as will benefit the majority, and a Government which neglects to do this is culpable. The questions that arise are, In what way can the Government interpose? and will such interposition benefit the majority? for we know that there are some in India, not natives thereof, who are opposed to any change in the silver currency.

Well, the Government can in the first place discourage the importation of silver by the closing of the Mints.

At present silver is poured into the country in bars and dollars which are taken to the Mints and, after assay, a certificate is granted to the importer which is cashable on demand at the Paper Currency Office, and this system is not unlike that which M. de Foville lately recommended at the Conference—*i.e.*, the issuing of warrants against deposits of bar silver.

The Indian Government holds at times large deposits of silver bullion for which warrants have been issued, which warrants, or certificates, are convertible at the Paper Currency Office, but the Mints keep working full time, and overtime, to reduce this bullion to coin.

No doubt the locking up of bar silver by various nations would reduce the amount which is now available for export to the East, but palliation is not cure. You cannot go on locking up bullion for ever, and what would be the result in the case of any country placing its hoards on the market?

Suppose now America were to cease purchasing and were to throw all her accumulated silver on to the market what would the rupee go down to? The Indian Government would then have to adopt the measures from which it now shrinks, viz., the restriction on free coinage of silver and the adoption of a gold standard, and it behoves them to be on their guard against an extension of this danger. It is true that there are great difficulties in the way of a gold standard. What these difficulties are I have not time and space at my disposal to detail, but I may allude to one fear, and that is lest exports should suffer. No doubt the tea industry benefits by the present state of affairs and the Darjeeling and Terai Tea Planters' Association went to the length of asserting in a memorial to Government that the closing of the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver, or in other words the improvement of the status of the rupee, would result in the collapse of the tea industry.

This would be a serious matter if true, but the way to look at it is this : does the present state of affairs inflict a serious loss on a larger community? If so the question as affects a minority should be set aside. The proportion of tea to other exports is (taking the figures of 1888-9) about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions against  $87\frac{1}{2}$  millions of other Indian produce.

It is feared that any artificial raising of the rupee will cause the decline of the export trade but surely if a low rate of exchange be beneficial to the export trade it must conversely be prejudicial to the import trade, yet the statistics of the ten years 1879 to 89 show that the ratio of increase of imports (including Government stores) has kept steadily ahead of that of exports although the rupee has fallen in value—*par ex.* imports have increased about  $30\frac{1}{2}$  millions and exports  $29\frac{1}{2}$  millions and exchange in 1879 was about 1s. 8d. per rupee and in 1889 about 1s.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per rupee.

It is assumed that local industries and residents of India are unaffected by the low exchange. They are less affected but not unaffected. All local industries are now more or less dependent on imports, all residents of India down to the common coolie have some articles of European manufacture and for all these they pay more than they need.

R. S.

#### THE INDIA COUNCIL BILLS AND THE EXCHANGE.

We publish the following extract on the Depression in Indian Exchange from Mr. Cecil B. Phipson's letter to the *Morning Post* of the 2nd Nov., 1892 : "What now sustains silver bullion, therefore, at even its present price is solely the British importers' demand for it in place of exporters' drafts, as a means of acquiring purchasing power over the labour products of silver-using countries ; so that obviously what reduces this demand tends proportionately to reduce this price. Such being the position of silver in the London

exchange market, and of British importers from silver-using countries in respect to it, let us now consider the effect of the Indian Government entering this market for the purpose of making constant, heavy, and increasing sales of Council or rupee bills.

"In the first place, to call this last operation a sale of rupee bills, and so make it appear identical in nature with an exporter's sale of rupee drafts, is to wholly blind both India and England to the true nature of the transaction. For what, of course, it really is is a forced purchase of pounds, thrown merely for convenience' sake into the form of a commercial sale of rupees, which purchase it makes from the small body of British merchants who import goods from India, these being the only holders of pounds in Great Britain who will accept rupees in payment for them. Naturally, then, these importers, so long as they can get in rupees whatever price they ask for their pounds—and, save amongst themselves, there is absolutely no competition—will make no purchases either of silver bullion or of exporters' drafts. So that, to whatever amount the Indian Government in this way purchases pounds, it satisfies to that extent the British importers' demands for rupees, and proportionately reduces his demand for silver bullion and exporters' drafts. The magnitude of this reduction can best be seen from the following table:

Total value of British imports from India for 10 years, 1881-1890.	Means by which these have been paid for by British importers.		
£340,000,000		p.c.	
	Council Bills .....	43	£148,000,000
	Silver Bullion .....	18	60,000,000
	Exporters' drafts .....	39	132,000,000
£340,000,000		100	£340,000,000

"Now, a mere glance at the above figures makes it clear that directly the Indian Government ceases to flood this market with Council bills, which must be sold at any price—ceases, that is, to make its forced purchases of pounds from British import merchants—an immensely increased demand will at once arise among these merchants both for silver bullion and for exporters' drafts, which demand they cannot satisfy except by paying a higher price in pounds for both. So far, then, as the interest of British investors in India and exporters to it are concerned, it is of supreme importance that a stop should be put to the, to them, disastrous 'sales' of Council bills in the London exchange market. But this stoppage is of even more importance to all Indian debtors who owe pounds in England—chief amongst whom of course is the Government itself—and all Indian merchants who export produce from India, since the present method of purchasing pounds with rupees places a crushing burthen upon the former and withholds a powerful, though artificial, stimulus from the latter.

"Of course had India possessed the practical independence of our self-governing Colonies, or the real independence of any foreign State bound to England by none but financial ties, her Government would never have dreamt of making its purchases of pounds in British instead of in Indian exchange markets, or from British instead of from Indian merchants. So that it is only the anomalous nature of a Government which, with its ostensible seat in Calcutta, has its real seat in London, that has led to the adoption of so costly, not to say absurd, method of paying its debts. What India now does is to restrict its purchase of pounds to a close corporation of British importers, whose annual imports for the 10 years 1881-90 have averaged only £34,000,000, instead of making them from the entire body of Indian exporters, whose annual exports during the same period have averaged nearly £80,000,000. For to become sellers of draft pounds Indian exporters do not require to trade directly with Great Britain, seeing that they can obtain these in payment for their goods in every market in the world, and would, of course, accept them to a constantly increasing extent were there any steady demand for them in India on the part of the Indian Government.

"Thus, by purchasing draft pounds in India from the entire body of Indian exporters instead of token pounds in England from a small number of Britain's importers, not only would the Indian Government obtain pounds sterling at a much lower cost in rupees owing to increased competition amongst genuine sellers, but it would at the same time apply an enormous stimulus to India's export trade with the whole civilized world. India, therefore, even more than England, would thus benefit by a common-sense reform, which should win equal approval from the advocates of mono-metallism, of bi-metallism, and of no-metallism at all, for the evils and absurdities of the present system would be equally injurious, no matter what might be the form of currency adopted. And that this last statement is true may be readily perceived by anyone who will consider how much more onerous, for instance, the payment of her great indemnity would have been to France had she been compelled by Germany to make all her purchase of gold in Berlin, and only from such German merchants as imported goods from France. And yet this is exactly what India is now obliged to do by England. As it was, France, by the method of payment she adopted, viz., by the purchase of French exporters' drafts upon other countries for gold, converted what Germany and all the world deemed a crushing financial burthen into perhaps the most powerful artificial stimulus ever applied to the export trade of any

country. Were the Indian Government equally wise in its generation it might go and do likewise instead of, as now, impotently wailing in unison with its own traders over evils of which its own actions are the cause.

"A supreme merit of the remedy here suggested is that its application lies wholly within the power of the Indian Government itself, requiring neither the sanction of an International Monetary Conference nor the acceptance of erroneous currency theories. It can be tested furthermore tentatively, cautiously, gradually, and the respective advantages compared of purchasing a given number of draft pounds from exporters in India, and the same number of token pounds from importers in England."

The Indian Currency Commission has, we hear, requested Mr. H. D. MacLeod to prepare a scheme for the restoration of the ancient gold standard of India.

We understand that due weight has been attached to the opinion of the late Col. J. T. Smith, master of the Madras Mint, in favour of a gold standard, whether or not supported by a gold currency. The Commission seems determined to do something, but experts are said to prefer that it should do nothing.

### JOTTINGS FROM JOHORE (STRAITS SETTLEMENTS).

Have you ever heard *of* the Devil-bird? If you say yes, thank your stars that the *of* is not left out. Ours is not the true Devil-bird of India (I am no scientist, and frankly confess I don't know its Latin name), which is a large creature, and is supposed to cry like a woman being murdered; whereas this is about the size, and very much the colour of the, Cape Butcher-bird, and his voice is like a steam whistle, worked by an endless rusty chain. He is very quiet during the daytime, hopping about the shrubberies, and is almost an ornament to the place, but from 4 a.m. he is in fine form, and well deserves his name. One of them has the habit of coming to a tree not three yards from my veranda window every morning, and whistling like a fiend for an hour, when he decamps amidst anything but my blessings. Morning after morning have I hunted for him, but owing to the uncertain light, the thickness of the leaves, and his seemingly ventriloquistic powers, I have never managed to localize him. To have seen two friends and myself in the early morning looking for this bird with double-barrelled guns, you would have thought we were after a furious wild beast. We have shot several Devil-birds, but as two new ones seem to take the place of each one slain, and this fellow still eludes me, I quite dread to-morrow morning, for I know that monster will be there with his steam whistle. (I have just been told that it is the Ceylon robin.)

One evening I noticed a flying fox in a tree close to the house, and was on the point of shooting it for its beautiful skin, when I thought that if I left it alone it might rid me of my enemy, so I left it alone, and this was the result, not only was the Devil-bird there as usual, with its brazen throat, but the fox, during the night, had explored the house, eaten my bananas, and made himself a general nuisance. I am now only wanting to see bird or fox *once*, I think that would be enough, and I am seriously thinking of cutting down the tree which harbours them, for I am getting desperate.

Bird-life teems here, and my bungalow and compound seem to be the hut of the tribe. Sitting in the veranda at 7 a.m., sipping coffee, one sees simply hundreds of them. Of course the common sparrow is in full force; he wades in the water, sports on the roof, swarms in every bush, runs along the veranda, picks up anything that falls from the table, gets up early, and goes to bed late—is always discussing politics and the weather in his shrill little voice, and dies of old age or over-feeding.

Then come the Java sparrows, much smaller ; they go about in flocks. The bird with a red beak, one sees at home, called there the Java sparrow, is really a love-bird. Clambering in the trees are to be seen brilliant green paroquettes, with a tuft of scarlet about the size of a sixpence on the throat, and a corresponding one at the back of the neck, scarlet-tipped tails, and green beaks,—a lovely uniform. Side by side with them are microscopic honey or flower suckers, while green pigeons roost in the trees at night, doves walk about the grounds, swifts sit on the coffee and cotton trees, beautiful kingfishers sometimes fly right into the house, a kind of small finch flies merrily about, and the devil-bird (*I can't keep him out of my story*) is responsible for more bad language than the whole lot put together. Enormous bats scream at nightfall, but the chief nocturnal bird is the ground owl, or chuck-chuck. His body is smaller than that of a thrush, but he has long wings and a broad tail, so that he looks much bigger. He spends most of his time sitting on the ground, or on a bare stump, making a full rich sound just like “chuck-chuck,” often with a friend in the distance answering him. He makes this noise from twice to thirty times consecutively, and the Malays are in the habit of betting on how many times he will do it. One of these birds is outside my window every night, and “chucks” me to sleep, for it is rather a soothing sound. As I have said before, all these birds are to be daily found in the compound ; doubtless in the jungle, close by, there are many others. The majority of them are great *songsters*, at least *they* would say so—at any rate they make a great deal of cheerful noise. A tremendous big hairy monkey with a white face was enjoying himself in one of the garden trees this morning. Although he was close by I did not care to shoot him ; doubtless he will reward me by stealing a goose to-night, or frightening the hens.

No vegetables are grown in Johore, except potatoes and French beans ; everything else is tinned. Anything planted soon runs to seed, and becomes coarse, owing to the great forcing powers of the sun, for the whole country is one immense hot-house. But although the heat is great, we never get dust storms, or furnace-like winds ; in fact our heat is due to the absence of wind, for if there is any at all it is sure to be cool owing to the jungle and perpetual undergrowth. Besides out here we are prepared for hot weather, wear flannel shirts, white linen suits, light shoes, huge cork hats, never venture into the sun, and are always within calling distance of an iced drink. At night, attired in flannel or a sarong, we creep behind the mosquito curtains, slay the one or two who have come in with us, and spread ourselves out on the hard mattresses, covered only with a sheet. Any amount of pillows are necessary for one's comfort, and there is always at least *one* long bolster, rejoicing in the name of a “Dutch wife,” without which one could hardly sleep in the East. You curl yourself round it, and hug it as a child does a doll, when in bed. It has a wonderful effect in keeping you cool, and making you so comfortable that sleep is by no means difficult, in spite of the heat and perspiration.

The latest addition to my live stock is an armadillo. He is exactly like his picture and description in the Encyclopædia, though it makes a mistake in saying that the creature is found only in S. America. It is the

queerest-looking beast you ever saw, with his armour-plated body, powerful tail, short legs, and pointed nose and mouth for devouring the ants he digs out with his strong claws. As for making friends with him—well! a dormouse in winter is lively in comparison. If you prog him he rolls himself up into a large loose ball, gazes at you defiantly with a small pig-like eye, and refuses to stir as long as you look at him. He is much prized by the Chinese, who make medicine of him, for they believe that such a strong-looking creature will make them strong too. I have been told that in some places in India the armadillo is part of the housebreaker's outfit, who enters the house by means of the roof, presumedly of thatch or bamboo. A long rope is attached to the animal, he is thrown on the roof, and the rope hauled tight. As soon as he feels himself being drawn backwards, he sets all his plates and scales at right angles to his body, and thus brings himself to so firm an anchor, that his accomplices swarm up the rope in safety. I tied my friend up last night with rōtāu, but feeling sorry for him to-day, have given him his liberty; he is now hiding beneath a pine-apple plant, but doubtless he will depart into the jungle in an hour or two. By the way, the rōtāu I mentioned just now is the pliable, strong stem of a jungle creeper, it is largely used by the natives for all purposes instead of rope, has an immense sale, and is very cheap. It abounds in the jungle, creeping from tree to tree, and men (Malays, for the Chinaman is of no use in the jungle), skilful in getting it, often draw it out in single pieces 100 feet long. Talking of the jungle reminds me that the wild pigs are becoming a perfect nuisance in my garden, routing up and spoiling the whole place. The gardener, who naturally pays more attention to his own piece of ground than to my compound, has made an arrangement with sticks and paraffin tins—when in doubt or “hard up” use a paraffin tin (what did our ancestors do without them?)—on which he hammers every half-hour during the night to keep the invaders away. It is not worth while sitting up for them in the garden to be eaten alive by mosquitos, and crawled over by ants and spiders, so I have no thrilling stories to tell of wild boar shootings from up a tree, though I must try to do something of the sort in that dim future time known as “some day.”

If you want to see a house leak properly you should come out here. I was staying in Singapore during some heavy rain, when the floor of every room was decorated with baths, jugs and basins, the furniture was pushed into corners and covered with waterproofs, and we sat on little dry islands, as best we could—à la Captain Cuttle, on Mrs. MacStinger's washing-day—and hoisted umbrellas from time to time. Yet this was a house which had lately been put into order(?), and where the leaks could not be discovered from the outside. All this mischief was caused by that plague of a white ant, eating through the beams and laths, and thus shifting them slightly, and causing the tiles to gape. About the only remedy(?) is to unroof your house, hunt out the ants with tar and paraffin, change the beams, relay the roof, pay a big bill; and try to believe that you won't have to do this all over again in a few months, for once white ants get into a house you can never permanently get rid of them, and they will be a constant source of expense.

The opium question is a prominent one just now, and I believe much misunderstood by many of those who write and petition against it. My experience is local, and still limited, but, after nearly a year's work amongst the Chinese in Johore, and the examination of, and making of notes upon the subject on over a thousand patients as they passed through the hospital, I am of opinion that not only is the use of opium *not* an evil, but in the majority of cases is even beneficial, in warding off, or lessening, attacks of fever, and in enabling the Chinaman to perform heavy coolie labour, with the thermometer at 150°—which no other race can do. If a man over-smokes himself—and one is astonished to find how few do so—he merely goes to sleep, and wakes again quite fresh. It never makes him quarrelsome, it enables him to stand a vast amount of pain, and is one of the very few pleasures of his life. Compare this with the use and abuse of alcohol. I really believe that the more the opium question is inquired into, the less harm will be seen to result from the use of this drug. Of course some carry it to excess; but then so do tea, wine, beer and spirit drinkers, and tobacco smokers.

P. A. NIGHTINGALE, M.B., C.M.

## THE FIRST ITALIAN GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS HELD IN GENOA IN 1892.

### PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

Complying with the request of my friends to write an account of the Geographical Congress at Genoa, at which I was present, I reluctantly pen these reminiscences of a delightful week, conscious of my own incapacity and the importance of the subject with which I am dealing.

On Sunday afternoon September the 19th I presented myself at the office of the Congress in the Palace of the University in the Via Balbi, with a note to the secretary from the delegate of the Royal Geographical Society of London, who on account of ill-health was unable himself to attend the Congress. The secretary, Signor Dalla Vedova, although then at a meeting, kindly came out to receive me and enrolled me as a member of the Congress with all the privileges of a delegate.

At this time I made the acquaintance of Chevalier Sommier of Florence, to whom I am indebted for kind attention during my stay at Genoa as well as for introductions to several distinguished members of the Congress.

In the evening of Sunday a brilliant reception was given by the Syndic, Baron Podestà, at the Municipal Palace in the Via Garibaldi. The Duke of Genoa and the Marquis Doria (president of the Congress) were present. On this occasion I had the honour of an introduction to Chevalier Froehlich, Italian Consul in Manchester, and Dr. Steinthal, delegate of the Manchester Geographical Society, from both of whom I received much kindness during the Congress week.

On Monday at 10 o'clock a general meeting was held in the *Aula Magna* of the University, with the President in the chair. Among the distinguished members of the Congress present I noted Commander Casati of African fame.

Signor Dalla Vedova opened the meeting by reading the telegrams which



were to be sent to the King of Italy and the Geographical Society of Budapest, after which the delegates of the various Geographical Societies present, rose in turn to express their good wishes for the success of the first Italian Geographical Congress. I mention the names of Prof. Emil Schmidt from Leipsic, Prof. Semanoff from St. Petersburg, Commander H. Müller from the Netherlands, Dr. Calaparede from Geneva, Dr. Steinthal from Manchester, Prof. Lévasseur from Paris and General Mokhtar Pasha from Egypt.

The Countess Ouvaroff, delegate of the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, was also present with her two daughters.

In the afternoon at 3 o'clock the sitting of the three Sections commenced in the adjoining rooms of the University. The Sections were divided into

I. Scientific, mathematical, and physical, etc.

II. Economical and commercial, combining emigration and social questions, etc.

III. Educational.

On Tuesday at 10 o'clock the President opened the conference in the *Aula Magna*. Congratulatory telegrams to the Congress from the King of Italy and the Prince of Naples were read, after which more delegates from Geographical Societies offered their homage to the Congress; Signor Candeo's account of his and Captain Baudi de Vesme's travels in Somaliland then followed.

In the afternoon the Sections met as before.

On Wednesday at 9 a.m. the members of the Congress were invited to inspect the Geographical Exhibition in the School of Giovanni Carbone in the Corso Galileo, after which the two Congresses, Geographical and Historical, met at the port to join in an excursion by sea. We first sailed to the east as far as Porto Fino and then in the contrary direction to Voltri, thereby obtaining a most perfect view of the town of Genoa.

On Thursday a large gathering of the members of the two Congresses assembled in the *Aula Magna* to listen to Dr. Modigliani's interesting account of his visit to the island of Engano in the Indian Archipelago, illustrated by pictures, models and native manufactures; at the close the Duke of Genoa, who was present, shook hands with the speaker and heartily congratulated him on his contribution to scientific and anthropological research.

In the afternoon the Sections met as usual.

In the evening the Duke of Genoa received the two Congresses at the Royal Palace in the Via Balbi.

On Friday at 10 a.m. the Geographical Congress met again in the *Aula Magna* and after several presentations of books, maps, etc., from members, Prof. Taramelli gave a profound discourse on the "Glacial period in the valley of the Po."

In the afternoon the Sections met as usual.

In the evening the Syndic received the two Congresses at the Municipal Palace, the Duke of Genoa honouring the reception with his presence.

On Saturday the Sections sat at 8 a.m. and again at 3 p.m.

At 10 o'clock the Congress met in the *Aula Magna*, and after several presentations of books by members, amongst whom was Prof. Lévasseur, who presented his three-volume work "*La population Française*" to the

Congress, and at the same time made a most excellent speech in Italian, Prof. Pigorini gave a discourse upon the "Primitive population of the valley of the Po."

In the evening the members of the two Congresses were invited by the Syndic to assist at the opera of "Rigoletto" at the Teatro Carlo Felice.

On Sunday at 10 o'clock under the patronage of the Duke of Genoa, the Syndic and the Marquis Doria, a solemn ceremony was held in honour of Christopher Columbus.

Prof. Dalla Vedova made the first speech, after which chosen representatives from each country rose in turn and in their own language paid homage to the memory of the great Discoverer.

Signor Carvalho for Brazil came first, followed by General Mokhtar Pasha for Egypt, Prof. Lévasseur for France, Prof. Wagner for Germany, Dr. Steinthal for England, myself, in the place of Dr. George Smith of Edinburgh, for Scotland, Prof. H. Müller for Holland, Colonel Iulio Segui y Sala for Spain, Prof. Efflinger for Switzerland and Signor Polleri for Uruguay.

The Syndic then rose to express his thanks for the sympathetic remarks addressed to the memory of his countryman, and to the city of Genoa, after which the President of the Geographical Congress spoke to the same effect, and after congratulating the Congress on its perfect success, he presented the gold medal of honour to Commander Casati amidst immense applause.

Abbate Beltrami, formerly a missionary in Africa, then asked for a few moments of speech, which being granted he offered hearty good wishes for the prosperity of the Italian colony of Eritrea in Abyssinia. The assembly then dissolved.

At 3 p.m. the Congress met once again in the University to discuss measures for the second Geographical Congress, which it had been decided should be held at Rome in three years' time, on the occasion of the Great Exhibition. Communications were also made with reference to the Geographical Exhibition.

At the close of this meeting the Countess Ouvaroff rose to propose a vote of thanks to the President, which was warmly applauded.

In the evening a magnificent banquet was given by the Syndic, Baron Podestà, to the members of the two Congresses in the Sala del Ridotto of the Teatro Carlo Felice, which was followed by many excellent speeches.

I cannot close my paper without expressing my deep appreciation of this brilliant Congress at Genoa. Words fail me to describe this city of palaces and strongholds, situated in the midst of the hills; the Congress had the opportunity of seeing it at its best, for with the exception of one shower the weather was bright throughout the week. This city may well be called "Genoa la Superba."

The Genoese reception of strangers who had come to participate in the advancement of knowledge can only be described as magnificent. I cannot speak too highly of the courtesy I met with on every side, and as I do not presume to call myself either a scholar or a traveller, I had no greater claim to attention than that of being

AN ENGLISH LADY.

November, 1892.

## BRITISH GUIANA.

At the Colonial Institute meeting held on the 13th Dec., 1892, an important paper on British Guiana was read by E. F. im Thurn, C.M.G. After a detailed and interesting description of the physical geography of the country, and of its climate, he glanced at its ethnology, and then went, at greater length, into a narrative of the various races which have, since its discovery, flowed into Guiana, and whose settlement there constitutes its history. The freeing of the slaves and its consequences were plainly stated, showing that the measure was badly carried out. The timber trade and its capabilities were given. British Guiana is little without its product of gold; and the history of its development is given at length, from the time of Sir W. Raleigh to the present, when the output for 1891 was 101,297 oz., and that for the 9 months ending 30th Sept., 1892, has already reached 91,963 oz. Diamonds have been found, but of small size. The process of gold-hunting was described, and the labour question was then touched, the difficulty lying in the trying climate, which kills off, or at least speedily incapacitates for hard work, most of the races available. There is a large number of immigrants from India—105,463, out of a total population of 278,328. The paper concluded with a statement of the kind of Europeans who might do well to emigrate to British Guiana, the chief qualifications being good health, strong constitution, athletic training, intellectual culture, and at least a small capital. The writer himself said that such persons probably would not like to emigrate to such a country; but he believed that there is a great future for British Guiana.

## EASTER ISLAND.

PAYMASTER THOMSON, of the United States Navy, has published the report of an investigation into the antiquities on Easter Island. After a general account of the island, Mr. Thomson gives the present population at 155. The people were shamefully treated by early voyagers, and in 1863 most of the adult men were kidnapped by Peruvians, to work the guano deposits on the Chincha Islands. The people all profess Christianity, but they now have no missionaries, and show a tendency to return to their old Paganism. The island was probably once densely populated, and the remaining monuments show that the inhabitants had attained a higher degree of civilization than other Polynesians. Mr. Thomson counted all the famous stone images of Easter Island, numbering 555. The majority lie near platforms all round the coast, all more or less mutilated, and some reduced to a mere shapeless fragment. Not one stands in its original position upon a platform. The largest, found in one of the workshops in an unfinished state, was 70 feet long; the smallest, found in a cave, less than 3 feet long. One image 32 feet long weighs 50 tons. Though varying in size, the images are all of the same type. The head is long, the eyes close under heavy brows, the nose long, low-bridged, and expanded at the nostrils, the upper lip short, and both lips pouting. The expression is firm and profoundly solemn. Mr. Thomson thinks they were designed as images of distinguished persons, and were intended as monuments to preserve their memory, but were neither regarded as idols, nor worshipped. The native deities were represented by small wooden or stone idols. The image was carved in the rock, and the difficulty was to convey it to its destination. It was lowered from the mountain by a system of chocks and wedges. A roadway was then constructed along which it was dragged by ropes made of hemp, while seaweed and grass were used as lubricants. The platforms had sloping terraces in the rear, up which the image was dragged, until the base was over its resting-place, when the earth was dug away to allow the statue to settle down, ropes being used to steady it in the meantime. The incised tablets which are also found show that the natives had evolved a system of writing. These tablets are highly prized by the people, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Mr. Thomson was able to purchase two. It is said that a large number were destroyed at the request of the missionaries, so that the people should have as little as possible to attach them to Paganism. The meaning of the characters has been quite lost, and Mr. Thomson thinks this is due to the kidnapping in 1864 of every person of learning and authority in the island.

The great sinologist, Professor G. Schlegel, brings to notice another instance of the ignorance or carelessness of the Royal Geographical Society in matters of Eastern Geography, which Mr. R. Michell and Dr. Leitner have exposed as regards the Pamirs and Hunza-Nagyr. Every specialist, perhaps, considers that Society to be an authority on every subject, except his own. We extract the following from the *T'oung Pao*, a learned and interesting publication, treating of the Languages, History, and Geography of Central Asia and the Far East. (E. J. Brill. Leiden):

**"An inconsiderate Critic.** The Royal Geographical Society of London\* has not been happy in choosing Mr. H. J. A. as a reviewer of my paper on the Land of Fusang.

\* Proceedings of the R. G. S. for August, 1892, p. 570.

For when a man sets himself up as a critic upon eastern geography, he should have at least a smattering of the languages of the far East. Now Mr. H. J. A. is sadly wanting in this respect, for, albeit admitting that Fusang is not America, he says, that it can neither be Saghalin, and that, according to his opinion, 'it seems much more likely that Fusang was the treaty Port of Fusan, or Fushan, on the south-east coast of Korea.' If the reviewer possessed the slightest notion of Chinese, he would see that his identification is simply ridiculous. For *Fusan* or *Pusan* in Korea is written 釜山 *i.e.*, 'The Caldron-mountain,'\* whilst the land *Fusang* in Hwui-shên's report, and in thousands of Chinese authors, is written 扶桑 'The Supporting Mulberrytrees,' as we have explained on p. 19 of our paper. Besides, this name *Fusang* has been since a long time adopted by the Japanese as a poetical name for their own country (p. 3).

"Mr. H. J. A. gives as his unsupported opinion that the Country of the Women (Nü kwo) is the same as the 'Bo-nin' islands, which he translates 'No-men' islands. Now *Bo-nin-shima* (無人島) means *uninhabited* islands, islands without *men* or *human beings*, and not, as the reviewer implies, islands without *males*. When the Japanese discovered these islands, they found there no inhabitants, wherefore they called them *Bo-nin-shima* (無人島) 'The uninhabited islands'—there were neither males nor females. When they were rediscovered by the Dutch, they called them likewise 'Woeste eilanden' (desolate isles). For a time the Japanese used these islands as a penal colony, but they soon abandoned this practice, and the islands returned to their former state of desolation.† The 'Country of the Women' of Hwui-shên is situated upon one or more of the isles of the Kurile archipelago, as we will prove in a subsequent article of our 'Problèmes Géographiques.'

"Mr. H. J. A. has fallen into the usual fault of superficial critics in general, who fancy they are able to pass judgment in two or three days upon a problem which has been studied for long years by the authors. The rash and careless way in which the reviewer in the Geographical Society has confounded *Fusan*, the 'Caldron mountain,' with *Fusang* the 'Supporting Mulberrytrees,' is typical of this class of critics."

The great loss suffered by Egyptology in the death of Miss Amelia B. Edwards, has led, under her will, to the establishment of a Chair of Egyptology at University College London—the first of its kind in the Empire. Her friend Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie has been nominated as its first occupant, and will begin his work early this year. Besides the endowment for this chair, Miss Edwards has also bequeathed to it for the advance of her favourite study, all her collection of Egyptian antiquities, rubbings, and photographs, with a small library of books of reference. Mr. Flinders Petrie, who to the training of a finished Egyptologist adds an extensive experience in excavations, and is an enthusiast in his work, purposes, we learn, to divide his work as follows: (1) Lectures on Egyptology; (2) Lectures on the Egyptian language and philology, (3) Attendance at the Library, at fixed times, to help and direct students, and (4) Lectures on practical excavation. We congratulate Mr. Flinders Petrie on his appointment, which we know he will value much for the opportunity it gives him of furthering the cause of Egyptology. All the same, it is difficult to say whether it loses or gains most by the removal of Mr. Flinders Petrie from the sphere of excavations in which he was so deservedly and eminently successful.

\* Herbert A. Giles, A Glossary of Reference, p. 82 i. v. *Fusan*.

† See Nippon Archiv, Discoveries by Europeans, etc., pp. 92, 95, 96 *seq.*—Fried. Steger und Hermann Wagner, Die Nippon-Fahrer, p. 103, and other authors on Japan.

## THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

WE have been requested by the Hon. Secretaries of the Japan Society to give publicity to the following letter, received by the Chairman of their Council, from His Excellency the Japanese Minister in London, Viscount Kawasé, President of the Society :

"I have the honour to acquaint you that the Emperor, my August Sovereign, having heard of the organization of the Japan Society in London, and having noted the meaning of its objects, as well as the records of its proceedings, has been most graciously pleased to command me to convey to the Society His Majesty's approbative greetings, coupled with the hope for its continued prosperity, and that I am further commanded to communicate to the Society His Majesty's pleasure to present it with the sum of One Hundred Guineas.

"It affords me now much pleasure to transmit to you herewith enclosed a cheque for that amount."

THE Northbrook Indian Club has been transferred to the *Imperial Institute*, where a Society has also been formed for the promotion of friendly relations between England and Russia. We understand that the negotiations for incorporating the Colonial Institute in the Imperial Institute have failed, but we believe that the Royal Asiatic Society may yet form part of the all-absorbing Institution. If its members are as docile as those of the Northbrook Club, the matter may be easily managed by the noble Lord who presides over one body and has given his name to the other. We hear that the word "Indian" will be eliminated from the appellation of the Northbrook Society in future. The Northbrook Club was scarcely a success, but it is a pity that an attempt was not made to preserve its individuality on a sounder footing. We have always befriended the Imperial Institute, but we regret its being built, in any way, on the ruins or with the material of other bodies. Its School of Oriental Languages is made up of the classes of University College, London, and the Oriental Section of King's College, London, but the combination does not seem to have added to the number of students that each possessed at one time separately, whilst the practice of deducting a portion of the fees of the, as yet, unsalaried teachers is scarcely encouraging to them or worthy of an Imperial Institute that has been so liberally sub-scribed to by India.

WE hear from Prof. Sayce, writing from Tolar, that he is on the point of starting for Upper Egypt, and expects to make important archaeological discoveries there of altogether a novel nature.

In conjunction with Mr. De Morgan, the new Director of the Gizeh Museum, Prof. Sayce will probably enter upon explorations and excavations at Luxor ; we may reasonably look forward to important finds, for learning and an almost intuitive perception, as represented by Prof. Sayce, will be joined to enthusiasm and perseverance in the person of Mr. De Morgan.

MATTERS of current Imperial, Eastern or Colonial interest are naturally apt to displace subjects of continuous importance or reference which are the special feature of this Review. In our attempt to do justice alike to the pressing and the permanent, we have constantly increased by 20 to 120 pages the ordinary limit of the Review (which is within 240 pages). Yet, unless our space is to be indefinitely enlarged, we are ever compelled to defer the publication of invaluable papers. We have, e.g., this time to postpone to our next issue the continuation of the "Notes of the late Sir Walter Elliot," which describe "True India" as it was and still greatly is, although they are growing in importance and interest to the Indian Official and Folklorist. Similarly, "The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants" will be resumed next issue, when some of the conclusions of the fine scholars, Wassa-Pasha and Sir Patrick Colquhoun, whose posthumous joint-work we have the melancholy privilege of publishing, will be reached. We hope, however, that, after next issue, the "Notes" and the "Pelasgi" will be uninterrupted, without encroaching on other topics within the range of the Review.

WE have been favoured with several papers on Oriental women by distinguished scholars which we hope to be able to publish in our next issue. We are also preparing illustrations of the history of the manufacture of Kashmir shawls in connexion with its literary features.

PERSONS desirous of instruction in any of the Oriental Languages, ancient or modern, to have books printed in them, or to have translations made from, or into, them, are requested to apply to the Principal of the Oriental University Institute. The meetings

of the Oriental Academy will be held at the Institute on the last Saturday of every month, from 4 to 6 p.m., for the reading and discussion of papers in the various branches of Oriental research. Members will be allowed return tickets for single fares, on production of the Principal's card at the Booking Office at Waterloo Station.

APPLICATIONS for the *Sanscrit Critical Journal* of the Oriental University Institute will be received by the Manager of this Review.

It is unlikely that the Amir of Kabul will meet Lord Roberts at a Conference at Jellalabad. He does not see the necessity of either adding to, or detracting from, the laurels of Lord Roberts before he returns to England.

General Ghulam Hyder Khan may also feel awkward at meeting one who had proscribed him. An appeal in favour of our slaughtered friends, the Hazarahs, would have had a far greater effect on Abdurrahman, than any amount of Rawalpindi or Panjdeh finessing.

THE Geographical Society of Lisbon has elected Mr. R. G. Haliburton a corresponding Member, and so has also the Canadian Institute of Toronto, from which he was a Delegate to the Lisbon Oriental Congress.

WE deeply regret to announce the death of Mr. Arthur Brandreth, one of the truest friends that the natives of India ever possessed. He had a rare knowledge of the Panjab, where he held high office in the Civil Service, and where his death will be universally regretted. The sad event occurred on the 5th December, 1892, at his residence in Onslow Square, London, at the age of sixty.

WE deeply regret to announce the death of Sir Richard Owen, the greatest naturalist of this century, who was born at Lancaster in its first decade (1804), and who died in its last at the age of eighty-nine (18th December, 1892, at 3 a.m., at Sheen Lodge, Richmond, a residence graciously allotted to him by the Queen). His life has thus been that of the century in nearly the whole of its scientific vitality. His connexion with the Oriental Congress dates since 1874, when he was president of its Anthropological Section, and in 1891 he gave the prestige of his name and support to the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in September of that year.

#### PAPERS OF THE XTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS (LISBON).

IN noticing the publications of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists (of Lisbon), we naturally give prominence to the admirable contributions of Portuguese Scholars; but international scholarship has also largely aided towards its scientific success. Prof. Abel has been strong on "Indo-Egyptian affinities." Among English Orientalists the paper of Dr. C. Taylor on a manuscript of the "Pirke Aboth" and the second part of Prof. Gustav Oppert's "Indian Theogony," will, we hope, be reprinted in this Review, but we would draw special attention to Pundit Mahesha Chandra's most admirable treatment of the religious law regarding "sea voyages" by Hindus, especially as we have been compelled to postpone to next issue, owing to want of space, the continuation of Pundit Gopala Charlu's exhaustive articles on this difficult and much-contested subject. French Oriental scholarship seems inexhaustible; at Lisbon it is represented by Prof. Rolin's invaluable paper on Graeco-Oriental influences and other memoirs. It should, however, now reserve itself for the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in Paris in 1895 in connexion with the centenary of the foundation of the famous "Ecole des langues Orientales vivantes" at Paris.

1. Professor J. Leite de Vasconcellos contributes a paper in French on amulets, in which after defining their nature, he divides them into 4 classes, and attributes their origin to the different races which have successively occupied various countries. He specifies several kinds of amulets, notably some in use in Portugal, among which he seems to include a few objects of Catholic devotion.

2. The same learned Professor, in another paper treats of the Portuguese dialect used in Macao. Glancing at the origin of modern Portuguese from the Latin and at its four co-dialects as the Professor styles

them, he passes in rapid review the subordinate dialects of the Portuguese language, which being conveyed by missionaries and merchants to Africa and the East in general, produced among others, a special variation in Macao.

3. Professor A. R. Gonçalves Vianna, noting the difficulty compositors find in setting up for printing the actual multiform shapes of Arabic letters, suggests the reduction of all these letters to one size by the curtailment of the curved finals. Of the 28 Arabic sounds, the primary forms of the letters would represent 18, leaving 10 to be expressed by *over-written* dots. To these he adds the 4 Persian letters, *Pe, Che, Zhe, and Gaf*, with the delicate variations of Malayan and Hindistani sounds, making in all 38 vocals, indicated by 20 shapes of letters with the aid of *over* and *under* written diacritical dots. Opposite each of these (all except the *alif* reduced to one size, the professor puts an equivalent for transliteration into the Roman alphabet, distinctions being noted by dots and lines.

4. Professor Gonçalves Vianna has also given another paper on two points in the history of Portuguese phonology—one the use of the Ç for *Sin* and of S for *shin* in words derived from the Moors; and the other, the softening of the Arabic gutturals into F in the Spanish whence many such words passed into the Portuguese. He illustrates both points by numerous words adopted at various times into the Portuguese.

5. Senhor Demetrio Cinatti, Portuguese Consul at Canton, sends a translation of Dr. McGowan's article in the *North China Daily News*, on "Man as a Medicine" in China, and the special relation of this superstitious belief as a provocative to anti-foreign riots. The paper furnishes some very curious items of information on the supposed therapeutic qualities of man and his various secretions.

6. Monsieur O. L. Godin gives a detailed account of the relationship between the Royal family of Portugal and Flanders, over which some of them ruled by marriage. This connexion leads to the narrative of a number of events in which the two countries acted together, their operations against the Moors in Africa furnishing the connecting link with the Oriental Congress.

7. In *The first labours of the Portuguese in Monomotapa*, Senhor A. P. de Paiva e Pona publishes, from the State and other archives, a number of letters principally from or regarding Father Gonçalo da Silveira (1560). Even in the short space covered by this most interesting paper—quite a book of 100 pages—it can be plainly perceived that a vast mass of information regarding Africa still remains practically unknown to the world in the archives of Spain and Portugal. We therefore welcome it, not only for its own interest, but also as a first instalment of a series of publications which we hope to see issued without delay. The regions embraced in this correspondence are now the scene of varied activity; yet even those earlier explorers of the XVI. century knew of the existence of gold south of the Zambezi; and we should not feel surprised if further publications throw some light on the ruins lately discovered in Mashonaland.

8. *The East and America*, is the title of a paper, or rather a book of 113 pages, by Senhor A. Lopes Mendes, containing interesting notes on

the manners and customs of the races of Portuguese India, compared with those of Brazil. The author modestly disclaims being anything more than a gleaner in a vast field ; but he goes thoroughly into his subject, instituting a series of important comparisons between races very distantly placed, and he shows throughout a most erudite acquaintance with their peculiarities.

9. Senhor Luciano Cordeiro, the Secretary of both the Geographical Society of Lisbon and of the Xth Congress gives, in one of a series of papers, on Discoverers and Discoveries, the history of Diogo Caõ who in 1484 discovered the Congo. With a wealth of research, the learned author gives a summary of the deeds of one of the many sons of whom Portugal is, with good reason, proud. It extends to 79 pages, and is illustrated with 13 *facsimiles* of monuments and inscriptions.

10. Professor Dr. Karl Abel, of Wiesbaden, has contributed a revised and enlarged version of the learned paper on the Etymological affinity of the Egyptian and Indo-European languages, the substance of which he gave at the IXth International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1891. Taking as his example the root *Ker*, and following it, in its various phonetic and other variations, through a host of examples, and comparing the results in the two families of languages, he shows that the development of the root and its ramification, proceed on the same fundamental laws phonetic and intellectual, though the same sound does not always correspond in each family to the same variation of sense. The learned professor's paper, as perfectly complete in itself as it is unique of its kind, opens out a vast field for further investigations.

The ten papers above noticed have been already printed by the Xth Congress, at the National Press, Lisbon, and may be obtained from the Publishing Department of the Oriental Institute, Woking, or from the Secretary of the Xth International Congress of Orientalists, The Geographical Society, Lisbon.

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THOSE who care to read the Echoes of the "*occasionally* Ninth Congress of Orientalists" held last September, cannot do better than refer to the London letters in the *Indian Spectator* of the 2nd and 9th October, to the *Madras Mail* of the 7th October, and to the *Pioneer* of the 9th October, which is specially severe on it.



## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The Viceroy's winter tour has been made in the South of India. After a short stay at Ganeshkhind with the Governor of Bombay, His Excellency paid a visit of 6 days to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The state had allotted Rs. 350,000 for decorations in honour of the event, which, though somewhat damped by continued rain, gave abundant evidence of sound loyal feeling. Amid the usual routine of addresses, visits, levées, reviews, parties and dinners, the Viceroy among other things explained why Hyderabad has no special Imperial Defence Corps, though the project itself originated with the Nizam: financial reasons were the cause, and His Excellency spoke to the point on the subject. His Highness, at the sports, astonished all with the singular accuracy of his shooting. Thence the Viceroy proceeded to Mysore, in which flourishing and model state he had nothing but praise to give. Here Rs. 20,000 were spent on decorations. After attending a capture of elephants, the Viceroy went to Madras; in which connexion we note that the Secretary of State has paid Lord Wenlock well deserved praise for his ceaseless and energetic efforts to mitigate the effects of the recent famine. Hence the Viceroy went to Vizagapatam, where at a large reception of chiefs, he decorated the Maharaja and others; and then returned to Calcutta.

On the practical working of the Indian Councils' Amendment Act all the local Governments have submitted their views. Some other proposals have also been made. The Bengal Conference, at a special meeting, expressed the hope that the Act would be interpreted liberally and given a fair trial. They proposed 20 Members, 5 official; from the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Association, the Native Merchants, and the University 1 each; from the Calcutta Municipality and District Board two each, Mufussil Municipalities, 3; the Zemindari interest 1, Muhammadan 1, and representa-

tives of minorities 2. They also expressed disappointment for the resolution on the Public Services Commission Report and on the Memorial about Bengali Volunteers, which they hoped the Government would reconsider. One resolution declared the Conference's support of Hindu Sea-Voyages, and another recommended reforms in Civil justice in Bengal, as to the fees, number, pay and qualifications of judges, and the encouragement of arbitration. For Bombay the proposal of the Presidency Association, adopted also by the Provincial Conference of Poona, divides the presidency into 5 Districts—Bombay City, Scindh, Guzerat, Kanara, and Dekkhan; the present Council of five to have a minimum of 25 members, of whom 12 should be elective: *i.e.*, Bombay City 3, Dekkhan 3, Scindh, Kanara and Guzerat 1 each; 3 more at Bombay respectively for the Corporation, the University and the Mercantile Associations. The Government of India has not yet published its decision on the subject.

The answers of the District and High Court Judges to the Government of India circular of May 1890 asking their opinions and suggestions regarding trial by jury have been published. The Bengal Government has, by a decree, suspended trial by jury for offences against the person, as among other difficulties, it was found that Hindu juries were often reluctant to convict men of high caste. The act has caused great agitation among both Europeans and natives. The popular protests against the Cadastral Survey of Behar have been taken up by the British India and the Indian Property Associations as being unjust and a source of litigation. The Government however are not disposed to yield. It is also doubtful whether the Liberal Administration of Mr. Gladstone will agree to the suspension of trial by jury in any part of India. We are glad to hear of the establishment at Calcutta of a Pali Text Society, under the presidency of Babu Surat Chandar Das.

In the military department, we have to record, not with entire approval, the appointment of Major-General

Sir George Stewart White, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., to succeed Lord Roberts as Commander-in-chief in India, superseding a large number of officers, most of whom are his equals and several his superiors in all the qualifications requisite for that high post. Camps of Exercise, numerous but small, have been sanctioned for this winter at Bareilly, Lucknow, Rawul Pindi, Meerut, Saugur, Meean Meer and Muridki; and nearly all the Imperial Defence forces, except those of Jodhpur, will be out for exercise. Over 25,000 Lee Mitford rifles have reached India with 11,000,000 cartridges, for rearming the European army: 25 rifles with 30 rounds each have been given for practice to every European Regiment. The Horse and field Batteries of Artillery also are being gradually but all too slowly rearmed with breech-loading 12-pounders. A Maxim gun has been got for the Pachmari school of musketry; and some comments have been made, both that the Black Mountain expedition had to borrow the private Maxim gun of the old Kolis, and that regiments should have their own private armament, beyond the regulations. If necessary why not all regiments; if not, why any?

In the Native States, the Maharaja of Kashmir has granted timber from the State forests to Rs. 50 to all sufferers from the fire at Srinagar last August. Sirdar Muhammad Hyat Khan has been nominated to the Kashmir State Council. The Railway survey, made at the cost of 6 instead of 10 lacs of Rs., declares the first and third parts (Haripur to Abbottabad and Domul to Srinagar) to be feasible, but the middle portion, Abbottabad to Domul is too expensive for the state to undertake. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda after a second visit to Her Majesty, and an inspection of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield has returned to India. On his own personal initiative, a new survey and settlement has been made in Baroda, rents being reduced, payments made in cash instead of kind, several petty imposts abolished, and much waste land replanted. At Bhowanagar, the Dewan opened

the Khoja Charitable school, built right in the centre of the city by Herjibhai Jammal, on ground given for the purpose by H. H. the Thakur Sahib. At Ulwur the murder of Kunj Behari Lall was proved to have been instigated by the late Maharaja ; Major Ram Chunder and Akhey Sing were sentenced to death, Buddha to penal servitude for life and Chunda Munshi for 7 years—Chima being discharged. From the well-governed State of Mysore, we learn that the cost of the former, including missions, was Rs. 818,000. This year's surplus was Rs. 492,200 ; after spending Rs. 1,250,000, in the Hindupur Railway, the State has a nett credit balance of Rs. 8,931,909 ; various improvements have been made in the Police, the Departments of Education and Public Worship Trusts ; and on the petition of the Representative Assembly all marriages of girls under 8, and of girls under 16 with men over 50 will be declared penal. In Hyderabad, pending the Defamation Case, the Nawab Mehdi Hassan has been suspended from office, and the Nawab Mushtaq Hussain, who had just retired after 32 years' service, has been banished. Dr. Lawrie has made further important experiments with chloroform ; and the great central jail at Warangal which has already cost a lac is being continued.

Sir Charles Crosssthaite has succeeded Sir Auckland Colvin as Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. P., the latter closing his administration by the opening of a number of public works, among which were the Benares Waterworks, the new eye hospital at Allahabad, a technical school at Lucknow, and hospitals at Mirzapur, Fatehgarh and Benares.

The Black Mountain Expedition under Sir W. Lockhart has returned to its quarters, after burning Baio, but without capturing Hashim Ali, who, though he came to meet the officer deputed for that purpose, refused to surrender. Jihan Dad Khan, a Chief on our frontier (where intrigues are carried on to promote frontier disputes which bring great profit), had his village also burnt. The Kurram Valley

force has received the submission of Chikkai. Muhammad Nazim Khan was installed ruler of Hunza in the presence of the Chinese envoys, who after the ceremony left with Mr. McCarthy for Yarkand. Muhammad Ali Khan after a quarrel with his father, the ruler of Nawagai, fled to Asmar to the Amir's general, but receiving no encouragement, he came to settle at Peshawur. Chitrál affairs we have treated elsewhere. Col. Yanoff has left the Pamirs. Russian papers however now pretend that the proper frontier of the Russian Pamirs is a line from Derwaz across N.E. end of Roshan and Shignan, S.E. to Sarhad and the foot of the Baroghil Pass, forming a triangle wedged between Shignan and Chinese Kashgar, with its apex at Sarhad, touching the Wakhan River, the Hindu Kush and the Indian dependencies of Hunza-Nagyr, Yasin and Kashmir. General Brackenbury's speech on the desire of the Indian Government to have a strong and independent AFGHANISTAN has done much good. The Amir has ordered his agent to leave the Waziri country, pending delimitation. Though successful in some battles he has as yet failed to crush the Hazara rising; and it is by no means certain whether the long-talked-of meeting with Lord Roberts will come off.

BURMA.—The Chittagong Minhla Railway line survey has been sanctioned. Siam has accepted the delimitation fixed by the Governor-General; from a point opposite Palharang on the Salwin River, describe a semi-circle embracing the Me Pa, and Me Che streams, northward along ridge of hills parallel to the Salwin River and about 20 miles east of it,—to Mongman,—east along the boundaries of Mesakum-Mong, Tamong, Kiatmong, Hongmong, Hest, and Kyaingmong,—thence along the E. boundary of the last and between it and Kiang Chang and Kiang Hung. The Burmo-Chinese delimitation however has fallen through, owing to excessive demands by China, which is said to have punished some of its officials for over-friendliness with the foreigners. There is a prospect for a

University for Burma ; and to encourage the study of Pali proposals have been sanctioned for holding Pali examinations, as under the kings, at Mandalay, some money provided by Government being supplemented by private gifts. Revised rules have also been issued for encouraging the study of the Shan and Kareyn languages. The Chins have suddenly broken out near Fort White, cutting the telegraphs and attacking various outposts, especially Stockade No. 3. The rebels numbered over 2,000 ; and as a general rising was feared, the S. Lushai and other posts were strengthened. Rain at first delayed the repression, which after the destruction of the offending villages was hastened by dissensions among the chief rebel tribes the Newangal and Siyins : as we go to press another outbreak is reported. In the Bhamo range 5 columns, with over 900 men will operate during the winter. A scarcity of rice at Mymensing is being met by large imports. A proclamation declares that Government will not interfere with domestic slavery in the Kacheyn Hills, but that new captures cannot be allowed. The Mu valley and Wuntho railways, breached by recent rain, are being drained previous to permanent repair. The Perak railway also shows progress.

M. Paul Boel, who started last year from Shanghai for Chungking, on the Upper Yangtse, travelled with only a Chinese servant through Szechuan, Kweichow, Kweiyang, Yunnan, and Manhao, ultimately reaching Mengtze, whence he entered Tonquin and travelled south to Haiphong. Travelling in Chinese costume, he was not molested during the whole of his travels, but the populace in Szechuan were very strongly anti-foreign and much excited over the demonstrations against missionaries in other cities. In Kweichow and Yunnan he found the peasantry very friendly, and the mandarins treated him with great courtesy. Szechuan is a great and rich province, with which a vast trade might be developed, people being more cultivated and better off than those of most other provinces. Yunnan

M. Boel considers to be extraordinarily rich in minerals. The copper mines are fabulously rich, and most easily worked. There are also coal, gold, silver, and tin mines. Yunnan at present has vast stretches of country untilled and unpopulated. M. Boel stopped to visit the ironworks of the Viceroy Chang Chihtung at Hanyang, then far advanced towards completion. The iron ore for the works comes from a mine about 30 miles distant, now being connected with Hanyang by a light railway. M. Boel thinks the ore good for making railway iron. He also visited the extensive cotton-spinning mills established by the Viceroy at Wuchang. From Haiphong he made a tour through Tonquin and Annam, visiting Hué, which he describes as curious and interesting, but squalid even for an Oriental capital, all the city outside the royal and official precincts being very poverty-stricken. He visited the Hongay mines, and was much astonished and pleased with the vastness of the coal deposits; and the extensive works undertaken show with what faith and enterprise the mines are being exploited. M. Boel, after a short stay at Hongkong and Canton, went north again to Peking.

The Dutch East India Budget showed a deficit of £900,000; the revenue being £13,900,000. For irrigation works £90,000 were assigned.

JAPAN.—The British Legation report the total foreign trade of Japan for 1891-92 at £23,286,798;—Exports being £12,798,920 and Imports £10,487,878, the former being an increase of £3,000,000, the latter a decrease of £2,710,000. British trade still holds the first place— $\frac{1}{2}$  of all the imports, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the exports. The United States, France, China and Germany follow in order. Of the foreign population (8,631) the Chinese were 5,256, British 1,382, Americans 721, Germans 432, French 324, and Portuguese 134. Of 567 foreign firms, 116 are British. The expulsion of Japanese from American territory has excited a desire for reprisals. At Tokio, the City Council have assumed control of the Cemeteries, till now under the

priests: their right is contested as *ultra vires*. The Japanese cruiser *Chishima* sunk after colliding with the steamer *Ravenna*, and about 80 lives were lost. A Typhoon is reported from the Liu Kiu Islands, S. of Japan, in which 5,000 houses and 60 junks were destroyed. 1717 miles of railway were open.

CHINA.—Exemplary punishment has been inflicted by the Chinese on all concerned in the Shensi riots against French priests. Further rioting, luckily without serious consequences has occurred in Ichang and at Kien Yang. Among the complaints made against missionaries is their contempt and defiance among others of the local objection to tall buildings, as destroying the privacy of Chinese homes. China continues her energetic protests at St. Petersburg against the violation of her rights in the Pamirs. The wreck of the *Bokhara* with its attendant fearful loss of life has drawn attention to the want of meteorological stations at Formosa and the Pescadores, to complete the circle of such stations in the dangerous Chinese seas. The Shan-hai-Kwan Railway is progressing.

On the Yangtse a great growth in the timber trade is reported from the decrease in transit dues that for many years often were over 100 per cent., *ad valorem*. These checked the trade, which the natural features of the country—steep declines easily formed into timber shoots, and swift torrents float the timber to navigable streams—should have facilitated, and which the very low charge for labour in the forest regions should have made profitable. Now there is an enormous extension of the timber trade at Hankow. The timber goes down the river in huge rafts, which, with the huts erected on them for the raftsmen, look like floating islands, and are a remarkable feature of the Yangtse. The floating timber-yards where these rafts are lashed together reach for six miles along the north bank of the Yangtse at Hankow. Their value must be enormous, but they do not appear in the trade returns for the port. Owing to the increase of both rafts and foreign shipping



collisions were at one time frequent, giving rise to acrimonious and troublesome disputes, which, however, the Consul has now succeeded in obviating by inducing the Chinese to accept certain simple regulations.

An English man-of-war was sent to Vladivostock to inquire into the treatment of English sealers captured by Russians. A Russian scientific mission under M. Potamine, expecting to be out for 2 years, has started from Niachi for Peking to proceed to Eastern Thibet, for natural History and Ethnological investigations. A similar French exploring party were at Leh, driven back by the loss of their baggage animals.

There is nothing to chronicle about PERSIA, except a favourable report of the Persian Bank, and that the Société de Tombeki de Paris agrees to pay £450,000 to Persia in return for facilities for exporting Persian tobacco. The Mission to the Nestorian Christians is said to be in need of money ; and meanwhile the Nestorian Patriarch is reported to have joined the Catholics, with a large portion of his followers.

There are good reports of three TURKISH Railways. One under a German Company, from Haidar Pasha, the Asian suburb of Constantinople, towards Bagdad is completed to Angora, where the first locomotive arrived from Ismid (440 miles) on the 2nd December. Another, from Samsoun on the Black Sea to Ayar on the Mediterranean, has already been surveyed for half its length : it is under a Belgian Company. An English Company is at work on the line from Acre via Carmel, Jezreel, and the Jordan to Damascus and the Euphrates. No time can, however, be yet fixed for the completion of these works. The official Financial Report shows that all sources of revenue have yielded an increase, especially, salt, stamps, fisheries and silks. The 2nd quinquennial results since the reform was begun, show a great advance on the 1st. An inspection has been made of the Dardanelles fortifications, which are pronounced almost worthless. The Department of Pious

Foundations Funds has given £2,000 for repairing Biblical monuments in Jerusalem and has sent an official to supervise the work. Boarding schools attached to Gymnasias have been opened at Salonika, Monastir, Smyrna, Beirut, and Damascus; and chiefly by promoting the Idadiehs or preparatory schools into superior schools, 34 such have been created. Yemen though tranquil is said to be not completely pacified, seditious proclamations being still circulated.

EGYPT.—From the 1st January, the Suez Canal rates are lowered 5d. per ton. His Highness the Khedive visited several schools and colleges at Alexandria and Cairo, and formally opened the new museum for Græco-Roman and early Christian antiquities at Alexandria, and 45 new galleries at the Gizeh Museum, which the new administration has added to the 45 already in existence, stocking them with what had for years been hidden away. The high Nile threatened damage for an unusually long time, but subsided eventually on 7th November, no damage having been done, except a few unimportant breaches speedily repaired. A serious quarrel has occurred between the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria and his people, regarding school administration. He excommunicated his opponents, who raised against him a rival patriarch: not much harm has yet resulted, beyond hard words. The Budget for 1893, estimates revenue at £E.10,267,000, and surplus at 472,000; but of this, owing to France's well-known opposition, only 10,000 is at the disposal of Government. This year, however, the Reserve Fund will exceed the stipulated 2,000,000; and thenceforth the whole surplus will be available for extinguishing the debts, and further reducing the taxes. A reduction on the land tax of £123,000 is proposed, making a total of £345,000 in 3 years.

IN MOROCCO, the French Mission to Fez has failed as signally as our own late one, and apparently from similar causes. The sultan at first friendly, refused all concessions, and the Mission left Fez with every sign of contempt short

of open expression. Who will try the nut next? The French after a deal of delay, the expenditure of over 6,000,000 francs above the estimates, and much hard fighting, have taken Abomey. Col. Dods proposes to divide the country into 4 parts, that on the littoral between Grand Popo and Kotonou being simply annexed, while the other three are to be governed through native chiefs. Wydah is to be a French port, but its chief is still holding out. The French intend also attacking Samadou once more and in strength. Behanzin is still holding out with 20,000 soldiers at Akraduten. Matters remain quiet on the West Coast; and from the Congo State come letters, showing that Jacques and Joubert, supposed to have been massacred were safe on the 15th September.

Sir H. Loch returned to the CAPE, with a definite understanding with the Imperial Government about Swaziland, which will be communicated to President Kruger. The latter has consented to modify as far as possible certain tariffs seemingly injurious to the Cape. He proposes a law which will, in 14 years, place immigrants on the same footing as the Boers, and the amalgamation will make a United S. Africa. Some think (he said) this would be under the British flag; but he would maintain the Transvaal independence. In Demaraland, the German Company's concession to the English company has been curtailed: for the 13,000 sq. kilometres at choice, they will have only two plots of 500 sq. kilometres each; for free colonization, a preference is required for Germans for whom certain favoured spots are reserved for 10 years; the railway concession is limited to the north part, and does not exclude private enterprise; and when the profit reaches 10  $\frac{1}{2}$ %, they are to pass under government control; and German industries where possible must be patronized. The English Company is much praised by the Germans for gracefully yielding their undoubted rights for a friendly feeling. Mr. Cecil Rhodes at the annual meeting of the S. Africa Company gave a flourishing report, and proposed

a telegraph straight from the Cape through British territory or spheres of influence right up to Alexandria. The Natal self-government Bill was lost in Council. The exports of gold still continue to progress. In Mashonaland, the Beira Railway has 35 miles completed and 15 more surveyed: total 50 miles. Senhor Barbosa de Boccage has succeeded Baron Leite at Mozambique. A great improvement has taken place under Senhor Machado (of the Mozambique Company) especially in the organization of a transport service. Mr. J. Thompson has submitted his report on the Zambezi,—a cautious document, making its very favourable conclusions all the more reliable.

From German E. Africa, Dr. Karl Peters has returned to Germany, and there has been some fighting with the Wahabe of Usagara. Captain Macdonald has returned to Mombasa to continue surveys for the Government. Sir Gerald Portal (with a large staff) has been nominated Commissioner in Uganda, which is elsewhere treated. The White Fathers, whose intrusion into Uganda led to a most melancholy result, are trying to enter some territories occupied by the Church Missionary Society.

From the 1st February, an import duty will be levied at ZANZIBAR on all wines, spirits, tobacco and opium.

Osman Digma has again been showing activity near Tokar, and though repulsed has not quitted Amet.

AUSTRALIA.—Nearly every colony in this group is under financial difficulties and is trying to raise money, in different ways. Complaints are rife in the other colonies about the continual stationing of the fleet at Melbourne, instead of periodical visits all round. The long talked of alternative Pacific Telegraph Cable, from Australia to Vancouver's Island, having hung fire in British hands, is now taken up by a French Company, and the first link between Burnett Heads, Queensland and New Caledonia will be laid in about a year. Thence the route will be Fiji, Samoa, Honolulu, Fanning Islands, and either Vancouver or S. Francisco. The wine export shows a steady progress. In 1881 the

average stood at 4s. 5d. and a fraction per gallon, in 1888 it was about 5s., in 1890 it receded to 4s. 6d., and in 1891 dropped to 4s. 1½d. An equally low price was reached in 1883, but two years later the highest price yet obtained was recorded. In 1889 159,114 gallons of wine, valued at £33,240, were shipped from Victoria, while in 1890 only 146,663 gallons, £31,990, were exported at the average price per gallon of 4s. 4d. The decennial return for South Australia is: Wine—1881, 54,872 gallons, valued at £12,879; 1882, 68,426 gallons, £19,523; 1883, 90,242 gallons, £23,743; 1884, 50,080 gallons, £14,343; 1885, 70,904 gallons, £22,784; 1886, 83,309 gallons, £23,731; 1887, 89,838 gallons, £23,787; 1888, 130,037 gallons, £33,903; 1889, 180,135 gallons, £44,891; 1890, 221,885 gallons, £50,738; 1891, 286,188 gallons, £58,648. There is a decrease this year of 50,000 gallons owing to frosts. In addition to wines of various kinds, Australia has begun exporting large quantities of good brandy. An inter-colonial conference is proposed at Brisbane, for compiling all statistics on a uniform plan. The Military Commission on Australian Defence has done little beyond proposing certain minor details. Several colonies have declined to be represented at the Australian Federal Council. Jealousies have also appeared regarding the coinage of silver, all wishing to share the profits. Sir George Dibbs declares that the order in Council authorizing the coinage of gold includes permission to coin silver also.

In West Australia, a new find of gold is announced 150 miles from Annean. £160,000 from other mines has this year been entered at the Customs Office. The revenue for last quarter shows a surplus of £124,604, the cash in hand amounting to £337,296, only £297,927 having been expended from the loan of £1,336,000. A Bill is proposed to amend the constitution by abolishing the franchise qualification for both electors and elected, increasing the number of members, and redistributing the electorate.

In S. Australia, a defeat of the Ministry has brought Sir

John Downer to the united office of Premier and Chief Secretary. The Broken Hill strike has caused a decrease in 14 weeks of £109,000 in Railway receipts. A resolution in the Legislative Assembly affirms the desirability of inter-colonial Federation: the opposition criticized, but would not oppose it. 50 camels were landed from Karachi, and are going with loads to Port Augusta where there is already a good number, and where attempts are being made to establish a stud of these animals. The Legislative Council has voted an increase of income tax and certain import duties.

At Melbourne, Sir Bryan O'Loughlin's vote of censure on Mr. Shiel's Ministry was defeated by 13 votes. After a long conflict, the Upper House accepted the Stamp Duties Bill.

The Broken Hill strike has at last broken down, after 18 weeks, doing much harm all round—entailing a loss of £270,000 in wages alone. Six of the rioting miners were sentenced to imprisonment, from 3 months to 2 years. Sir G. Dibbs very properly refused to receive a deputation on the subject; and a vote of censure on the action of the Government was negatived by 30 votes. The French Consulate at Sydney has been raised to the rank of a Consulate General. A Bill is proposed for amending the Sydney Assembly on the one man one vote basis, with a redistribution Bill. Among its admirable proposals are that no election speeches should be made, and all elections should take place on the same day.

In Queensland, Sir Samuel Griffiths resigns the Premiership, and retires from political life as Chief Justice. The Separation Bill having been rejected, the Government will send a special delegate to confer on the question, with the Imperial Government.

The NEW ZEALAND revenue for the past half year was £1,786,000, an increase of £43,000 over last year,—the customs increased by £8,000, the Railway revenue by £22,000 and the stamps by £7,000: land revenues declined £5,000. The Colonial Office has advised Lord Glasgow to

accept the nominations by the Ministry, to the Upper Chamber ; they include four of the labour party. Much dissatisfaction exists on the refusal of the Imperial Government to contribute to a monthly mail *viâ* S. Francisco : New S. Wales however offers a subsidy of £4,000 for one year only. A women's franchise bill was passed. As the compulsory clause was struck out of the Arbitrations Bill in the Upper House, the Bill was abandoned.

TASMANIA yielded 28,000 oz. more than last year in gold, 5,000 tons of tin and 2,000 tons of silver ore. The Budget threatens a deficiency of £12,420 : it will be 6 years before the total is wiped off. The Bishop of Tasmania, after a long tour in the Pacific declares that the alleged abuses in Kanaka labour traffic are greatly exaggerated.

CANADA'S first four months' financial report shows a surplus of \$4,633,612 or \$1,250,000 more than last year. The order in Council prohibiting the import of Canadian cattle has created much dissatisfaction, being estimated to cause Canada a loss of \$3,000,000. Mr. E. Miall has been named chief of the newly-created department of Trade and Commerce, Customs and Revenue passing into the hands of a Commissioner, the equivalent for an English Under-Secretary. Sir J. Abbott having resigned, Sir J. S. D. Thompson has formed a new Ministry. Gold has been discovered at Lake of the Woods and immense salt beds at Windsor, Ontario. President Harrison seems determined to keep irritating Canada. The United States Government have discovered that, owing to the perfidy of Ivan Petroff an employé, some false statements, unimportant except because arguments had been based upon them, had crept into their statement of the Behring Sea case, and they have promptly notified this to the British Commissioners. The Mail contract with the Allan Line has been extended to another year. Chinese immigration is still increasing, notwithstanding a poll-tax of \$50. Mr. Mercier was acquitted by the Jury. The New Brunswick legislature was dissolved, and a change of Ministry is

expected. A conference was held at Ottawa with the NEWFOUNDLAND Delegates, headed by Sir W. Whiteway, on the Fisheries question ; another instalment of papers on this has been published by the Foreign Office, but does not bring us any nearer to a solution with France.

How heterogeneous is the population of Canada appears from the last census. In a total of 4,800,511 the French-speaking number 1,415,090, or 29·4 per cent., against 1,294,304, or 30·1 per cent. (of 4,293,879), in 1881. In ten years the French have increased from 1,071,581 to 1,196,346 in Quebec, where they are now 80·4 instead of 78·9 per cent. In Ontario they have decreased from 101,194 to 101,123, falling from 5·2 to 4·8 per cent., and in Nova Scotia from 9·3 with a total of 40,997 to 6·7 with a total of 30,181. In the North-West Territories they number 1,543 against 2,633, being only 2·3 per cent., against 10·1 in 1881. In Manitoba and British Columbia they show an increase, from 9,868 and 723 to 11,102 and 1,181, but a relative decrease from 15 and 1·5 per cent. to 7·3 and 1·3 per cent. respectively. In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, the French-speaking people have increased both absolutely and relatively from 57,572 (or 17·7 per cent.) and 10,736 (or 9·8) to 61,767 (or 19·2 per cent.) and 11,847 (or 10·8 per cent.). The foreign-born population of the Dominion is 645,507, against 608,334, the natives having risen from 3,685,545 to 4,155,004. Natives from Scotland and Ireland have diminished from 115,010 and 185,522 respectively to 107,365 and 148,842 ; those of England, have increased from 169,492 to 218,961 ; of Newfoundland, from 4,596 to 9,331 ; of other British countries, from 3,545 to 4,432 ; of Europe, from 39,154 to 53,778 ; of the United States, from 77,750 to 80,480 ; and of China, from 4,383 to 9,127.

The Census states that during the last 10 years, the industrial establishments of Canada have increased from 49,923 to 75,768, or 51·8 per cent. ; capital invested from £33,060,524 to £37,706,838, or 114 per cent. ; the



employés from 254,935 to 367,865, or 44·43 per cent.; the wages paid from £11,885,800 to £19,954,488, or 67·86 per cent.; cost of raw materials from £35,983,718 to £51,198,643, or 42·3 per cent.; the value of the products from £61,935,213 to £95,089,141, or 53·5 per cent. The capital invested per head is £5 in Prince Edward's Island and the North-West Territory, £7 in Manitoba, £8 in Nova Scotia, £10 in New Brunswick, £16 in Quebec, £17 in Ontario, and £29 in British Columbia. The general results are (1) a large increase, in the number of hands employed, the wages paid, and the capital invested. This last points to a large outlay for improved machinery. (2) The average workman in 1891 was better skilled than in 1881, and turned out 6 per cent. more in value, and (3) in 1891 earned 16 per cent. more wages than in 1881. (4) As every dollar invested produced in 1891 less than in 1881, the capitalist has had smaller profit. (5) Notwithstanding the reduced gross profits of the manufacturer, the workman has received a larger share of the total products by 9 per cent.

In the WEST INDIES, the report for Jamaica for 1891-92 shows a decrease in the Imports and Exports respectively of £400,000 and £180,000. The revenue by import duties fell 13 per cent., principally from the action of the Reciprocity treaty with the United States. The Internal customs also fell by £19,000, and the shipping by 11 vessels, or 12,118 tons. This shows a serious decline in the colony, which complains much of bad treatment at the hands of the Colonial Office and lately held a public meeting to seek a remedy. Sugarcane, tobacco, ginger had remained stationary, ground products and guinea grass had advanced, and 1,100 acres had been added to Coffee cultivation. The house tax gave 89,898 houses, instead of 134,545 given in the last census, which seems to have counted separate flats and even rooms as houses, when occupied by a family.

*Obituary.*—We have the melancholy task of recording

the deaths, during the quarter, of Mr. Anthony Edwards of Smyrna, over 80 years old, who established European newspapers at Constantinople and Smyrna ; of the oriental scholar and great Sinologist, the Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denis ; of General Henry Dyett Abbott, C.B., who served in Kurnoul and during the Indian Mutiny ; of the Central Asian traveller Theodore Child, who perished of Cholera at Teheran ; of Cardinal Charles Allemand Lavigerie, of Algiers ; of Saul Solomon ; of F. A. Lushington, of the Indian Civil Service ; of the veteran Sanskritologist Professor Dr. C. Schütz at the age of 87 ; of W. Piércey Austin, D.D., for 50 years Bishop of British Guiana ; of Mr. James Wild, Curator of the Sloane Museum, a great authority on Arabian art ; of General Count Yamada, a leading Japanese politician ; of Sir W. Ritchie, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada ; of Sir Thomas Cockburn Campbell, Speaker of the Legislative Council of W. Australia ; of the distinguished Oriental Scholar Ernest Renan ; of Leon Joseph Gordon the Hebrew poet ; of Archbishop Lovenan of Pondicherry ; of the Sherif of Wazan, Mulai Sid Al Hadj Abdus Salam, cousin of the Sultan of Morocco ; of General Sir Fred. Abbott, who served in the first Burma and Caubul wars ; of the Hon. Sir James Mac-Bain, K.C.M.G., President of the Legislative Council of Victoria ; of Sir Samuel Grannier, Attorney-General of Ceylon ; of Genl. James Maurice Primrose, C.S.I., who took part in the last Afghan war ; General W. Donnett Morgan, who served in the 2nd Sikh war, the Mutiny, the Umbeyla and Bhotan wars ; of Col. H. W. Buller, who was in the Umbeyla and last Afghan campaigns ; of Genl. Sir Thomas Pears, R.E., K.C.B., who served in Kurnoul, the 1st China and 1st Sikh wars, and afterwards did even greater service on the Indian Railways ; of Genl. Hastings Frazer, C.B., who served in the Mutiny ; of Surgeon-General H. Mills Cameron, who was through the 2nd Sikh war and the Mutiny ; of State Councillor Dr. Paul Kempf, professor of Oriental languages at

Prague ; of Mr. Paul Peel, the Canadian artist and painter ; of Mr. Lionel Moore, attaché to the British Embassy at Constantinople, a ripe Turkish and Arabic scholar ; of Mr. W. Wynn Kenrick, Commissioner of Mines in British Guiana ; of Dr. David Lloyd Morgan, C.B., of the Royal Navy, who served in the Crimea and Chinese wars, and was Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals in the West Indies and at Hong Kong ; of the Honourable Sir Adams George Archibald, of the Privy Council of Canada where he held several important offices ; of Genl. C. Vanburgh Jenkins who had served in the 2nd Afghan, the Umbeyla, and the two Sikh campaigns ; of Sir John Morphett, President of the Legislative Council of Adelaide ; of Mr. A. Brandreth, of the Indian Civil Service ; and of Sir R. Owen, K.C.B.

V.

19th December, 1892.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *The European Military Adventurers of Hindustan, from 1784 to 1803*, by HERBERT COMPTON. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892. Price 16s.) This stout, closely printed, and well-got-up volume is a page out of one of the wildest chapters of the Romance of History. Even the adventurous tales of the olden Italian *condottieri* pale before the stirring events in Indian history, during the half century before Lord Lake's capture of Delhi. Of the Europeans who took part in those events and made their history, the Savoyard de Boigne, the Irish George Thomas, and the French Perron have been selected by our author for full notice. An appendix deals, briefly and in alphabetical order, with nearly 70 other adventurers, of more or less note among the many, who at that time sought not only the bubble reputation, but also the more pleasant harvests of the pagoda tree, in the then fabulously rich realms of India. The list is by no means a complete one, nor are these short biographies without an occasional slip. But Mr. Compton has certainly given us a book which enhances the vivid interest of most stirring times and daring persons, by applying a very graphic and graceful style to the results of the diligent and painstaking research brought by him to his task. His book is much more than readable,—more than interesting,—it is positively fascinating; and among its pages is scattered much information on the state of India in those troublous days and on the manners and customs of people of all kinds. Among the side lights which it sheds, we note another ray (pp. 27-29) on the character of Warren Hastings: this seems to come out not only clearer but also brighter as each new document casts its beam or gives its tint to the excellent portrait which even now history has painted and time has matured of this greatest, and at one time most maligned of Indian rulers. We recommend the book to our readers, as one well deserving a place not merely in their hands for cursory perusal, but also on their shelves for occasional reference, in matters of Indian History.

2. *Albuquerque*, by H. MORSE STEPHENS. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 2s. 6d.) The *Rulers of India Series* would have been, indeed, very incomplete without this volume, in which Mr. Stephens gives us an excellent biography of his hero, coupled with much accurate and not easily accessible information regarding the Portuguese empire in the East, and shrewd observations upon it, of historical and political interest. Albuquerque was not only the greatest and best of the Portuguese Governors of India, but he was also the only one who united in himself the rare qualifications required for that office. He had justice, goodness, firmness, a wide grasp of the state of affairs in the East and of the means of securing to Portugal a high position amid them,—the ability, nerve, and force of character necessary not only to conquer open enemies and opponents, but to overcome the far worse impediments of insubordinate assistants who thwarted, and interested peculators who calumniated him.

Had he got earlier into power or retained it longer, had his distant king and those whom he sent really aided Albuquerque as the situation required, and, above all, had his far-reaching and statesmanlike designs been continued by his successors instead of being cast aside for speculation and persecution, the Portuguese would have had a wider, longer and better empire in the East than they actually did. Albuquerque, great man as he was, had his faults, and our author does not conceal them; but his fair, and judicious remarks clearly show that they were rather the faults of the age and country than of the man, whose character was otherwise as pure, good and high as it is well drawn by Mr. Stephens. The numerous points in the history of the Portuguese in India, to which subsequent events in that of the Dutch and English run quite parallel, are duly noticed. The two concluding chapters give, in about 37 pages, a condensed account of the successors of Albuquerque, down to 1580, when Spain and Portugal became temporarily united under the sceptre of Philip II. Our author rightly mentions the important position which Christian missions held in the History of Portuguese India, but he does no more. There are, as he knows and says, plenty of facts and materials for an historical sketch of the Portuguese missions in India; and it would certainly not be lacking in interest; but as Mr. Stephens did not think that this lay within the scope of his work, he has judiciously left it alone. His book is a well written and full account of an important factor in Indian history, and is a very good number in this excellent Series.

3. *Lord Lawrence*, by SIR CHARLES AITCHISON, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 2s. 6d.) Even in the select group of remarkable men whom the *Rulers of India Series* introduces to the English reader, Lord Lawrence stands conspicuous as one of the most remarkable—a figure to catch the eye of the student of India, as a giant among men. It is a pity, therefore, that his life in this Series has fallen into Lilliputian hands. Sir Charles Aitchison knew Lawrence well, had served under him, and appreciates him; and he had at hand, not only the published lives and notices of his great chief, but also the many unpublished documents which are accessible to the writers of this Series. Much might, therefore, have been fairly expected from him; yet he has signally failed to do his subject justice. He gives us nothing new, and that may not be all his fault; but he does not even make the old matter more interesting: his Lord Lawrence is nerveless, lifeless. What Sir Charles set about to write, it would be hard to tell. At p. 38 he states he is not writing a biography,—at p. 39 he will not narrate events,—at p. 67 he declines to detail Lawrence's pacification of the Punjab,—at p. 176 he will not be tempted to treat of Lawrence's foreign policy in general, and though he "selects" for particular discussion the Afghan question, even that (p. 177) he will not deal with except in very small part. If, then, we are not to have biography, nor history, nor detailed criticism, what is left to tell? Nothing—and this Sir Charles gives us, at great length. We are sorry to say that this volume falls very far below its predecessors in this series. Yet we gladly give Sir Charles Aitchison credit for two good points. He is more outspoken than previous writers on the "Cartridges" which caused the mutiny of 1857,

though the veil hiding the author of that transaction is still undrawn. The only thing which he brings out really well is Lord Lawrence's statesmanly dependence for the safety of the Empire on conciliating the goodwill of the masses of India by just and kind treatment : on this must eventually rest that feeling of loyalty and friendship for England, the fostering and development of which should be the object of the friends and well-wishers of both countries.

4. *Four Heroes of India*, by F. M. HOLMES (London : S. W. Partridge and Co. 1s. 6d.), gives us brief lives of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Sir Henry Havelock and Lord Lawrence. The author does not profess to give fully drawn pictures, but only sketches of these four lives and their times. The sketches, however, are clearly, vigorously, and skilfully drawn, giving life-like portraits, though necessarily in outline only. His Lawrence, for instance, is, in 30 pages, a far more living Lawrence than is given in Sir Charles Aitchison's 200-page volume ; and his Clive, Hastings, and Havelock are equally well treated. The last mentioned, though a conspicuous figure during the mutiny, does not show to much advantage among the three really great men, into whose company he is thrust in these pages. Havelock's advance on Cawnpore and Lucknow was no great military achievement, so far as he was concerned, though the endurance and dash of his troops are above all praise. He was surprised in all his battles—a sure sign of an inferior commander ; in one his success was due absolutely to an accident—the destruction of a bridge not having been sufficiently extensive ; and in another, when he attempted a little stratagem, it failed. His disagreement with Neill is matter of notoriety, nor did all the fault lie with the latter officer ; and it is more than doubtful whether, without Outram's clear head and steady perseverance, the relief of Lucknow would not have come too late. Hence we think that Havelock's place might perhaps have been better supplied, in these pages, by the name of the " Bayard of India," but we have, at least, an excellent life of that very worthy and good man, clearly and briefly told like the other three.

5. *Tanganyika : or Eleven Years in Central Africa*, by E. C. HORE, Master Mariner. (London : Edward Stanford, 1892. 7s. 6d.) Mr. Hore combines in his book a great deal of information on the particular region of which he treats with the charm of dangers by land and adventures in boat and large steam yacht, which recall the days when we read, spell-bound, the pages of " Robinson Crusoe." The author's connexion with the London Missionary Society's expedition to Central Africa (long prior to others that have made more noise) and its results are clearly and well told ; and if converts have been few, it is still no little thing to show, as the author does, how prejudices and suspicions have been lived down, mutual good feelings cultivated, some reading and writing taught, workshops established, and much else done to advance the true interests of the various tribes about Tanganyika. Mr. Hore bears testimony to a high degree of morality, intelligence and good feeling on the part of the natives, before intercourse with marauding explorers and grasping merchants and the introduction of our European vices had sown the seeds of evil far more than enough to counterbalance the little good done as a set-off, by the

boasted "spheres of influence" in Africa. It speaks well for the method of Mr. Hore and his companions, that the good fellowship established between them and the natives about Tanganyika has stood the strain of the hostility provoked by European cupidity and Arab aggression—and this alone is worth the large amount of money used and the more valuable lives spent in the great enterprise which Mr. Hore relates with a sailor's frank simplicity.

6. *Newfoundland to Cochin China*, by MRS. HOWARD VINCENT. (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1892.) Mrs. Vincent's is a very interesting and gossiping account of her long journey, out through Newfoundland, Canada, Japan and China, and home by Cochin China and the Suez Canal—all round the northern world. She is an observant traveller and a good narrator. The descriptions are, perhaps, rather overdone; and as is sure to be the case in laboriously simple writing, there result passages which "no fellow can understand," and some rather glaring blunders: e.g., "spring solstice," "horizontally upwards," etc. Mrs. Vincent has strong likings and dislikings: everything Japanese is right and good, and everything Chinese is wrong and bad. Still the book is very pleasant to read. Col. Howard Vincent adds a dry but most useful and important appendix on the commercial relations of Great Britain with each of the countries which he and his wife visited. Its chief utility consists in showing clearly what we are *not* doing to secure and improve our trade; and it emphatically exposes the listless apathy of successive British Governments, which has allowed the trade of the world to pass gradually from England into the hands of Germany and the United States. Is it too late to be wise, even now?

7. *The Story of Uganda*, by SARAH GERALDINA STOCK. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1892. 3s. 6d.) Here, in a small and well illustrated volume, we have a plain, unvarnished account of the Church Missionary Society's work in Uganda, brought down to almost the point when the unfortunate rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant parties culminated in a violent outbreak. The narrative is simple and sympathetic; all the more so, because the authoress, carefully avoiding the extreme of partizanship, is moderate in her tone, and intersperses her own descriptions with extracts from the letters and diaries of the brave and singleminded men who have laboured in Uganda. All praise to the energy, courage and charity which took them there, and to the perseverance which, supplying the place of the fallen by new volunteers, has kept up the succession of teachers continuously till the present. No one can read their deeds and sentiments without a feeling of admiration. All the greater is the pity that the fruit has not corresponded with the amount of the money and energy spent, the number and value of the lives lost, and the bravery and virtue of the workers, in this little grateful field.

8. *Beast and Man in India*, by J. LOCKWOOD KIPLING, C.I.E. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892. 7s. 6d.) Mr. Kipling gives us a very well written and pleasant book, furnishing much interesting information on the relations subsisting between man and beast in India. It contains many good descriptions and better illustrations, notably those from Mr. Kipling's

own pencil. When this is said, we have exhausted all the praise we can conscientiously give him. He has lived long in India, but has certainly not mastered the delicate distinctions between Indian sounds; for while a pretty lullaby, at p. 30, is mistranslated by the misplacement of an accent (Aré for Are), God, at p. 19, is made "the grandfather of all" instead of "the giver of all" (dāda for dāta). At page 82, "not a week passes without a case of this horror in our police-courts," *i.e.*, nose-cutting, is a libellous exaggeration. Mr. Kipling describes many things which he seems to know only from (incorrect) hearsay; as, when he states, in that dogmatic strain which is one of the chief defects of his book, that in India "railway bank, waterdam and Queen's highway are raised by the slender coolie woman and the little donkey." The share of the latter is great, we allow; but comparatively few women are seen on these works—on roadmaking none—and even these few, generally women left without their bread-winners, thus earn an honest livelihood, when their Western sisters in misfortune too often take to worse courses. Mr. Kipling's disclaimer (p. 309) of personal knowledge of snakes qualifies the statement, which is not a fact, that "in the roof thatch, the stone wall . . . or coiled up in the dusty path, (the snake) *waits his appointed hour to strike.*" The italics are ours, and indicate the point of the mistake: the snake, as all know who have studied that much maligned but timorous animal, is *never* the aggressor. When he tells us (p. 331) that "crows and poultry seldom appear" as terra cotta painted toys, he must have walked the streets of Indian towns with his eyes shut; for the crow is one of the most common of such toys. He has some extraordinary omissions too: for instance, though at p. 304 we are told that the village Brahmin's first care is to find in which direction the great world-supporting serpent is lying—a tremendous generalization, yet he forgets to mention the great *Kili* at the Qutab near Delhi, which Prithi Raj drove through that serpent's head. As a string on which to hang his statements regarding animals, Mr. Kipling has a continued tirade against Indians for cruelty. Thus at p. 78, he foams at the mouth at the senseless splitting of the asses' ears in India, though they are split in some other countries also; but he seems to have quite blunted his feelings of humanity, and even forgotten facts, when he contrasts his own countrymen with the Indians. The Indians do nothing so barbarous as our European customs of cutting the tail of almost every dog and horse, of systematically castrating the latter animal, and massacring in cold blood, pigeons at shooting matches and tame pheasants in preserves. He is equally wrong in his statements regarding hunting cheetahs, at p. 294, for they can be and are trained even when brought up from cubs in captivity. We have said enough to warn our readers that Mr. Kipling's statements about Indians and their ways are not all correct; but his book, though not always trustworthy, is, when treating of beasts, very pleasant and amusing.

9. *Mohammedanism and other Religions of the Mediterranean Countries*, by G. T. BETTANY, M.A. (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1892. 2s. 6d.) This well-got-up book aims at a popular account of the principal religious systems (exclusive of Christianity and Judaism) which have flourished in the regions about the Mediterranean Sea. To these, *apropos de bottles*,



are added the religions of the Teutons, Celts and Scandinavians, who certainly are not included in those regions by nature. A book of 316 pages cannot, of course, even profess to give more than an outline of this large group of religious systems. Mr. Bettany has consulted very good authorities upon each subject—in fact has gone to the best in each case—and his description of each religion is fair, accurate and generally impartial. Here and there we have noticed a few minor inaccuracies; and several of the author's conclusions we do not agree with; as, for instance, his estimate of the moral influence of Grecian Mythology. But on the whole, he has given us a carefully prepared series of sketches of eight different religions, which are very readable and interesting. The book is well illustrated; but here also there are a few inaccuracies, which, with those in the letterpress, cause one to stare at their appearance in so deserving a book. Thus the *Jama Musjid* at Delhi becomes the *Jummoo Musjid*—quite another thing; and the “Apollo Belvedere,” at p. 194, holds, in his left hand, a Gorgon's head, which certainly is not in the original.

10. *Indian Fairy Tales*, by JOSEPH JACOBS. (London: David Nutt, 1892. 6s.) This is a selection of Indian Folk tales rather than Fairy tales; for more than half of the twenty-nine have nothing whatever to do with fairies or demons. Mr. Batten's drawings are most brilliant and imaginative, and full of the spirit of the tales which they illustrate. Why folk and fairy tales should be prepared in a pompously and painfully simple style we fail to see, especially when, as in the present case, thirty pages of closely printed notes and references show that the work is meant for children of mature age. The work is also disfigured with several errors, which would lead one to suppose that the author is not personally conversant with the East. Thus Hindu princesses are made, in their troubles, to recur to *Khuda*, the Muhammadan God; *Kos*, the well-known Indian measurement becomes *Kas*; and some of these tales, though now found in India, are certainly of more Western origin—in Muhammadan Persia and Arabia, and as such have hardly a fit place in any set of Indian Folk tales. These defects notwithstanding, the author, artist and publisher have combined to give us a book which is a pleasure to read and to see.

11. *Far Cathay and Further India*, by GENERAL A. RUXTON MAC MAHON. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1892. 12s.) General Mac Mahon's long and honourable official connexion with Burma coupled with his wide reading led us to expect a treat in this book: and we are not disappointed. It is written in a pleasant and conversational style, often full of fun, and sometimes rippling over with Irish humour, as in describing Burmese women and their dress. The book itself overflows with valuable information on the country and its past, present and future: its religion and history: its earlier connexion with its neighbours; its vicissitudes and governments and peoples. We have also much new matter regarding its last king—Thebaw. General Mac Mahon treats in detail the ethnology, manners, customs and characters of the many tribes inhabiting Further India; and like all who are brought in contact with them, he appreciates their many good qualities and virtues, though not blind to their faults. His laudatory remarks on the Phoonghyees and their time-honoured system of general

popular education are just; and the note of warning which he sounds regarding the results of our unwise interference with this system, as contrasted with Sir J. Phayre's plan of improving while utilizing it, should rouse "the powers that be" now in Burma to reverse their present action before it be too late. Already, our author tells us, there is visible an unpleasant change in the native character in Burma—a change which is not an improvement, as all advance is not necessarily progress. Our space does not permit our noticing this book more in detail; but our readers will find it a mine of pleasant and useful information.

12. *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of Great Britain*, edited by CAPTAIN F. W. H. PETRIE. Vol. xxv. (London: Published by the Institute, 1892.) Here, besides the report of the Annual Meeting are nine papers, of the usual varied and interesting character, read in 1891 at the ordinary meetings. These are Sir M. Monier Williams on the Monism, Pantheism and Dualism of Brahmanical and Zoroastrian Philosophy—Lord Grimthorpe on human responsibility—the Rev. Dr. Legge on Chinese Chronology—Hormuzd Rassam, Esq., on the Garden of Eden—the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall on the origin, strength and weakness of Muhammadanism—Dr. W. L. Courtney on the reality of the Self—Surgeon-General C. A. Gordon on the Philosophy and Medical Knowledge of Ancient India—the Rev. Theodore Wood on the apparent cruelty of nature—and the Rev. H. J. Clarke on Deontology. Unable to notice each paper separately, we can only specialize for their merit the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 7th; and the 8th, as a specimen of special pleading in which much knowledge is wasted in a necessarily fruitless attempt to prove that pain and cruelty are in nature almost nonexistent.

13. *Sinai*, by the late MAJOR H. S. PALMER, revised by PROFESSOR SAYCE. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892. 2s.) The worth of this little book may not be gauged by its actual size; for its closely-printed 220 pages and its condensed mass of information could easily be made into a much larger volume. It is of great importance and interest, being in fact the reproduction, in a summarized form, of the results of the great Ordnance Survey report, issued in five volumes in 1872. Of this Major Palmer published a summary in 1878; and the present is Professor Sayce's revised edition of it. The advantages of a thorough knowledge of the peninsula of Sinai, one of the most notable of geographical localities, cannot be over-estimated. Its Bibliography alone is very extensive, while many of the works included in it are both too bulky and expensive for the general reader. We are thankful, therefore, to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for giving us a portable compendium of all the information as yet available regarding this region. We are sorry to see reproduced, at p. 169, *et seq.*, the absurd rationalistic explanation of the passage, dry-shod, of the Red Sea by means of a gale of wind strong enough to roll back and hold up the waters of a sea: such a wind and its sudden timely burst, with the Israelites being able to march in its teeth, is at least as great a supernatural displacement of the ordinary laws of nature, as the direct interposition in the Scripture text, which is the simpler of the two equally miraculous things. The most interesting part

of a book everywhere interesting, is the localization of the mount on which the Lord spoke. Professor Sayce has given all the most recent results of research on the Sinai peninsula, rendering this little book a welcome boon to the Biblical student.

14. *British East Africa and Uganda*, compiled from CAPTAIN LUGARD'S and other Reports, with Map. (London : Chapman and Hall, 1892. 3d.)

15. *Handbook to the Uganda Question*, by ERNEST L. BENTLEY, with Map and Historical Notes. (London : Chapman and Hall, 1892. 3d.) These two pamphlets, the maps in which are identical, though evidently written for a special purpose in favour of the British East Africa Company, are deserving of perusal by all who wish to keep abreast with the actual state of affairs there, and to know all that can be said by the party in whose interest they are written. In the first pamphlet, there is, at p. 15, a direct and plain spoken charge against the French priests of trading, and especially in gunpowder. All trade,—this in particular,—is so contrary to the spirit of true missionary enterprise, especially by Catholic priests, that we call attention to it, in the hope that those who have been making so much out of the late unfortunate conflict in Uganda may refute, if they can, this odious accusation, to which some colour is lent by the fact of its mention in a formal treaty between Mr. Gedge and Emin Pasha, before Captain Lugard appeared at all on the scene.

16. *Aurungzebe and The Chase*. (Westminster : A. Constable and Co., 1892. 5s.) This, the third volume of *Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, reproduces Dryden's forgotten tragedy, *Aurungzebe* and the second Book of William Somerville's poem called *The Chase*, and is edited by Mr. Kenneth Deighton. Thirty pages of most unnecessary Biography introduce us to the tragedy, which though obsolete can be still seen in almost any library of the smallest pretension, and the literary worth of which certainly does not require its reproduction. The same may be said of *The Chase*. The mere fact of their being feebly framed on portions of Bernier's travels hardly entitles them to a place in an Oriental Miscellany.

17. *Borneo : its Geology and Mineral Resources*, by DR. THEODOR POSEWITZ, Member of the Hungarian Institute. (London : Edward Stanford, 1892. 14s.) Dr F. H. Hatch gives us a careful translation of this very painstaking and thorough work. The introduction gives the rather extensive Bibliography of Borneo. The history of its discovery and exploration, the physical geography of the island, and its geological formations in detail are fully and clearly given : and these are succeeded by chapters on each of its mineral productions, among which are petroleum, coal, iron, copper, mercury, gold and diamonds. Four excellent geological maps accompany the book. The author conscientiously sticks to his last, and quits his scientific disquisitions for no side issues regarding men, and manners and customs. His book is, therefore, a perfect repository of technical information only. Too little is yet known of this interesting island : and now that travelling in it is becoming comparatively more safe, the large remainder of the island, which still appears practically a blank on the maps, should be submitted to systematic research. Both the

specialist in geology and the speculator in mining should study this book if they wish to be thoroughly informed on the vast and varied mineral resources of Borneo. Even the general reader, who cannot be expected to enjoy the details of geological research, will find a good deal of useful information and some pleasant reading in Professor Posewitz's 500 pages. The translator's work is well done, though we object to the use of unnecessary new words: such as "water-parting" for the long accepted "watershed," and "Theodor" for "Theodore."

18. *Morocco as it is*, by STEPHEN BONSAI, JR. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893. 7s. 6d.) Here the author (an American Press Correspondent who was with Sir C. Euan-Smith's mission to Fez and who characteristically publishes in 1893, three months before the close of 1892) gives us his experiences and impressions of that country, after more than one visit to it. There is a great deal of information in it regarding the history of the country and its actual state. Many shrewd observations are made, though most are exaggerated. The book on the whole is pleasant to read, interesting and useful. In history, however, Mr. Bonsai is not strong; nor in botany, for he and others recline under the shade of "a mandragora-tree." While his style is distinctly American, he shows considerable weakness as to the meaning of particular words, thus at p. 185, Moors write their histories upon *illuminated missals* (*sic*). He twice fixes the Jewish Sabbath on Friday, and to his American fancy all Sovereigns live in continual fear of assassination! Of Mr. Bonsai's Arabic we say nothing; he does not even profess to know it, though even ignorance should not err in the transliteration of the usual Mussulman salutation. His morality may be gauged by his confessions of lying, his shameful practical joke on the blind, and above all by his having bribed several student youths to steal valuable manuscripts from the Library of the Fez University: all this he himself unblushingly relates. According to Mr. Bonsai's narrative, the Mission deserved a far more signal failure than it met with. To systematic outrage on the religious and other prejudices of the people, they all seem to have added a swaggering assumption and a bragging tone, equalled only by a thoughtless folly and inconsiderateness, which one does not expect in diplomatists. There was an ostentatious parade of wine-drinking, and much else objectionable; and we note that the first cause of the change which took place in the attitude of both the Sultan and his people was due to the defiant intrusion of the party on the sacred waters of Mulai Yacub. That they got away safe from Fez, is more than, on the showing of our author, they deserved. The second part of the book describes an earlier visit than that paid with the British envoy (absurdly called *Bashador* all through); but why it is not put in its proper place at the beginning of the book, we fail to see. Our experience is that a visitor cannot easily gain a correct knowledge of a strange people even when he knows their language and stays a long while and mixes with them familiarly. Hence we always add a note of interrogation to most things said by writers who scamper once or twice through a country of which they know not the language, and for the people of which they show a contempt incompatible with intimate association and just appreciation. What real knowledge can they acquire or communicate?

19. *The Holy City, Jerusalem*, by S. R. FORBES. (Chelmsford: E. Durrant and Co., 1892. 3s.) This is a very peculiar book, quite like a circle, as having no proper beginning or end, and being in value a perfect cypher. Its chronological table most unnecessarily goes up to Adam, yet vexatiously stops at A.D. 530. Amid the array of quotations, many of which are not to any point at all, there is a marvellous confusion of ideas, coupled with Dr. Forbes' well-known dogmatism, not always founded on accurate knowledge, and often without any foundation at all. We instance his explanations about Melchisedek (p. 27) and his assertion about the burial-place of St. Stephen (p. 67). The *raison d'être* of the little book is the discovery in 1882 of the broken bottom of a glass vase, on which is painted a building that Dr. Forbes makes out to be Solomon's Temple, and further, to be its exact representation. That there is not the shadow of a reason for the two suppositions is quite a little matter to Dr. Forbes, who thereupon dogmatizes, as is his wont also in Roman matters. His knowledge of Jerusalem is no ways peculiar; in many matters, like the identification of the hill Golgotha, he is not up to date. In his preface he says: "Avoiding all controversies, but taking the authorities as our guides, we propose . . . get facts out of the fiction, in order to elucidate its topography and antiquities, with a view to rendering service to those of our readers who may or may not visit the Holy City." This is just what he has *not* done.

20. *Hindustani Idioms*, by COL. A. N. PHILLIPS. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1892. 5s.) Col. Phillips' thorough knowledge of Hindustani is manifest in this little manual, and well justifies the certificate of High Proficiency which he holds. Every phrase given is in excellent form, though here and there is a wrong termination, especially in gender. It is a useful book; but we do not see in what sense it is a book of idioms. Half of it is a vocabulary of terms all of which can be found in every dictionary. Section VIII., luckily only 3 pages long, called "a few aids to memory," consists of a score of doggerel verses, the right adjectives for which are absurd and atrocious. If legal and official phrases are idioms, Section V has too few of them; if they are not, the section is useless. In fact Col. Phillips does not seem to know precisely what idiom exactly means. Names for family relations (Sect. IV.) *e.g.* are not idioms. Proverbs are not idioms, though in general idiomatically expressed. Our author gives several proverbs for idioms: but here there are some mistakes. *Unt charhe aur kutta kate* is not to take a mean advantage of, but expresses the acme of bad luck. As an instance of confusion between idiom and merely correct phraseology let us instance No. 122. Aches from jolting in a carriage are correctly enough expressed as *mera tamam badan dard karta hai*; but the idiom or *thait* Hindustani is *mere huddi pasli ek ho gai*, my bones and ribs have become one (mass). The book will, however, be a great help to students.

21. *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, by SIR W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 3s. 6d.) We gladly welcome this—the 20th edition, revised—of what is now a standard work; for its success shows a growing taste for information on Indian subjects.

It is brought down to date—the middle of the current year. To the praise which we willingly accord to this really excellent epitome of geographical, ethnological, religious and historical information regarding India, we must add, in no unfriendly spirit, a few words of criticism. At page 43, 1827 is a misprint for 1857. It is not fair, while naming Lord Roberts in connexion with the last Afghan War, to omit Sir Donald Stewart whose daring and timely march saved the former. De Boigne, Perron, Thomas and the Begum Sumru, surely deserve a passing half-line. Finally, no History of India can be considered complete without a detailed list of all the feudatory Chiefs of India: the absence of this is perhaps the greatest defect in Sir W. Hunter's justly-praised work.

22. *Indian Field Sports*, after designs by CAPTN. T. WILLIAMSON. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1892. 10s.) With every beauty of paper and printing, this enterprising firm gives us here 10 very pretty coloured plates, in oblong 4to, of Indian hunting-scenes, accompanied with a short letterpress, sufficient to describe the plates: there is a mistake at p. 3, about the Bombay and Bengal mode of spearing boars. Messrs. Constable and Co. have done their work most thoroughly and excellently; and if there are some inaccuracies of drawing, as in the forelegs of the elephant in the right foreground of the first plate, the fault is not theirs. Their book is excellent value.

23. *Buddhism, Primitive and Present*, by R. S. COPPLESTON, D.D., Bishop of Colombo. (London: Longmans and Co., 1892. 16s.) We have here a most valuable contribution to the study of Comparative Religion. Dr. Coppleston is candid, fair, and just in his work, and his wide experience in Ceylon and acquaintance with its ecclesiastical literature render him well qualified to treat of his subject. He limits his investigation to Sinhalese Buddhism only; and it is open to question whether, in a study of Buddhism, professedly undertaken for purposes of comparison with Christianity, it can be fair to the former thus to limit the inquiry, which in consequence is left simply incomplete. Nor can we say that confining his studies (apparently at least) to particular schools of interpretation, notably Professors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, Dr. Coppleston has not lost a good deal which French and other authors, especially Bishop Bigandet of Rangoon, have contributed to the personal history and the tenets of Buddha. Having begun, as all Christians in such case necessarily must, with a *parti pris*, Dr. Coppleston, though he laudably tries to be fair and generally is, falls into occasional harsh judgments; as when he complains that there is no detailed list of virtues, as there is of vices: the former are surely understood by their contraries. He does not seem to allow tradition its full value; for in the East, above all, tradition is eminently conservative, and generally reliable in its main features. We fail to see that Dr. Coppleston has proved that Buddhism acknowledges no God and no soul, as is assumed by him and many others. Whether a soul be distinctly mentioned or not, Karma cannot be conceived as continuous without a real soul to cleave to, any more than accidentals can without their substance. Nor does it follow that because Buddhism is pantheistic in the widest sense, that therefore it owns no God. Again we must object

to the assumption that Nirvana is plain annihilation. This has never been demonstrated; on the contrary much of what Dr. Coppleston himself gives us tends to show that the Buddha still survives in some unknown form of absorption and rest, which again gives us the original form of the heaven of pure reason, rest and union with God of the soul, enfranchised from the mundane passions of *concupiscibile et irascibile*. With these remarks we end our fault-finding in this excellent work, which we have read with pleasure. Excellent it is throughout, in form, spirit, judgment and learning. We note particularly Chapter XXI., Critical History of the Canonical Literature, which for painstaking research, careful deduction, and general correctness of conclusion, is deserving of every attention. Dr. Coppleston has given us a book of the highest merit and greatest interest, one without which no one can hope to form a true idea of one of the purest forms of Buddhism. He notes the many parallels between Buddhism and Christianity—some as he rightly says real, and others simply accidental or merely apparent—but one of the impressions left on our mind after enjoying the perusal of his work is that there is room still for a side-by-side comparison of the words and phrases used in the Christian and Buddhist Scriptures.

24. *Voices from Australia*, by PHILIP DALE and CYRIL HAVILAND. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1892. 3s.) This is a neat little book of poems, in two parts—one by each author. Almost everywhere we have pretty touches of local colouring, as in the Christmas wish, which all would gladly see realized:

‘A sunbeam taken from the plenty here  
To melt thy snowflakes, I would send thee, dear.’

Among others, there is (of course) a poem on kissing; but considering the antiquity and frequency of that operation, we cannot say that the poet has here told us anything new, or told the old, old story in a new way. There is plenty of good rhyme, and a good deal of sound reason—as sound at least as is generally found in average fugitive poems, giving us a very readable little book, many of the pieces of which are quite appropriate to this season.

25. *Modern Guns and Smokeless Powder*, by ARTHUR RIGG and JAMES GARVIE. (London: Spon and Co., 1892.) To the well-known series of scientific books for which this firm is so justly celebrated, this volume just out is a good addition, giving much information regarding modern substitutes for the now antiquated gunpowder, especially in connection with modern fast-firing and far-reaching guns of large calibre.

26. *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta*, by EDWARD CARPENTER. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., 1892. 15s.) The style of this book is a credit to both printers and publishers. The author, though labouring under the serious drawback of not knowing the languages of the countries through which he travels, has given us a series of good sketches of men and things from Colombo to Delhi. They are well-drawn, chatty, and graphic. If not always exact, they have the great merit and charm of being written in a spirit of sympathy and admiration for the good

qualities of the natives, which is unfortunately often wanting in the writings of European travellers. The illustrations scattered in it are excellent.

27. *Sketches from Eastern History*, by THEODOR NÖLDEKE. (London and Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1892. 10s. 6d.) From the learned Strassburg Professor we could expect nothing less than a very exact and comprehensive treatise on the matters which he has chosen for this book; nor are we disappointed. He knows his subject thoroughly, and treats it with ease and facility. But we have failed to find in the book anything that is new, or any new thoughts on what was old. What is said is said rather verbosely, the object apparently being to spin out narratives to the utmost. The sketches of Simeon Stylites and Barhebræus are completely out of place in a work which treats mainly of Islam, its book, and its history; but "Eastern" is an elastic term, and in Professor Nöldeke's case seems to include even Abyssinia, for we have a good sketch of King Theodore. The book will yield pleasure and profit to the general reader.

28. *The Story of Africa and its Explorers*, by ROBERT BROWN, vol. i. (London: Cassell and Co., 1892. 7s. 6d.) This is a very beautifully got-up book, with 200 illustrations, executed in Messrs. Cassell's well-known splendid style, including the reproduction of several ancient maps, which are of the greatest importance for comparison with our present knowledge. Dr. Brown does his work most thoroughly. This volume, after a short introduction on Africa and African Ethnology (which we would have liked to see treated more fully), brings down to our own times the history of the Guinea traders, of the Corsairs, of Timbuctoo and the Niger—that is, only a part, of course, of the West Coast. But Dr. Brown does well to take his arduous task up in parts: the next volume promises to deal with the History of the Nile. The present one contains a vast amount of information regarding the older explorers; and among other matters treated are the myths of Pirate treasure-islands, and Prester John. We recommend this series of publications to our readers as promising to furnish a complete Encyclopædia on Africa, both interesting and useful.

29. *The History of Socialism*, by THOMAS KIRKUP. (London and Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1892.) This stout little book, on one of the burning questions of the day, is deserving of careful perusal, in order to understand the present theoretical position of the movement. Neglecting, or at least passing over earlier socialistic theories, some at least of which were attempted to be propagated by force, our author begins with the inevitable Saint-Simon, and gives a well-connected and well-detailed history of socialist movements in various countries. We purposely use the plural, as we fail to see, and our author fails to show, any unity in these scattered and often dissimilar elements. He fails also to show impartially the practical working of the theory in the hands of the violent. Equally does he fail, and rather unaccountably, in noticing the great help given to Socialism by the present Pope and by Cardinal Gibbons, not to mention several other ecclesiastics of high position who have raised their voices for the people, now that sovereign rulers are the servants, and not the masters of the Masses. Mr. Kirkup's book is a valuable contribution to the study of a difficult yet urgent and loud-voiced question.



30. *Une Excursion en Indo-Chine*, par le PRINCE HENRI D'ORLEANS. (Paris : Calmann Levy, 1892.) "Because a few have died from the impact of cherry-stones in the *cæcum*, therefore there is no God," was the pithy summing up of an atheist's long-spun-out sophisms. Prince Henri's little pamphlet may be summed up similarly : Because there is coal in Tonquin, therefore a new Algiers, a new France, an Empire at least equal to that of England in the East, is going to be built up in Tonquin by the French, who though long and strongly and expensively established there, still have their periodical convoys chivied regularly by the so-called Pirates ! Prince Henri knows and feels this, and complains of it ; but of course France is destined to have such an Empire, with Prince Henri as Emperor : both results are equally probable.

31. *Japan and its Art*, by MARCUS B. HUISE, LL.B. (London : Simpkin Marshall and Co., 1892. 12s.) This second edition of a very elaborate work by a competent author enlarges the first and enriches it with the addition of much new matter, especially on Ceramic art. In it, after a sketch of Japan, the author touches on each point in the religion, customs, history, geography, and folklore of the country as far as these have influenced Japanese art and its peculiar style. That style, beautiful and graceful in itself, and elaborated by the genius and skill of many artists whose name and work have survived to the present day, like those of the makers of Italian art, is well described and abundantly illustrated, chiefly from the author's own collection, in this book. It is one that will be valued, especially by the numerous body of collectors of Japanese wares, and will give the ordinary reader an insight into a peculiar style, the taste for which is on the increase, and which well deserves the notice given to it.

32. *An American Missionary in Japan*, by the REV. M. L. GORDON, M.D. (Boston and New York : Houghton, Miffling and Co.) With very little real information about Japan, or even about the working and progress of the particular mission in which Dr. Gordon laboured as a medical missionary, his book gives us an insight into his own superlatively egotistical mind, where much general ignorance (e.g., of the first principles of Buddhism) combines with a self-conceited pose as a teacher of missionaries, and a style, often flippant, always bombastic, to render his book useless to read and very tiresome.

33. *Japan : in History, Folklore, and Art*, by W. E. GRIFFIS. (Boston and New York : Houghton, Miffling and Co., 1892.) This book, smaller in size than the preceding, is pleasant to read and full of varied information, on the subjects of which it treats. The self of the author is a little unduly protruded where not needed—perhaps a national defect. There is less about art than there should be, perhaps because Japanese art cannot be condensed into the very small limits which the size of the work imposed on the author for that section. As a pleasant and amusing book, if not without some faults, we can sincerely recommend it.

34. *Outlines of Egyptian History*, by AUGUSTE MARIETTE. (London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1892. 5s.) Mr. Murray has improved vastly on the first edition of this book, the value of which to the student of

Egyptology is now too well known to need repetition. It is now preceded by a table of the principal kings of Ancient Egypt, with their cartouches given in small but very clear hieroglyphics. This list evidently follows Dr. Brugsch's; and here we remark that the translator has retained the unvarying 33 + 33 + 34 years conjecturally but persistently given to the three monarchs who are made to fill up each century. This average is absurdly high, compared with the average reigns of sovereigns. These have been, *e.g.*, in England 23 years, in Scotland 20, and in Austria 16, while the average of Saxon Kings and Russian Czars has been only 12 years. With the light of actual discoveries this list clearly requires revision. In a few other points, too, the book is scarcely quite up to date; still it substantially includes all that was known of Egyptian History, till late in 1891, and is most useful as a compendious handbook.

35. *Poems in Petroleum*, by JOHN CAMERON GRANT. (London: E. W. Allen, 1892. 2s.) We have not been able to discover much poetry in this volume; and the only connection that we have been able to discover between these poems and petroleum, is that the first would be most appropriately soaked in the second, and a lighted match applied to the whole.

36. *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, par le CAPITAINE BINGER. (Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1892.) This work, in two very fine 4to. vols., records the author's laborious and most interesting African journeys in 1887-1889. It is embellished with one large and several smaller maps, besides over 160 illustrations. He first went from Senegal to the Niger. Thence, by his simple yet graphic narrative, he takes us through the little known regions and tribes he passed through on his devious way to Great Bassam. A traveller of keen perception, acute observation and deep sympathy, nothing escapes his attention. The geographical details of these countries, still marked on our maps as absolute voids; the people who dwell there, with their manners and customs; its natural history, its political, social, religious, and commercial status and prospects, are all incidentally or professedly treated, with thorough knowledge of his subjects. There is a very interesting chapter on Tattoo-markings. But the whole book is a delightful narrative, and while we regret that the unusual pressure on our pages prevents our speaking more at length of the varied contents of this charming book, we cordially invite our readers to enjoy its perusal.

37. *From the Caves and Jungles of Hindustan*, translated from the Russian of H. P. BLAVATSKY. (London: T.P.S., 7, Duke Street, Adelphi.)

Were it not expressly stated that the book before us is a translation of the letters, contributed in 1879 and 1880 by H. P. Blavatsky in leisure moments to the pages of the *Russki Vjestnik*, we should certainly have considered, from the style and mode of expression, that it had been originally written in English. The translator, in a modest preface craves indulgence for shortcomings of which, we feel confident, the public know nought, and even critics could gather but a meagre pile. The letters themselves, which treat of adventures and scenes in India in the language of an imaginative observer, keen sympathizer with the people and brilliant writer, form a fairly coherent whole, and the book is sure to fascinate, to instruct

and also to amuse. On pages 90, 91 *et seq.* is exposed with considerable ability and spirit the extremely fragile basis of the scientific discussions and deductions—only propped up by supreme arrogance—of the Oriental scholar whom Oxford worships as an oracle, and who calmly corrects the chronological tables and religious books of people into whose country he has taken good care never to set foot and whom he in no way comprehends. The book swarms with interesting and vivid descriptions, that of the witch (subsequently exposed as an impostor)—looking “like a skeleton seven feet high covered with brown leather, with a dead child’s tiny head stuck on its bony shoulders”—and her den, being perhaps the most powerful. Want of space forbids our giving quotations.

If many Anglo-Indians never discover anything interesting, important or admirable in India, it can only be due to a lack of sympathy with the people whom they are supposed to govern. To the same cause must be ascribed, in part, that the glories of Aryavarta are fading fast, and that indigenous arts and sciences have almost died out.

38. *Constantine*, the last Emperor of the Greeks ; or, *The Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks*, after the latest historical researches by CHEDOMIL MIJATOVICH, formerly Servian Minister at the Court of St. James. (London : Sampson Low and Co.) This is a very interesting and well-written book indeed. It is a matter of surprise that English literature, before the publication of this work, had no monograph on the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. The author has done well to use the graphic chronicles written (probably) by a Serbian, who was a personal witness of the defence of the city, as none of the French or German works seem to have availed themselves of this direct source of information, which is conspicuously detailed and on the face of it most impartial. The description of Sultan Muhammed’s conduct when at last he entered St. Sophia, bears the stamp of internal truth and refutes strikingly the adopted stories of cruelty. We cannot conclude this brief notice without expressing our surprise at seeing in a monthly magazine for November ’92, the *Cosmopolitan*, an article by Mr. Archibald Forbes entitled “A War Correspondent at the Fall of Constantinople,” in which statements and descriptions from the book we are reviewing are reproduced, often almost verbatim, and invariably without any acknowledgment. In fact, Mr. A. Forbes nowhere mentions our author’s name or book, and has even carried his sincere flattery so far as to reproduce several of the illustrations. This is hardly courteous.

39. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, by ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1892. £2 2s.) Yet another “Sanskrit Dictionary for Beginners.” Only the other day we had Apte’s from India, and Dr. Cappeller’s, published in London. One is led to reflect on the years that pass without the appearance of a Sanskrit Dictionary professedly for scholars, and comparable in perfection to the great Latin and Greek Dictionaries : or to that Shah-in-Shah of Word-Books, the New English Dictionary of Dr. Murray. Surely the problems of Sanskrit Lexicology are not less important or less subject to finished treatment than the problems of Latin, Greek, or English. Of original attempts to place Sanskrit Lexicology on the same footing as that of Greece and Rome, we have had only

one: the 'Great St. Petersburg Dictionary of Böthlink and Roth. And, since then, how many "dictionaries for beginners." We trust that the inference is not, that the "beginners" in Sanskrit greatly outnumber the "continuers;" but rather that all students who have passed the initial stage, go direct to the fountain-head of Sanskrit learning—the schools and libraries of India.

As a "dictionary for beginners" this work of Professor Macdonell's is very nearly perfect. It is clear, comprehensive, and accurate; the system of etymological analysis throughout is excellent; and of the greatest practical use in establishing a sound habit of thought, and in teaching the learner invariably to follow up the root-idea of every Sanskrit word.

Another feature which strikes us as both good and original is the indication of certain words which have first been corrupted into Prākṛit, and then re-adopted into Sanskrit; for example, the words *bhatta* and *bhata* (Sk. *bhartā* and *bhrta*) which we may compare with the English *guardian* and *guard*, which represent re-adoptions of *warden* and *ward* after corruption by French pronunciation.

Yet another good feature is the suggestion of extinct roots for cognate words the link between which is lost; for example *sthū* to explain *sthūla*, *sthavira*, and *sthūnā*; and also the printing of all verbal roots in larger type.

So much for the good features of the book. Our objections to it are these: we cannot justify the arrangement by which (e.g.) *nirvāna* is included in the article on *nirvāchya*, while *nirvāta* is contained in a separate article; either all three should have separate articles, or all three should come under one heading, (*nir* or, possibly, to save space *nirv* or *nirvā*, though we confess we do not like the latter arrangement at all).

Then certain etymological details seem to us questionable; is it correct to call *a-sya*, *a-smīn*, *a-smāi* "inflexions of *idam*"? and to connect *idam* with *a-tha*, *a-tra*? *Idam* is really connected not with these but with *i-dā(nim)*, *i-tham*, *i-tas*; the *a*-root, and the *i*-root being quite distinct (p. 1).

Then how does Professor Macdonell justify the form (e.g.) *Kubera* for *Kuvera*; the latter is much more probably the true form; as we know the Bengali pronunciation corrupts *v* to *b* as in *Beda* (for *Veda*) and *Boishtob* (for *Vaishnavā*); while the contrary process, the corruption of *b* to *v* is much less likely.

Our last objection is, that in the transliteration the *Missionary Alphabet* has been employed. Professor Macdonell confesses that he shares this objection; so that we may hope to see a change made in a second edition. An amusing instance of the impracticability of this theoretically almost perfect alphabet was exhibited in the *Academy* a few weeks ago, in connection with Prof. Max Müller's letters on Namuchi. This name Prof. Müller wrote *Namuki*; while other correspondents, and we are afraid Mr. Andrew Lang must be mentioned among them, were apparently unacquainted with the *Missionary Alphabet*, and wrote *Namuki*; then it became necessary to express the same name in italics, and the hero became *Namuki*, which would really have a totally different sound in the *Missionary*

*Alphabet.* There was a certain poetic justice in this confusion arising out of a letter by Prof. Max Müller. (*Academy*, nos. 1068, 1069.)

40. *Simon Magus*, by G. R. S. MEAD, B.A. (T.P.S., 7, Duke Street, Adelphi.) A scholarly treatment of a difficult subject. Everyone is acquainted with the allusion to Simon the Magician in the *Acts of the Apostles*; and theological students have further heard of the tradition identifying Simon with Paul. It has been reserved for Mr. Mead, however, to collect all the existing evidence of Simon's character and doctrine, and to piece together a sympathetic portrait from the sneers and condemnations of the too zealous Fathers of the Church.

The following story, from the *Philosophumena* (Hippolytus?) has a very human interest: "Apsethus, the Libyan, wanted to become a god. But in spite of the greatest exertions he failed to realize his longing, and so he desired at any rate that people should *think* that he had become one.

"Well, he collected a large number of parrots and put them all into a cage. For there are a great many parrots in Libya, and they mimic the human voice very distinctly. So he kept the birds for some time, and taught them to say 'Apsethus is a god.' And when, after a long time, the birds were trained, and could speak the sentence which he considered would make him to be thought a god, he opened the cage and let the parrots go in every direction. And the voice of the birds as they flew about, went into all Libya, and their words reached as far as the Greek Settlements. And thus the Libyans, astonished at the voice of the birds, and having no idea of the trick which had been played them by Apsethus, considered him to be a god.

"But one of the Greeks, correctly surmising the contrivance of the supposed god, not only confuted him by means of the self-same parrots, but also caused the total destruction of this boastful and vulgar fellow. For the Greek caught a number of the parrots, and retaught them to say, 'Apsethus caged us and made us say "Apsethus is a god."' And when the Libyans heard the recantation of the parrots, they all assembled together with one accord, and burnt Apsethus alive."

41. *The Death of Oenone, Akbar's Dream, and other poems*, by ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON (Macmillan and Co.), is a most welcome little volume which probably every educated Englishman already possesses. We would however contrast the reality of "Oenone's death" with the tentative hymn in "Akbar's dream," alike gems, but of which one was a creation of the mind of the great Poet Laureate, whilst the other was a sentiment derived from hearsay. The incomparable lines with which the former concludes have been so often quoted that we need not repeat them, but we almost prefer a mere translation of Abulfazl's inscription on a temple in Kashmir to the less real, if truly poetical, last lines of Akbar's Hymn. Compare for instance the former's "Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy, for neither of them stands behind the screen of thy truth" with

"Warble bird and open flower, and men, below the dome of azure  
Kneel adoring him the timeless in the flame that measures Time."

Yet what would not Tennyson have made of an Oriental subject, if he had had the material of Arnold's "Light of Asia"!

42. DR. MAX NORDAU has published the first part of a work on *Degeneracy* [*Entartung*—Carl Duncker, Berlin]. We reserve a review of a work that promises to be the leading one of the age on the subject of which it treats to our next number by which time the second part will have appeared. There is no doubt that it will be translated into English, French and other languages of our degenerate civilization, the victims of which will, we hope, be stirred to healthier thought, if not action, by Dr. Nordau's incisive criticism of modern vagaries in Art, Language, Religion, and Social Life. It is fortunate that this distinguished Physiologist and traveller is able to impart the terrible truths of his scientific investigations in a style which will attract even those whose follies he chastizes. Wagnerites, Tolstoites, Preraphaelites and other mystics generally, as also all the glib "*Fin du siècle*" smatterers will be reconciled to the medical treatment of their mental aberration by the sparkling wit, and vast general information of one who is *facile princeps* among German writers and public-spirited observers.

43. *Rapport sur les Etudes Berbères, Éthiopiennes et Arabes*, 1887-1891, par RENÉ BASSET. (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1892. 7s. 6d.) Not the least of the many good results achieved by the IXth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1891 was the series of papers by specialists, giving the principal work done and the books published from 1887 to 1891 in each of the sections in which the Congress was divided. The first of these to be published is the one under notice, in which the learned and erudite professor has with infinite pains given a succinct account of what has been achieved during the time indicated, in the matter of the three languages, which he takes up in separate sections. Everything of importance published, both great and small, finds its appropriate place, for nothing seems to have escaped the lynx-eyed professor. Students will therefore find here a perfect bibliography of each of these three languages, which will be a great help for further work in the same line.

A similar summary of research in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, from the series of the same Congress, is in the Press, and will soon see the light. It was compiled by the learned Professor E. Montet of Geneva. The Chinese Summary, by Professor H. Cordier, is also announced. All these Summaries are being published by the Oriental University Institute, Woking, in a uniform size with the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and are at half price for members of the Congress, and for subscribers to the Review.

44. *Notice sur les Dialectes Berbères des Harakta et du Djerid Tunisien*, par RENÉ BASSET. (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1892. 2s.) This is one of the most interesting papers contributed by the learned and versatile professor of the École Supérieure des Lettres d'Algers to the IXth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1891. It is the result of his personal investigations among the people who speak these hitherto unknown dialects of the Berber family. The paper comprises Grammatical notes, a few texts, and a comparative vocabulary, the whole forming a most interesting study for the learned in Berber and cognate tongues.

We hope to review in our next issue the *Lietuviszkieje Rasztai ir Rasztininkai* of Mr. Girėnas, who has sent several of his works to the Lisbon Congress, including a Lithuanian and Sanskrit ode in honour of Her Majesty. This prolific writer is also a great patriot and polyglot, and is an instance of the vitality and genius of his ancient race.

As we are going to Press we have received a very learned account from the famous Sinologist, Professor G. Schlegel of Leyden, of "La Stèle funéraire du Téglin Giogh" and its Chinese, Russian, and German copyists. We reserve its review to our next issue as also Count Goblet d'Alviella's supplementary note on "The symbolical theme of the sacred tree between two monsters."

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE beg to acknowledge with thanks the following works: 1. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. 23 (1891-92). 2. *Ibn Sina*, the Arabic Text edited by Professor Dr. J. Forget, and printed by E. J. Brill of Leyden, worthy of the well-deserved reputation of both editor and publisher. 3. *The Imperial Institute Year Book for 1892*. 4. *The Contemporary Review* (Messrs. Isbister and Sons). 5. *The Civiltà Cattolica*, which among other important articles has an interesting series of papers on the "Morrow of the Deluge". 6. *The American Journal of Philology* (John Hopkins, University Press). 7. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine*. 8. *Le Polybiblion*. 9. *The American Antiquarian* (S. D. Peet, Chicago). 10. *Biblia*. 11. *The Review of Reviews*. 12. *La Revue des Revues*. 13. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires*. 14. *Lucifer*. 15. *The Journal of the Society of Arts*. 16. *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid* (Fortunet). 17. *La Revue Generale*. 18. *Actes du 8me Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Section I., "Sémitique A." (E. J. Brill, Leyden). 19. *Panslavism*, by Mme. Elodie L. Mijatovich, a thoughtful well written pamphlet. 20. *The Young Pao* (E. J. Brill, Leyden). 21. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. 22. *Publications of the Geographical Society of Paris for the Year 1892*. 23. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York). 24. *Gesellschaft* (Wilhelm Friedrich, Leipzig). 25. *The Journal of the United Service Association, Simla*.

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APRIL, 1893.

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I.—BURMAN DACOITY AND PATRIOTISM.

BY GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, V.C., K.C.B.

IT has often grieved me to hear the Burmans branded as Dacoits and cowards, not only by newspaper correspondents and letter writers, but also by officers and gentlemen of the Civil Service.

“Dacoit” and “dacoity” are Indian legal terms which may be translated as “gang-robber” and “gang-robbery.” Major Snodgrass never uses them in his narrative of the first Burmese War, and it seems probable that they were introduced by the Civil Authorities who were responsible for the government and good order of the districts occupied by the British after the treaty of Yandaboo.

They are freely used by Laurie and Fytche, the historians of the second Burman War, and by writers concerning Burma during and after the Burman Expedition of 1885. In an account of the condition of affairs in the middle of December, 1885, written by an able author, it is stated that 10,000 *dacoits* were already in motion, east and west of the Irrawaddy, north of Mandalay, that they were strong in the valley of the Chinwin River, and that the *dacoits* east of Minhla had been strengthened by fugitives from Gwe-gyoun Kamyó, a fortress on the Irrawaddy, which had been captured by the British. The war was commenced on the 14th November, 1885, and a



month afterwards the Burman armies in the field are dubbed Dacoits, or robbers, although it was not till the 1st January, 1886, that the Viceroy of India, by command of the Queen Empress, notified that Upper Burma had become part of her Majesty's dominions, and would be administered by British officers. To this day even the frontiers of Burma have not been settled. Now the Burmese troops east of Minhla, so flippantly termed "dacoits," are detailed in the Royal Order of 7th November, 1885, as follows: The "Kinda Kalabyo" Regiment, the "Royal Glory Achievers" Regiment, the "Cachari Horse" Regiment, the "Auspicious Braves" Horse Regiment, the "Elephanteers" Regiment, Artillery, Body Guards and Volunteers, 5,000 strong under Thamidaw Wun as generalissimo to form the Taungdwengyi column, and four regiments of Infantry, five regiments of Cavalry with Artillery, Body Guards and Volunteers 10,000 strong to form the Toungoo Column. Among the eccentricities and paradoxes of the Burman Expedition may be noticed that the above-named Burman Regiments, with high-sounding titles, had come nominally under the command of the British General, *who therefore commanded both the contending armies*, and that he actually issued orders through the Hlotdau, or Council to these braves, to retire and lodge their arms at the British stations of Minhla, Pagan, Myingyan, and Ava, orders that were not implicitly obeyed, for the Taungdwengyi and Toungoo Columns were not broken up, although the troops under Colonel Dicken and Major Law had encountered them on several occasions, till the end of March, 1886, when converging detachments from Taungdwengyi, Hlinedet and the Irrawaddy were directed to attack them.

I think that enough has been said to show that the term "*dacoit*" is sometimes used in a very slack and unfair way, and that patriots and regular soldiers have often been thus opprobriously classed.

General Macmahon, who knows the people well, in his

"Far Cathay," says: "The Burman with his numerous faults has many virtues. Given to braggadocio, he is withal the very pink of courtesy; cruel under excitement, he evinces the tenderest compassion for the meanest of God's creatures; though bigoted, he is extremely tolerant. Apathetic and lazy when he has no need of exertion, he is vivacious and energetic on occasions; partial to much exaggeration, yet generally truthful; sober and abstemious, yet prone to excessive indulgence under temptation; devoid of ambition or sordid desire for wealth, yet keenly anxious for power and the fruit thereof; full of eccentricities and contradictions though he be, Englishmen thrown into daily contact with the Burman entertain for him, and in turn inspire him with, a kindly feeling rarely met with where natives of India are concerned."

The Burman is gay and light-hearted, he is always jolly, he will eat anything, he loathes work, and he hates drill and discipline, but no one is more expert than he at preparing an entrenchment, erecting a stockade or constructing an abattis; he can march, and shoot, and ride, and paddle, and swim; he is a born geographer, even peasants, men and women can read a map; moreover the Burman is sure that Burmans are superior to other mortals, that they are wiser, better and braver than any other people.

As examples of his disinclination for labour two instances may be quoted. Early in 1886 it was determined to improve and metal some of the roads in Mandalay, but the inhabitants were by no means anxious to be employed on them, and those engaged were lazy; but one morning the Commanding Engineer exultingly reported that at last he had succeeded in finding work that suited the natives, for the previous evening, having arranged heaps of stone by the road side, he gave to some Burmans the *contract* for breaking them; they at once handed over the hammers to the women and girls of their families, who finished their task before morning, while the men sat on the heaps smoking, joking, and enjoying the beauty of the moonlight night.

These contracts were very popular, and the working parties were very picturesque and joyous.

About the same time the construction of a road from Toungoo towards Mandalay was commenced with the idea of bringing the Burmans together in gangs of workmen and thus pacifying the country. The engineers, however, soon found that nothing would induce the Burman to dig ; he would cut down trees and brushwood, and would make the wooden bridges because he fancied that kind of occupation, but nothing would induce him to touch the earth-work, so it was actually necessary to employ Telugu coolies from the Northern Division of Madras to construct the military road that was urgently wanted to facilitate the movements of troops and stores.

When comparing the courage in war of the Buddhist with that of the Mussulman it is necessary to remember that the former is forbidden by his religion to take life, while the follower of the Prophet attains a glorious hereafter as a reward for death in defence of the faith. But are we entitled to say that the Burmans are cowards ?

Sir Archibald Campbell, who commanded the British Forces, spoke highly of the conduct of the enemy on many occasions. On 1st July, 1824, at Rangoon, they stood till 1,000 Burmans had been killed ; on the 8th October, 1824, a force of 900 men under Lieut.-Colonel Smith was defeated at Kykloo with the loss of 7 officers and 88 men.

On the 7th March, 1825, Brigadier-General Cotton with 1,168 men failed in his attack on the outworks of Donabue ; Sir Archibald Campbell marched to his assistance with 2,400 men, but it was not till the 2nd April, after their famous General, Maha Bandoola, had been killed by a shell, that the Burmans retreated from their works at Donabue.

On the 7th January, 1825, Lieut.-Colonel Conry's attack on Sittang failed utterly : and on the 11th January Colonel Pepper's columns of attack on the same place, though victorious, were much cut up by the enemy's fire.

In the 2nd war the Burmans were again victorious at Donabue. A force of bluejackets, marines, and 67th Bengal N.I., with 25 officers and two 3-pounder guns, under Captain Loch, C.B., R.N., attacked Donabue, but were defeated, with the loss of Captain Loch and 82 officers and men and the 2 guns. Sir John Cheape with strong reinforcements of men and 2 guns then attacked Donabue, and after a gallant struggle entirely defeated Myat-toon on the 19th March, 1853, but the victory was at times within an ace of being a defeat.

During the 3rd Burmese War I do not think that any considerable British force has been defeated, but, on many occasions, the Burmans have shown real gallantry, and occasionally the enemy has roughly handled detachments of our troops. Considering the vast superiority of the British ordnance and rifles, it must be conceded that some courage must have been displayed by our foe in keeping the field against such odds.

The fact is that the Burman has learnt war in a different school from the British; in 1824-26 he invariably made use of fortifications and stockades except at the decisive battle of Pagan; in 1852-54 he again distinguished himself by his skill in field-works and stockading, notably at Donabue, Prome, and Pegu; and in the operations from 1885 to the present time he has habitually fought behind stockades or other cover.

The Burmans, having neither drill nor discipline, wisely abstain from fighting in open plains, where they could not manœuvre, but would certainly be mown down by troops skilled in the use of arms of precision having a range far longer than that of their own firearms. Burmans are quite aware that for them to form line and charge would be folly; "it may be magnificent but it is not war," but in laying an ambuscade, in fortifying the platform of a pagoda when he knows that an enemy is obliged to pass close to it, the Burman is an adept, and his assaults have often been delivered with great spirit.

Fytche, who knew how to handle them, made excellent use of his Burman Levies in January, 1853, at Eng-ma Khyoung-you, the affair near Lemena, and in his retreat before Myat-toon, in March, 1853.

Although it seems absurd and unjust to class whole divisions of troops in the field as "dacoits," and to speak of 10,000 gang-robbers being assembled in a district, and to stigmatize patriots fighting in defence of their country, and bands of warriors not more guilty than the foragers in the days of Rob Roy, as "dacoits," yet it must be admitted that throughout Burma "dacoity"—to use a common expression—is a favourite pastime. No young man is held in esteem by the girls of his village who has not taken part in one or more of these expeditions.

A and B resolve to plunder C; they make up a party and do so; C does not fight, but clears out of his house promptly, and is robbed of everything he possessed. The neighbours commiserate C. One gives him a bullock, another a cart, a third some clothes, and he is not much the worse for the misadventure. After a time C thinks it is his turn, and with the aid of D attacks A's house; again very little harm is done; but when A and B combine to plunder E, the Englishman or angry Burman, E does not play the game. He, in defence of his property, uses his rifle and sword, and there is bloodshed, horrible gashes with the dah, and trouble afterwards; but that is all because he does not understand the system and accept the custom of the country.

I am not an advocate for robbery in this or any other form, but my desire is to show that Burmans bearing arms are not always dacoits, and that dacoits do not always use arms.

It is very easy for men drilled, disciplined, instructed in tactics, and practised in the use of the Martini-Henry or magazine rifle to taunt undisciplined Orientals armed with swords, spears, fowling-pieces, or, at best, with rifles to which they are unaccustomed, because they prefer wood-

fighting to meeting the enemy in the open. But how would it be if the weapons were changed? Till fighting under such conditions has been tried, are we entitled to consider Burmans cowards? They certainly face death with the greatest composure. I am convinced that Burmans have many qualities most valuable to soldiers, and I believe that Burmans properly dressed, efficiently armed, discreetly treated, and well commanded by officers, selected not on account of smartness only, but for accurate and sympathetic knowledge of the people, their customs, and their language, and for sound sense and activity, would be most valuable auxiliaries in warlike operations within and beyond the frontiers of Burma.

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## II.—BURMESE POLITICS.

THE conduct of King Theebaw had, since his accession to the throne, been, at all times, unsatisfactory and, occasionally, insolent, yet so long as the Kingdom of Ava occupied an isolated position, the British Government could afford to submit to much provocation, but when the external policy of the Burmese Court indicated designs which, if prosecuted with impunity, could only result in the establishment of preponderating foreign influence in the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy, it became impossible for Her Majesty's Government to view the situation without considerable anxiety. In March 1885, a contract for a Royal Bank at Mandalay was signed at Paris and a treaty with France granting a monopoly of railroads was signed in January 1885 and ratified on 25th November 1885; in August 1885 King Theebaw attempted to impose a ruinous fine on the British Burma Trading Company and on the 7th November 1885 orders were issued for the mobilization of the Burman Army and for the march of the advance guard in three columns towards the frontier, the 1st down the Irrawaddy River, the 2nd on Taungdwengyi, and the 3rd on Toungoo.—War was then declared; the Head

Quarters of the Expeditionary Force crossed the frontier on the 15th November, and Theebaw sued for peace on the 25th (the day on which the monopoly of railways was assigned to France). He was formally dethroned and deported from his Capital on the 29th, and his country was annexed to the British Empire on 1st March 1886. Although with the blessing of Providence and by means of the thunder of heavy guns and the rattle of musketry, by good luck and prudent management, the conquest of Burma and the overthrow of the dynasty of Alompra had been accomplished within a fortnight and the programme issued by the Government of India and Commander-in-Chief had been so completely carried out that Burma from the British frontier to Mandalay seemed to be tranquil, yet looking to the prospect of risings among the natives and to the probability that China would emphasize her objections to the British invasion of Burma by occupying the Northern Districts, the Commander of the Expeditionary Force, having on his own initiative in December 1885 at considerable risk seized and garrisoned with Artillery and Infantry the important Station of Bhamo (250 miles North of Mandalay), which is on the confines of China, and commands the trade routes from Yunnan, established friendly relations with the Chinese frontier authorities. By this decided move the restless spirits on both sides of the border were prevented from raiding and breaking the peace; and in consequence of it the Court of Peking accepted the fact that Bhamo was no longer a part of the Kingdom of Ava, but would, in future, be administered by British officers, loyally recognized the frontier as it existed in the days of King Theebaw and agreed that the boundary between Burma and China shall be marked by a Delimitation Committee, consisting of officers of both nations.

The war with Burma was undertaken simply to obviate the preponderance of other European Powers in farther India; it was quickly finished, but the British Government had not determined beforehand what was to be the fate of

the country after the deposition of the reigning monarch, so it was impossible to act with the energy needed to thoroughly subjugate a territory containing 100,000 to 200,000 square miles, that had for years been in a state verging on anarchy; consequently there were disturbance and brigandage and confusion in Upper Burma for a time. Even in many places where military force existed for the purpose of keeping order there were not sufficient administrative officers, civilians were scarce, and military officers could not be spared; the people were not hostile, but there was no one to assure them that they would be protected and to encourage them to live a peaceful and righteous life, no one to act as their friend and shield when threatened by revolutionary or hostile neighbours. After the more accessible districts had settled down under the charge of Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners it became necessary to deal with Chins and Kachins, dwellers in mountains and forests far from the haunts of civilized man. The golden rule in the East as elsewhere is "first make up your mind deliberately what you should do or get and then do it or acquire it, no matter what the difficulties or obstacles; and on the other hand take nothing that you do not want, and nothing to which you have no right." The Burmo-Siamese frontier has been delimited. Before marking the boundary between Burma and China, it was the duty of engineers and surveyors to ascertain what places must be held by the British for the sake of international trade and for strategical reasons. The obligatory points having been determined it is useless, nay criminal, to postpone the day of delimitation, the interests of all parties being identical. China no longer adheres to her traditional policy of isolation and exclusiveness; she is anxious to promote trade and to ensure a peaceful frontier, and, as matter of fact, China was never opposed to export trade into Burma. The British Empire is large enough and should not be increased by the acquisition of useless territories, and the British Army is not so strong that England can afford to fritter away her Battalions



in unnecessary and inglorious struggles with turbulent Kachins and border tribes ; but, at the same time, England should never retreat, and never relinquish what has once been hers.

British columns have of late been visiting the Kachins north of Bhamo in their fastnesses and the Kachins have in the same way as their neighbours been designated *Dacoits*. It is very important that the policy of England with regard to the Chinese frontier shall, unlike that pursued in the North-West with regard to Afghanistan, be firm, consistent and conciliatory. By such a system we may hope not only to attract the trade of China, but also to induce the immigration of valuable settlers into the fertile, but scantily inhabited, valleys of Upper Burma, and may secure the cordial co-operation of China in such arrangements as may be necessary to prevent encroachments in the Pamir.

## THE CHIN AND THE KACHIN TRIBES ON THE BORDERLAND OF BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN KO,

Burmese Lecturer, Cambridge University.

By the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the British Government was brought face to face with a number of hill tribes inhabiting its mountainous fringe of borderland, of which the Chins and the Kachins have proved to be the most troublesome. Ethnically, these tribes belong to that vaguely defined and yet little understood stock, the Turanian, which includes among others the Chinese, Tibetans, Manchus, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, and the Turks. The evidence of language, so far as it has been studied, leaves little doubt that ages ago China exercised much influence on these Turanian races, whose habitat, it is said, included the whole of, at least, Northern India before its conquest by the Aryans. As in India, so in Burma, one of the problems of administration presented to the British Government is how best to effect the regeneration of these ancient peoples, who have now lapsed into savagery, and are devoid of any power of cohesion, in order that they may be a source of strength, and not of weakness, to the Empire.

Omitting certain districts of Lower Burma, where numbers of Chins are found, the country inhabited by their wilder brethren may be described as touching Burma on two sides, namely, on the east of Arakan, and on the west of Upper Burma; or, in other words, it may be described as the block of country entirely surrounded on all sides by territory under direct British administration or protection as the State of Manipur. The recalcitrant Chins recently referred to in the English newspapers are those who inhabit the latter locality, and who owed allegiance to the late ruler of Upper Burma. They are a strong and hardy race of fierce and desperate fighters, who take a special delight in raiding into adjoining districts, kidnapping men, women,

and children, and driving off cattle. The human captives are either sold into slavery, or held to ransom; and be it said to the credit of the Chins, that they are not cruel taskmasters to their slaves. Raiding appears to be one of the normal conditions of their existence. By raiding their numbers are reduced, which is thus a check on the population; and, if successful, a more bountiful food-supply is secured. They may be described as agricultural nomads, moving continually from one locality to another in search of new lands for cultivation. Their system of agriculture is extremely wasteful. It consists in burning down tracts of forests and sowing, on the land, their cereals without ploughing or irrigating it or transplanting the seedlings. Holes are made in the ground with a pointed bamboo and a few seeds are placed in each of them. Their agricultural outturn and the spoils of their chase are hardly sufficient to keep them in health and comfort. Their supplies have to be supplemented from the plains, whence they must also get their salt, and the materials for chewing and smoking—to which they are extremely addicted—such as tobacco, catch, lime, and betel-nut, besides cotton twist or cotton fabrics to keep themselves warm.

The Chins are broken up into a number of tribes or clans, whose basis of organization is the worship of common tutelary deities, or consanguinity, real or fictitious. Their language presents many dialectical differences, which are so pronounced that they are liable to be taken for linguistic differences. Continual feuds and constant warfare have caused their segregation, and their estrangement from each other.

The Chins have some very quaint traditions which may be of some interest to students of anthropology. They say that mankind sprang from 101 eggs laid by their god Hli. From the last egg were produced the first male and female Chin, who stood in the relation of brother and sister to each other. These two got separated; and when they met each other again the brother had espoused a bitch. The sister wanted to marry her brother, and she appealed

to Hli for assistance. The god advised that certain presents should be given to the bitch in order to induce it to give up its conjugal rights. The advice was followed, and the happy consummation was brought about. It is said that, owing to this circumstance, the worship of the dog *nat* or spirit as the tutelary deity of Chin women, was instituted. Be this as it may, the dog still plays an important part in the religious ceremonies of the Chins, and is used for sacrifice as the sheep was among the ancient Hebrews.

They have another tradition that the mediator between Hli and mankind is Maung Sein, or Nga Thein. This deity plays the rôle of a reporter, and the happiness or torment of mortals depends on his accounts of their actions in this life.

Of all the surrounding tribes, the Chins appear to reflect most the pre-Buddhistic phase of the Burman. Some of the customs of these two peoples, as those relating to marriage, inheritance, and slavery are so strikingly similar, that he who would like to know about the Burmese people of prehistoric times might, with advantage, study the language, habits, manners, and customs of their congeners, the Chins. The fact was recognized by the late Professor Forchhammer of the Rangoon College and the Honourable Mr. Justice Jardine, now of the Bombay High Court, at whose instance a compilation was made of the Customary Law of the Chins \*

\* Mr. Jardine and the late Dr. Forchhammer made a number of translations of the Burmese Manus, and proved that they were the famous Hindu Manus in a Buddhist and Pâli form. They are contained in "Jardine's Notes on Buddhist Law," Nos. 1 to 8 (the recognized authority on that Law); "The Jardine Prize Essay on Burmese Law" by Dr. Forchhammer, and "The Wagaru Dhammathat" by Dr. Forchhammer—Text and Translation. We regret that since the departure of Mr. Jardine, the study of Burmese Law should have been much neglected, and these interesting researches should have been discontinued. The "Customary Law of the Chins," by a Burmese Magistrate at Thayetmyo, was in Burmese Manuscript, pigeonholed and forgotten at the Rangoon Secretariat, when Mr. Jardine and Dr. Forchhammer disinterred it, got it translated and edited it. It also contains an introduction by Mr. Jardine and some remarks by Dr. Forchhammer, as also by Col. Horace Browne, a former Commissioner of Pegu. It is well worth reading as the Chins are a curious people, about whom also much is said in "the Gazetteer of Burma."—ED.

The Kachins, or Singphos, as they are called in Assam, are a race of hardy mountaineers, whose habitat extends from that country to the frontier of the Chinese province of Yunnan. The disruption in the eleventh century A.D. of the powerful ancient Shan Kingdom of Pong or Mogaung, which had hitherto served as a breakwater against the waves of barbarian immigration from the west, appears to have facilitated the irruption and the subsequent settlement of the Kachins in the valley of the Irawadi, where they are now found. In several localities they have ousted their weaker neighbours, the Shans; and they have advanced as far as the Ruby Mines district to the north of Mandalay. Their encroachments on the Shan States, especially North Theinni or Hsenwi, have been steadily going on, and the development of their earth-hunger has been assisted by their employment as mercenaries, to support certain parties or chiefs who were divided in council. The Kachins, however, who are now creating disturbances, and against whom military operations are being undertaken, are those residing within the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo, and of the Superintendent of the Northern Shan States.

The settlement of the relations between the Kachins and the British Government is an important matter, because it materially affects the peace and order of Burma. Opium, which is extensively grown in Yunnan, is smuggled by the Kachins into British territory, together with liquor and arms. Their hills afford also a convenient asylum to many bad characters, rebels, and other disturbers of the public peace, who are a standing menace to the plain country. Some of the principal trade-routes between Burma and China are dominated by the Kachins; the india-rubber forests, the jade quarries, and the amber mines are situated in their country; and their exactions and harassments are most vexatious, and are stifling the resuscitated commerce, which requires every fostering care. Besides, they have repeatedly committed raids on the settled villages in the

plain country, and have in some cases assumed a defiant and sullen attitude in their intercourse with the paramount power.

The one great difficulty in dealing with the Chins and the Kachins is their want of any inter-tribal coherence. Almost every village forms an independent community; society is loosely organized among them; *vendetta* is the common motive for aggressive action; and the authority of the chiefs is neither supreme nor effectually exercised. The decisions of the elders of a tribe frequently over-ride the commands of its chief; and such decisions are generally based upon superstitious omens. The Chief Commissioner of Burma has, however, attempted to wield these inchoate units into germs of harmonious village communities, by granting *sanads* to the *de facto* chiefs, who are assured of British protection on condition of paying a light tribute as a visible token of submission, and exercising their lawful rights in accordance with custom and usage. There can be no doubt of the practical results of this plan of settlement, beneficial alike to the Government and to these wild hillmen.

Many of the Kachins have visited the head-quarters of the Bhamo district, and have seen with their own eyes British forts and British guns, and other appliances of civilized warfare. Last year an attempt was made to produce a similar impression of British power on the Chin chiefs of the Siyin tribe. A party of them were brought down to Rangoon under the charge of a young Burmese officer, and were shown the men-of-war, the arsenal, etc. They stayed several days at Rangoon, and went back to their country. Their memory must either be very short, or the impression produced on them too evanescent; because not long after their return home they broke out again, cutting telegraph-wires and setting British authority at defiance. A party of Sepoys with the officer, who had accompanied the chiefs to Rangoon, was sent out to meet them, and the young Burman, who was a most promising officer, was shot dead.

The Chins and the Kachins will seldom acknowledge their defeat, because they imagine that human beings in their quarrels and fights are always assisted by their tutelary deities, who are something like the Homeric gods. They may be defeated and routed to-day, but who knows that, by the help of their gods, victory may not be theirs to-morrow ?

These hill-tribes seem to identify the advent of British rule with the extinction of slavery, which is a most cherished institution among them, with the cessation of all raids and slave-hunting expeditions, and of the levying of blackmail. They strongly resent their being deprived of the exercise of their predatory habits, and they chafe at being put under any settled form of government which imposes upon them the duty of living by peaceful industry. In their treatment of women, the intensity of their feuds, their repugnance to manual labour, their fidelity to their chiefs, their superstition and their fine sense of honour, they resemble somewhat the Scottish Highlanders at the time of the Revolution ; and, as in the case of the latter, it will take some time before they settle down, become reconciled to the new order of things, and learn to adapt themselves to the new set of circumstances.

At present both the Chins and the Kachins are unlettered races. Though several systems of alphabet have been invented for them by certain Christian missionaries, they still remain untaught, uneducated, ignorant, and superstitious. However, there exist grounds for hoping that education and progress will follow in the wake of peace and order, upon a life weaned from primitive barbarism, as exemplified in the case of the Karens of Lower Burma, whose transformation was effected by the noble efforts of the American Baptist Missionaries, headed by Wade and Mason.

The policy pursued by the late Burmese Government towards these wild hill tribes was one of *laissez faire*, and consisted in conciliating them by conferring gold umbrellas

and grandiloquent titles on their chiefs. Their submission was never complete, and they often resisted successfully the advance of the Burmese forces sent against them. It is true that some of them paid tribute in the shape of ivory, beeswax, gold-dust, etc.; but the payment was intermittent, and raids on the plains were frequent. Such a state of things cannot now be tolerated under a highly organized form of Government. A disturbance in one part of the country reacts on another, dislocates trade, and interrupts communication; and it is a policy beneficial to all concerned, to make these wild tribesmen amenable to the orders of the paramount power, and to convince them that it is to their interest to settle down into peaceful and law-abiding communities.

In connection with the Burmese method of dealing with these savage tribes, it may be of interest to mention something about the oath of allegiance administered to their chiefs. These tribesmen do not recognise the sanctity of merely religious or moral sanctions; and the Burmese Government appears to have considered that the best guarantee for the due observance of the obligations contracted by them would be to prescribe certain formalities based on their prevailing superstitious practices. The indigenous custom of taking an oath of friendship among the Chins is as follows: The contracting parties and their friends meet at an appointed place, and proceed to kill a number of dogs, and boil them in huge caldrons. The spokesman of one party then declares: "As long as the horns of the buffalo remain crooked, as long as hills and mountains remain immovable, and as long as streams and rivers continue to run their course, we will remain faithful friends, help each other in the hour of need, and associate together in concord, as brothers of the same parents. I call upon the deities to bear witness to this compact of amity and friendship." This done, the contracting parties proceed to drink rice-beer—their national beverage—in which spears and swords have been dipped, and to eat



the dog-flesh in honour of the solemn occasion. The spears and swords symbolise that if faith is broken, the defaulting party will meet with sure death from a sword or spear. The Kachin oath is somewhat different. A bamboo platform is constructed, and a buffalo is killed near it. A portion of the blood of the slaughtered animal is procured and mixed with native spirits, in which spears and swords are dipped. Then, after invoking the presence of his tutelary deities, each chief comes up to drink the liquor, muttering imprecations that, should he be unfaithful to the compact, some dire calamity may befall him. The Burmese form of the oath of allegiance is devoid of the slaughter of animals. The obligations imposed, and the imprecations attached to the breach of them, are written down on a piece of paper. The highland chief, to whom the oath is administered, kneels down with his face in the direction of the Burmese Capital, and, holding this paper in both hands, recites its contents, after the Burmese master of the ceremony. Then the paper is burnt, and the ashes are thrown into a bowl of water, in which models of the five kinds of weapons, namely, the arrow, sword, spear, gun, and the cannon, are dipped; and this water is handed to the chief, who drinks it.

The extension of the *pax Britannica* over the Chins does not involve any international complications as that over the Kachins does. But it is to be hoped that the friendly relations happily subsisting between England and China will go a long way to minimize possible difficulties and misunderstandings, and to accelerate the work of pacification and civilization which the British Government have undertaken to perform; and that the delimitation of the Burmo-Chinese frontier, about which negotiations are in progress in London, will settle once for all the question of territorial limits of the two Powers in regard to the belt of debateable country inhabited by the Kachins.

The accidental phonetic resemblance between the words Chin, Kachin, and China is apt to be associated in the

popular mind in this country with some pronounced political connection between the Chinese and these tribesmen. No misapprehension is more misleading than this; because, except in the case of a portion of the Kachin tribes living in jurisdiction which is admittedly Chinese, the influence of China is, at the present time, neither felt nor acknowledged by these mountaineers. In common with many tribal designations in Asia, both the appellations, *Chin* and *Kachin*, signify "man" *par excellence*. The word *Chin* is a Burmese corruption of the Chinese *Jin* or *Yen*; and *Kachin* is a term obtained by coining. It is made up of *Ka*, meaning *body* or *person* (which is etymologically related to the Chinese numerative *Ko*), and *Chin*, a corruption of the abbreviated form of *Singpho*, signifying *man*, by which the Kachins designate themselves. The appellation *Chin*, unlike *Singpho*, is not a national designation known to the Chins, who call themselves *Shu*.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that some measure of recognition is now accorded to Burmese affairs in Parliament, which has to deal with matters relating to a world-wide empire. On the 7th February last, Mr. Graham elicited a reply from the Under Secretary of State for India regarding the five military police parties engaged in the Bhamo district. Again on the 23rd of the same month Mr. Gibson Bowles asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the cause and origin of the warlike operations carried on against the Kachins on the Upper Irawadi, whether any representations had been received from the Chinese Government deprecating British interference with the territory of the Kachins, and whether the information in his possession showed that the continuance of warlike operations against the Kachins might lead to irruptions of Chinese similar to those of the "Black Flags" encountered by the French in Tonkin. Sir Edward Grey replied: "The operations in question were rendered necessary by repeated raids of the Kachin tribes in the hills, on the settled villages situated in the plain country

east of the Irawadi. An attempt was first made to repress these by punitive expeditions, and as that measure proved insufficient, a more definite attempt was made in 1891 and 1892 to enforce order among the tribes with a view to the safety of the villages under our jurisdiction, and the proper protection of the great trade routes between Yunnan and Mandalay. Representations have been made by the Chinese Government, and explanations have been given in reply, which have been received in a friendly manner. Negotiations are in progress with China for a settlement of the frontier which, it is hoped, may shortly be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It is not desired to continue the operations longer or further than is necessary for the object already mentioned, and there is no reason to believe that they will give rise to Chinese irruptions of the nature indicated. At this stage of the negotiations it would not be desirable to make the correspondence public."

Latest advices from Burma indicate that the refractory Kachins in the neighbourhood of Bhamo were encouraged to persevere in their unreasonable and unequal struggle by the persuasion of the ex-Sawbwa or Chief of the Shan State of Wuntho, who was himself to blame for his deposition and exile. It will be remembered that since the British annexation of Upper Burma this Chief had rejected all offers of friendship, had refused to meet responsible officers to discuss the relations of his State with the Government, and had placed all possible obstacles against the project of constructing a railway through his territory. Not content with assuming an attitude of disloyalty and mistrust, he violated British territory in 1891 by sending armed men across the frontier. The challenge thus thrown down was accepted. He was driven to the Kachin hills; and his State was amalgamated with the British district of Katha in Upper Burma. He has now shown his hand in stirring up disaffection and strife among the hillmen, who have afforded him a safe asylum. The other agency which is playing a similar rôle among the

Kachins in the vicinity of Theinni is Saw Yan Naing, the elder of the Chaunggua Princes, one of the numerous grandsons of Mindôn. In the early days of the annexation he was one of the claimants to the vacant throne ; and numerous lives were lost before he was forced to seek an asylum in the Kachin hills on the Burmo-Chinese frontier. These two foci of disaffection have to be reckoned with in dealing with the Kachins, whose credulity and gullibility, like that of the Chins, is unbounded, especially when their fair-spoken seducer has donned the garb of authority or is of royal extraction. The Chins, a few years ago, experienced the consequences of rallying round the standard of a Pretender, the *soi-disant* Shwegyobyu—Prince, of plebeian extraction.

The precise cause of the recrudescence of disorder among the Chins cannot yet be explained ; but it is hoped that the spirit of unrest is not general among them, and that it will subside without prolonging the necessity of the employment of armed force in inducing them to accept British suzerainty cordially and peacefully.

In dealing with the Chins and the Kachins, it might be as well to bear in mind that among them, as was among the ancient Romans, to avenge the death of a kinsman is more than a right : it is a religious duty, for his manes have to be appeased ; and that it is more than probable that the notion of blood-feud, which is supposed to have been created between them and the British Government, is responsible in some measure for the repeated disturbances among these wild tribesmen.

Cambridge,

March 14, 1893.

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In independent corroboration of the above valuable and interesting article, we quote the following remarks in a letter which we have received from Mr. J. ANNAN BRYCE, who is an authority on Chin and Kachin matters.—ED.

“The question of the Kachins, Chins, and the like is a somewhat difficult one. My point at the Society of Arts was that by the annexation of Upper Burma we had brought upon ourselves the question of these frontier tribes, which by a simple mediatization might have been avoided. As it is, I think it is quite impossible for us to avoid reducing these tribes to order. You see it is not we who attack them, but they who attack us. In the days of the Kings of Burma, all these tribes were in the habit of making raids and carrying off the quiet Burmans and Shans into captivity, and the Kachins were continually advancing South and driving before them the peaceable Palaungs and Shans. It is absolutely impossible for us to allow that kind of thing to go on. It is a mere question of good order and police, and, apart from that, the Shans, Palaungs, etc., are more desirable subjects than the Kachins and Chins.

“Moreover, apart from the necessity of maintaining the Queen’s peace, even if our policy meant the extinction of these peoples, which it does not necessarily do, there would not be the same reason for regret as at the extinction of a nationality like the Burmese. These tribes are totally uncivilized, and have not, properly speaking, a conscious nationality. They are a congeries of small tribes, who war on each other as much almost as on the Burmans and Shans.

“Nor do I think that our operations against these people will necessarily get us into trouble with China, though conceivably they might do so. If there were a complete buffer formed by them between us and China, the objection to operations against them would have been greater, but it is not so. On the Eastern frontier of the Shan States, further South, we are already in actual contact with the Chinese, so the evil, such as it is, already exists. That evil also would have been entirely avoided if we had abstained from annexing Upper Burma—another reason against that annexation.”

## INDIAN OFFICIAL OPINIONS ON TRIAL BY JURY

BY THE HON. J. JARDINE,

Judge of the Bombay High Court.

THE issues raised by public opinion, on the order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, are of grave importance. They have been discussed from the official's point of view all over India, as appears from the papers published by the Government. That interesting compilation contains the history of the matter, which may be shortly stated here. In the year 1861 the first Code of Criminal Procedure for the whole of India was enacted: this empowered the local Governments to extend to interior districts the system of jury trial, which under Acts of Parliament and Charters had long existed in the Presidency Towns. Without losing time, the Government of Bengal in 1862 availed itself of this power: and ever since then, murders, robberies and many other crimes have gone before the juries in the seven great districts into which the system was introduced. Now, with the approval of the Viceroy, murders and some less important cases have been withdrawn from the juries: and will under the new order be tried by the Sessions Judge, sitting with two or more Assessors. The law requires the latter to pronounce their opinions in open Court. The Judge is bound to consider these opinions, but not obliged to follow them. Thus the responsibility for correct decision on the facts as well as the law rests with the Judge. Whereas, when a jury finds a verdict, whether it be unanimous or that of the majority, the Judge *is* bound to accept their view of the facts and pass judgment in accordance, unless he differs from it *so completely* as to make him consider it necessary for the ends of justice to submit the case to the High Court. In that event, he prepares a statement of his opinion: the record comes before the superior tribunal: the whole case

is re-argued there much in the same way as an appeal, which the law allows, as of right, from the decision of a Sessions Judge sitting with Assessors. The responsibility for correct decision is thus thrown on what I may call the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court. This machinery was designed to save the new and rather exotic institution of trial by jury from the reproach of corrupt and perverse verdicts. In Bombay, as many reported cases show, it is the practice of the High Court not to interfere with the verdict, unless it is shown to be manifestly and clearly wrong. Thus a reasonable verdict is upheld, without making a strict inquiry into its correctness. The same practice obtained for many years at Calcutta; but, as Mr. Justice Prinsep points out in a published Minute, there have arisen different opinions among the learned Judges, some of whom hold that the High Court, once a case has been referred to it, is bound to determine not merely whether the verdict is reasonable but whether it is correct. It may be added that the Viceroy, anxious to keep up the responsibility of juries, has declined to pass a declaratory act on this vexed point of interpretation.\* His Excellency has also refused to enact that *whenever* a Judge differs from the jury, he shall refer the case to the High Court. The only change to be made in the law is based on a suggestion of the Justices Birdwood, Candy and Telang of the Bombay High Court, to enable the Sessions Judge, "whether before or after a general verdict has been given, to take special verdicts from the jurors on particular issues of fact, and perhaps on the general credibility of particular evidence." It remains to add that Sir Charles Sargent, the Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Farran gave their weighty opinions against the proposed novelty in procedure.

After stating as above how the fabric of law about trial by jury stands to-day, and how it is proposed to repair it, I will proceed to the objections which have been taken to

\* I refer the learned reader to the following leading cases on the point : *Empress v. Itwari*, I. L. R. 15 Cal. 269 ; *Dada Ana's Case*, I. L. R. 15 Bombay 452 ; *Empress v. Guruvada*, I. L. R. 13 Mad. 343.

it by the various authorities whose opinions make up the printed compilation presented to the public. The sphere of trial by jury can be expanded or contracted, like hydraulic pressure, by mere order of an Indian Government, without any change in the law. The Viceroy, it appears, was informed in 1890 that "the jury system has in some degree favoured the escape of criminals," and in May of that year he demanded from the provincial governors a report on its working, and as to "what opinion is entertained as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime." It must be borne in mind that the Viceroy in Council bears a responsibility for the whole of India, and that an Act of Parliament confides to him the control of all the civil and military establishments. But in this particular matter, the supposed tendency of trial by jury to favour the escape of criminals, he had been forestalled in Bombay, not by the Governor, watchful over public order, nor by the High Court, anxious about justice, nor by the public, clamorous against perverse verdicts, but by an Under Secretary engaged in compiling statistics. The first batch of opinions sent up by the Bombay Judges, including the proposal about special verdicts, are comments on the Under Secretary's conclusion from statistics that the proportion of convictions by juries in murder cases was unduly low. The Under Secretary's views do not appear in the print: but we find the Bombay Government delivering opinion that throughout the Presidency murders had steadily increased, and convictions had fallen off 17 per cent. in the non-jury districts, and 32 per cent. in the jury districts: that in three districts it was the general opinion that murder cases should cease to be put before a jury, and that in the Presidency Town of Bombay, and in Karachi, Poona and Thana, the system "may be considered moderately successful." Again, it is said that the extension of the jury system does not appear desirable, one reason suggested being that the Sessions Judges, who are almost all members of the Indian Civil Service, are, from inexperience of juries, not very competent persons to guide them to a right



decision.\* Nevertheless Lord Harris seems to have advised to let well alone. He sees the political value of trial by jury and he drops statistics as a criterion, and after a judicial statement of the *pros* and *cons*, in which, as Sir Raymond West lately stated, he had the advantage of that distinguished colleague's advice, he delivers the following opinion—"Where, however, the jury system exists, it ought not, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, to be abolished, except on clear proof, for the particular Sessions division, of *flagrant abuse or failure*. Where it is retained, all cases committed for trial, and triable exclusively by the Sessions Court, ought in the opinion of the Governor in Council to be tried by jury with the exception (by mere omission) of political cases and of those relating to the Army and Navy. In particular Sessions Divisions there might be an exception also of capital cases, but this is an exception which should be cautiously made. In Ahmedabad at least, and possibly elsewhere, the exception of capital cases may be forced upon Government, but it must be remembered that any marked increase in the proportion of convictions resulting from the abolition of the jury system might tend to diminish confidence in the administration of justice. On the other hand, if there were no great increase, the change

\* This reason seems to have occurred to the Bombay Government itself; at least, I do not find this objection to Sessions Judges in the opinions of the Judges of the High Court. Mr. Justice Farran says: "I would rather impress on Sessions Judges the importance of their charge to the jury, and the desirability of leading them to a correct verdict by laying the facts of the case clearly and logically before them, than the importance of correcting their verdict by a reference to the High Court." Mr. Justice Shepherd, at Madras, notices, however, that from want of experience Sessions Judges are likely to fail to sum up with care and patience; and the Chief Justice, Sir J. Edge, at Allahabad, using his experience of trials in England, writes: "A jury in the hands of a strong Judge may go right, but in the hands of a weak Judge, or of a Judge who cannot influence his jury, the result of a trial is very doubtful." The Bengal Inspector-General of Police thinks the present Sessions Judges have less weight with juries than those of ten years ago, because they have had less executive training. From several provinces comes also a confession that it is no easy task to charge a jury in a language foreign to the speaker.

would be of no effect in making crime more perilous to the criminal." The Viceroy's Government in reply remark that no proposal to amend the law had been sent up, and say that the reports from Bombay as well as Bengal show clearly that capital cases should be withdrawn from juries. Lord Harris is reminded that three Justices, Messrs. Birdwood, Farran and Telang had advised that this should be done in Ahmedabad, Belgaum and Surat ; and is quietly told to revise the list. So the opinion of the Under Secretary who set the ball rolling prevailed in the end.

In Assam, trial by jury has been used in six districts out of eleven since 1862 : and the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Quinton, being of opinion that the system had not favoured the escape of criminals, advised the Viceroy that no change should be made. The report of the Assam Judge, Mr. Luttman-Johnson, is very full and interesting. He shows that the Judge agrees more often with the jury's verdicts than with decisions passed by Magistrates and open to appeal. The fact is the more remarkable, because some executive order in 1877 had practically restricted the operation of the jury system to the most serious of all crimes, namely, those in which death is caused. "Native jurymen in my division," this Judge writes, "are like native jurymen elsewhere, loath to take the responsibility of imposing a capital sentence. Out of 403 jurymen in the division for 1890, 27 are Marwari merchants, of whom a majority are Jains, and the rest very pronounced Vishnavites. It is one of the marks of a very advanced stage of civilisation, that people grow too humane to tolerate capital punishment. The time has not perhaps come when we could safely abolish capital punishment in India, but I cannot condemn a system which gives more practical effect to the feelings of the people than the law, as it stands, contemplates. A large number of my people, certainly the more educated classes, are in advance of the law in this matter. The result of course is that I only impose the capital sentence in very heinous cases. If I

were a hanging Judge, my juries would not convict as readily as they do. Mr. Ward (the present Chief Commissioner) was also a *soft* Judge." The printed papers show that the Viceroy did not agree either with the Chief Commissioner or the Judge. After Mr. Quinton had been killed at Manipur, and Mr. Ward had succeeded him, the Government of India moved the latter to agree to exclude from trial by jury all cases of homicide, which exclusion seems tantamount to abolition of the system. The endeavour is said to be to "eliminate those offences which experience has shown to be unsuitable for trial by juries in India." It may however be presumed that this elimination is not to be applied in the Presidency Towns, as no such change in the law is suggested. One curious reason given for the new order in Assam is the insuperable difficulty of explaining to juries those intricate clauses of the Penal Code which explain how murder differs from manslaughter.

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the local Government reports that the system has worked fairly well, and has been a success. The Chief Justice however suggests its abolition, and so does the Sessions Judge of Lucknow, but only on general grounds, and not because they are dissatisfied with the verdicts. The Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. Justice Young however give credit to the jury for knowing more about native customs and habits of thought than the most experienced Judge. In those Provinces, cases of homicide do not go before juries, and the same restriction applies to the Presidency of Madras, where however a great experience has been obtained of other cases, as trial by jury exists in almost every district. The Government of Madras in a short letter answer the Viceroy's question by saying that the jury system is unsuited to the country, and that it has had no effect one way or another upon crime. It appears also that in Tanjore out of 135 cases tried there in five years, the Judge only referred 3 to the High Court as bad verdicts. In the present article I refrain from discussing the working of

trial by jury in Bengal, because the learned Judges there differ in their opinions about it, and because the Viceroy has refused to amend the law in the way proposed by the Bengal Government, so as to allow appeals against verdicts, or to require the Judge to refer the case to the High Court *whenever* he differs from the jury. The Chief Justice writes—"I am unwilling to express any opinion unfavourable to the existence of the system of trial by jury, as it is called, in these provinces, or as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime."

I think the above facts and opinions show sufficiently that the concrete question raised as to any particular district requires local knowledge as a factor in the solution, exactly as in Ireland, where I notice, in the reports of Parliament, trial by jury is not assailed merely on general reasons such as its unsuitability, or because trial by an expert, I mean a Judge, may be a better system, but only as to its use or abuse in some county or other, Clare or Kerry, where, it is alleged, crime becomes rampant because the local juries, misled by political feeling, agrarian grievances or outside intimidation, refuse to convict on clear, uncontradicted testimony. Whether such a state of things exists is of course a serious question for the Executive Government to decide; and it is in my opinion wrong and foolish to impute to the Indian Governments any motives inconsistent with that desire for pure justice which they have invariably shown. Neither have I any sympathy with that class of writers who wish or expect that no questions will be put in Parliament about the official action taken in India: as it is part of our constitutional system that the control of Indian affairs is vested in a Minister responsible to Parliament, and it has always been the custom, as in the case of the corrupt Magistrates in Bombay a few years ago, for Parliament to make inquiry into what goes on in Indian Courts of Law and the Secretariats. It is absurd to suppose that either House will ever pass a self-denying ordinance, excluding from its view matters of

weighty concern which an Under Secretary in India is encouraged to take up as a volunteer. Moreover there is no reason to be angry with the more highly educated sections of our Indian fellow-subjects, who value trial by jury much as a man would prize some heirloom of great cost and beauty, which he has held in secure possession for many years, under the will of a guardian, who has long cared for his moral and material interest. As a matter of mere policy, the case is thus stated in the Bombay Government letter—"In this country the jury system is looked on with considerable pride by the pretty large class whose idea of progress consists in the imitation of English institutions. The more interested they thus become in the jury system, the better on the whole will it work in their hands or with their aid. They would certainly resent its extinction, and their reclamations would find echoes elsewhere." The case for and against jury trial in India should be considered without any special prejudice or bias, as it is not a matter in dispute among political parties, and there is nothing to appeal to the passions, as in the accounts of outrages in some parts of Ireland.

The disadvantages of the system are set forth here and there in the Indian compilation, more especially in the Viceroy's letters. One objection made as regards particular districts is that the jurymen are stupid and uneducated. Now it can hardly be the case anywhere that this description applies to the whole population : the objection is not treated as serious by the executive governments, and must lose its force as education advances. It applies as much to trials with Assessors who are men of the same classes as the juries ; and its logical result is to remit trials to the Sessions Judges alone. In England we have grown familiar with trials of civil actions by single Judges without juries. But in India, where these Judges are foreigners, often ignorant of the language and customs of the districts to which they have been transferred, no responsible authority has yet advised that the Assessors should be abolished in criminal trials.

Assam is an example of the trouble caused by the multiplicity of languages which an Indian Civil Servant is called on to learn. Mr. Luttman-Johnson, the Judge, brings it into clear view.

“If a European officer remained in one district all his service, he might acquire such a knowledge of the language as might enable him to charge juries efficiently. I commenced with Bengali (not the Bengali of the books). I then learned Behari (not the Hindustani or even the Hindi of the books). I then learned Sylhetia, both eastern and western. I am now learning Assamese, of which there are many varieties. I cannot pretend to be competent to charge a jury in Assamese.” This experience of languages is of a type common all over India. The present writer, for instance, found himself in a new world of things when promoted from Bombay to be Judicial Commissioner of Burma. In Rangoon witnesses speaking the following languages have to be examined in the Courts—English, Burmese, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Hindustani, Shan, Karen, Red Karen, Chinese in several dialects. No wonder then that the Judge of Assam and I suppose every Judge finds it no easy task to explain correctly to the jury the definitions, explanations and exceptions, which the Penal Code uses about murder and grievous hurt. The fault is not with either the Judge or the jury : the intricacy is in the subject-matter. The Viceroy treats it as an obstacle to trial by jury. But it is a matter of everyday experience that a Judge without a jury may fall into the trap : and what seems to be wanted is a simpler statement of the law. It is natural however that the official class in India should assume, what as regards the Judges of England so high an authority as Sir James F. Stephen believes to be the fact, that a Sessions Judge is more likely to come to a correct judgment on matters of fact than a jury is. But this view has I believe never been propounded by the higher authorities in India ; and as like causes produce the same effects, the administrators there

have always tried to get the opinion of the natives, by means of Panchayets, Assessors or juries on issues of fact, like as the earlier Norman Judges and Exchequer Barons in England availed themselves of the local inquests, those dignitaries being unfamiliar with the Saxon dialects and local customs. While on this point I may refer again to the objection taken to trial by jury on the ground that the Sessions Judges are not very competent to work the system. But I must add that I am not aware of this kind of inefficiency having been used by any High Court as an argument against it.

Another objection pointed out to the disadvantage of trial by jury is that innocent men, especially when jointly tried with a number of guilty persons, are sometimes convicted from heedlessness. But the Indian Law Reports show that this result happens also at trials by Judges without juries: no known system is so perfect as to avoid it, although in England it was a common direction that it is better that nine guilty should escape rather than one innocent prisoner should suffer. The usual course is to represent the case to the Crown for pardon; and if the mistake has occurred through a defective summing up to the jury, the convict can appeal to the High Court.

The *gravamen* of the results of jury trial in India, according to the views published by the Viceroy, is that suggested by the form of His Excellency's question, as to the merits of this form of trial in *repressing* crime. The chief ground of the new orders in Bengal is that great criminals, especially murderers, are acquitted by juries perversely or wantonly. The papers seem to disclose two causes, the first being the dislike of Hindus to take action against Brahmans, whom they believe to be sacred persons, sprung from the head of Brahm, the universal, impersonal deity. It may well be that this sentiment has been operative at trials in Bengal; in opposition to the equity of the law, of which we say proudly, that it is no respecter of persons. As to other parts of India, anyone who knows the people

will admit the tendency. But people are often better than their principles. The Act which emancipated the Roman Catholics used to be opposed on the ground that members of that religious communion must logically, even if appointed to be Judges, be Papists first and Queen's subjects afterwards : yet in practice this is not realized. The subject is not even mentioned in the very full opinion given by the Government of Bombay.

The second cause of the alleged perverse acquittals is the dislike of the Hindus to concur in what leads very often to the sentence of death, although under the Indian Penal Code the Sessions Judge may, for definite reasons, refrain from passing a capital sentence and award life-long transportation instead. It appears that Bengal juries have lately found a number of prisoners not guilty, whom on references made by the Judge, the High Court convicted of murder. We may concede that as any system which allows the greatest criminals to escape scot-free must lead soon to general disorder and a paralysis of the law, the Executive has both a right and duty to use such lawful means as it may judge best to prevent the danger and uphold the law. The principle is admitted by the present Ministry in the debates when attacked by the Opposition for not suspending jury trial in Clare or Kerry. It is urged that the Irish Executive has no means of getting a change of venue to another county, a means often used in India when it is shown that justice requires the transfer. Doubtless the Commission now sitting in Bengal will inquire into the state of things existing there ; and it would be premature to discuss them here at present. I have personally no doubt that the general feeling of the Hindus is adverse to capital punishment. The sentiment is older than the time of the Emperor Asoka : it is inscribed as a command on his tables of stone, and tradition and religion have written it on the fleshly tablets of the heart. The Mosaic injunction, "Thou shalt not kill," happens to be one of the five great commandments of Buddhism : it is revered in Burma. It



is held in equal veneration by the Jains wherever found, in Gujerat or Assam, Bengal or Madras. The warlike people of Kattywar so far as they follow the reformer Swami Narayan in his gentle religion have adopted it too. My impression is that Pantheism, the belief in a diffused, immanent deity, is the parent of this sentiment. The Greek poets quoted by St. Paul sang, "We are also his offspring." The Hindu even in the lower castes assents to the doctrine that every living thing is part of God. Hence a dislike to kill man or animal : and a widely diffused habit of vegetarian diet. Besides this, the juror as well as the Judge is conscious of the awful issues involved in the trial of a capital case : and while rightly cautious in weighing the evidence, may sometimes push the virtue of prudence to an extreme. But where, as these Indian Sessions Judges allege, the dislike to capital sentences is so general, we may expect it to extend to the witnesses as well, and that the police will have unusual difficulty in procuring true evidence of the murder. If it is procured by improper means or if false evidence is put forward, the work of adjudication, of sifting the evidence, becomes much harder for both jury and Judge; and the need of caution before convicting becomes, as all Judges know by experience, most difficult and painful. Let anyone read through the published opinions, and he will see laid bare, under the question of abolishing trial by jury for murder, two yawning abysses, the use or abuse of power by the police and the efficacy of capital punishment as a means of repressing crime. The French expedient is to allow the jury to find extenuating circumstances, which they do, as most Englishmen think, too readily. But even in law-respecting England and Wales many murders go undetected, and juries are eager to avoid their share in a capital sentence. The Howard Association have shown from the judicial statistics of ten years 1879 to 1888 that in capital cases the convictions at trials only averaged 45 per cent., whereas at *all* trials of indictable offences the proportion was 77 per cent. Coroners' juries returned 1766 verdicts of wilful murder : but only 672 persons were arrested and committed

for trial. Of these 299 were convicted and sentenced to death, 231 were acquitted, and 142 were found insane. Out of the 299, 145 had their sentences commuted and only 154 were executed. We have no full statistics from India, but it would probably be found that in many cases the High Court has upheld the verdict of acquittal which the Sessions Judge referred as wrong; and that many convictions passed by the latter, sitting only with Assessors, have been reversed on such grounds as that the superior tribunal thought too much credence had been given to a retracted confession or to the story told by a child witness,\* or to the statements of an accomplice, or that the inference arising from possession of stolen property had been wrongly drawn. *Humanum est errare.* When Sir James F. Stephen was Legal Member of the Indian Council he wrote a Minute advocating the replacement of the Civilian Sessions Judges by Barristers and better lawyers: and it is not improbable that these Judges think the High Courts often make mistakes in reversing their judgments on the facts. No Judge is infallible: we all adopt some of those idols of the den, the market-place or the theatre which Lord Bacon exposed; and according to Forsyth can no more resist or escape from our own frame of mind than juries can. This risk arising out of the structure of the human intellect is no doubt reduced when several Judges sit together as we do in hearing appeals. But in the three last State trials in India where high public servants were arraigned before Benches of two or three learned Commissioners, the verdicts returned by them were not accepted by the Executive when dealing with the facts.† Where the statements are definite and the witnesses respectable, these opposite conclusions of tribunals are rare: the differences of opinion oftener arise about the

\* Some years ago the Secretary of State for India in a despatch took notice of the fact that in many very serious trials, the case for the prosecution rested on the statements of little boys and girls, eye-witnesses.

† The Blue Book on the Crawford case shows how widely Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, Sir R. West and the other members of Council, differed from the findings returned by Mr. Justice Wilson and his brother Commissioners.

value of more tainted evidence. When I was Judicial Commissioner of Burma I remember hearing a story which is quite consonant with judicial nature. A general inquiry being made about the increase of crime, one Magistrate reported that the Judicial Commissioner was the cause, meaning that the superior tribunal was too prone to acquit on appeal men rightly convicted by himself.

Let us now turn to the other side of the shield and examine the reasons given in favour of trial by jury. In his *History of the Criminal Law of England* Sir J. F. Stephen points out three general advantages : and I find nothing in the Indian correspondence to gainsay them in regard to India. The first remark is that trial by jury is considered by the people of the land to be more just, it being felt that the sympathies of Judges are on the side of authority. The second is that trial by jury interests large numbers in the administration of justice, and makes them responsible, and thus gives it a power and popularity which would hardly be derived from any other source. The third reason is that this mode of trial puts the Judge in the place he ought to hold as a moderator in the struggle before him, and a guide and adviser to those who are ultimately to decide. At the last meeting of the East India Association Lord Hobhouse in an eloquent speech added another reason. He said that juries have kept the law sweet and wholesome, thus making it respected and triumphant over superfine legislation, and taking out the sting of cruelty or political faction by persistently acquitting in the times when our penal code was blood-thirsty, and the Government, under the panic of the French Revolution, too readily indicted men for seditious libels or mere discontent. Some of the Indian officials deal with this part of the case. The following rather frigid passage in the opinion of the Bombay Government reads to me like an echo of Sir J. Stephen's more expanded praise : " The use of juries, when fairly good juries can be had, possesses some undoubted advantages. It prevents the main principles of justice and legal reasoning from being hidden away in technicalities. Everything laid before a jury has to receive

a popular exposition, and be submitted to common-sense tests. The jurymen themselves receive and carry away a true idea of legal principles. They learn that the Judges are acute, wise and impartial, and see how really difficult a task adjudication is. They diffuse their experiences and the consequent regard for law and the judicial administration throughout society. Culprits, again, who are condemned on the verdict of a jury can never say that they have been sacrificed to official animosity or prejudice. The jury form a group always ready to contradict any such assertion. It appears to the Government in Council that it is a distinct benefit to have the odium of apparently harsh decisions thus taken off the shoulders of the official classes." This remark applies more weightily to cases where, as several Judges report, the police connive at the production of false evidence, or where a wholly false case is got up in order to revenge some private injury. There are trials on record where a dying man, to gratify his spite, has named an innocent person as his murderer. The Bombay reports contain a case where a crocodile's bones were brought to Court as those of a murdered man, and another where, in pursuance of a factious conspiracy, some Mussulmans at Broach beheaded their own mother, and then accused the opposite faction.\* One Judge in Bengal in favour of trial by jury writes that the jurors regard the accused as being subject to all the weight of official pressure brought to obtain a conviction, and that this feeling is increased by the native sentiment objecting to the severity of the sentences under the Penal Code. Another Judge there thinks the system unsuitable for the latter reason, and because the Indians do not sympathize with our law, the gulf between

\* When I was a young Magistrate at Dharwar, nearly 30 years ago, the other Magistrates told me of a woman under sentence of death for murdering her baby immediately after the birth. A missionary got some information showing that the case for the prosecution might be false : and she was respited. The signs of pregnancy appeared ; and it was shown to be physically impossible that she could have ever given birth to the baby supposed to have been murdered. I have lately heard of a like case in the Central Provinces.

English and Oriental ideas being so great. The opinions recorded hardly suggest corruption on the part of the juries, and they are not accused by any of the writers of wilfully convicting innocent men, or of shutting their eyes to the evidence, or convicting under the influence of such feelings as actuated juries against Papists in the reign of Charles II. It is interesting to find that many of our Indian subjects admire the jury because of a supposed likeness to the indigenous Punchayet or Arbitration of five. This reminds one of the argument of English patriots based on Magna Carta, implying that the trial by one's peers, the famous *judicium parium suorum*, meant trial by jury. It may be that some juries are liable to be bamboozled by Counsel in India, or to take a stupid view of the case like the Coroner's jury on the body of Miss Kilmansegg with the golden leg :

“The foreman was a carver and gilder,  
They brought in a verdict of *felo-de-se*,  
For it was her own leg that killed her.”

But the responsible Governments in India do not appear to lay any stress on the argument from stupidity.

The whole compilation of Indian opinion is worthy of careful study, not only for the variety of views expressed, but because of the lights it throws on Indian life, and because the writers are experts on the subject. It must not be forgotten that the High Courts can change the venue of a trial, that the Advocate-General can file criminal informations in the High Court, and that the Governors can pardon a man wrongly convicted. There is also some advantage in the finality of a jury's verdict. The Crown and the prisoner both have the right of challenge : and arrangements are being made to improve the whole panel. Lastly, we may draw attention to the conclusion of Sir James Stephen about trial by jury in this country, that whatever defects there may be in it may be effectually removed by having more highly qualified juries, men of some position and intelligence and above the danger of intimidation.

## TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

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Calcutta).

WHEN the Supreme Courts were established in the Presidency Towns of India, a hundred and twenty years ago, most of the principles and forms of English procedure were introduced ; and amongst them trial by jury, which has since that time formed part of the system of administering criminal justice in the cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Nuncoomar was tried by a Calcutta jury more than a century ago, Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, presiding at the trial. The Jury panel has included Natives as well as Europeans, and in every jury there have usually been found representatives of both races. There had therefore been some eighty-eight years' experience of the jury system in India, when the Penal Code became law in 1860, and it was thought desirable at the same time to reform and improve the procedure in the trial of Criminal Cases in the Mofussil (as the provinces outside the limits of the Presidency Towns were termed). For this purpose the Code of Criminal Procedure was passed in 1861, and by this Code jury trial was first introduced into the Bengal Mofussil. We had long pursued a system of education under which the natives of the country were taught everything English ; and the educated youth in the districts about Calcutta were as well acquainted as most of their rulers with the theoretical ideas of English institutions. It seemed therefore that the rising generation might well be invited to practise what they had been taught, and that the administration of justice might be served by this forward step, which would also afford a useful lesson in self-government. At the same time it was not overlooked that all parts of the country were not equally advanced, and therefore not equally fitted for the experiment. It was reasonably supposed that the local Lieutenant-Governor would

be the best judge of the districts best fitted : and it was accordingly provided that he might by order in the Official Gazette direct that the trial of all offences or of any particular class of offences before any Court of Session should be by jury in any district ; and might revoke or alter such order.

Under these powers the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1862 directed that certain offences should be tried by jury in the following seven districts, viz., Twenty-four Pergunnahs, Hughli, Burdwan, Nuddea, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. The language of the first six districts is Bengali. That of Patna is Oordoo. For those who are not intimate with the geography of Bengal, it may be added that the Twenty-four Pergunnahs is the district just outside and round about Calcutta, the old boundaries of which (like the old boundaries of London) have become practically obsolete, a very large portion of modern Calcutta being outside these boundaries and in the district of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs. The Sessions Court of this district is in the suburbs of Calcutta at Alipore, about a mile or less from the city boundary on the south side which is formed by the site of the old Mahratta ditch. The District of Hughli is separated from Calcutta and the Twenty-four Pergunnahs by the river Hughli. It consists of two parts, Hughli proper and Howrah. The Sessions Court-house of Howrah is on the river bank opposite to, and in sight of, the Calcutta High Court. The town of Howrah is joined to Calcutta by a bridge, and is really a large suburb of the city. Burdwan is on the East India Railway beyond and adjoining the Hughli district. Murshidabad adjoins Burdwan to the east. Nuddea lies east of Burdwan, Hughli and the Twenty-four Pergunnahs. There is easy access by rail, road, and water from all these districts to Calcutta, and they have fully enjoyed the benefits of the education which has long been afforded at very little cost to those educated. Dacca is the capital of the district of the same name and indeed of Eastern Bengal, and is the seat of a college. Patna, also the seat of a college, is the most important place in

Behar. It will thus appear that whatever opinion be formed as to the wisdom of making this experiment in the administration of justice, sufficient caution was shown in selecting the localities most advanced, and therefore best suited for success.

The offences made triable by jury in these districts were :

(1) Offences against the Public Tranquility (Chapter VIII. of the Penal Code)—including rioting in all its branches;

(2) False Evidence and Offences against Public Justice (Chapter XI. of the Penal Code) ;

(3) Offences affecting the Human Body (Chapter XVI. of the Penal Code)—including murder, culpable homicide, suicide, hurt, kidnapping, wrongful confinement, causing miscarriage, and rape ;

(4) Offences against Property (Chapter XVII. of the Penal Code)—including theft, robbery, dacoity, criminal breach of trust, receiving stolen property, cheating, burglary and arson ;

(5) Offences relating to Documents and to Trade and Property Marks (Chapter XVIII. of the Penal Code)—including forgery in all its branches ;

(6) Abetment of, and attempts to commit, any of the above Offences (Chapters V. and XXIII. of the Penal Code).

When the experiment of trial by jury in the Bengal Mofussil was thus inaugurated in 1862, danger was apprehended from several sources, namely—corruption ; caste prejudices ; and want of ability in the jurors to understand the evidence and proceedings. It was hoped, however, that, as the Judges became accustomed to the work of putting the case before the jury ; that, as education spread, and public morality and public opinion improved, these dangers would be lessened. As regards corruption, this hope may be said to have been fairly realized. The Writer of this article went to Bengal just before the Code of Criminal Procedure came into force and for twenty-six



years had an opportunity of watching its operation. For the greater portion of this period he had actual experience of the working of the jury system as a Sessions Judge in four out of the seven districts in which it has been tried ; and afterwards as a Judge of the High Court, in which latter capacity he dealt on the appellate side with cases from all seven districts ; and on the original side, holding the Sessions for the city of Calcutta, had some experience of juries in the Presidency Town. He has pleasure in being able to say that he has not met with any case in which it was shown that a wrong verdict was due to corruption. He has read of an alleged instance since his retirement ; but those who are conversant with the history of the institution in England know that corrupt verdicts there once constituted an evil of such magnitude, that special legislation was more than once used to suppress it.

As to caste prejudices the apprehension of danger was well founded : and it cannot be gainsaid that some failures of justice at first occurred from this cause. So long as the influence of the old religion is not overcome by the enlightening effects of education in the broad sense of the term, this danger will not wholly disappear. There is however reason to believe that it has diminished and will further diminish under the influence of progress. At the meeting in Calcutta several cases were referred to, in which juries had convicted Brahmins of murder. In the early days of the experiment such instances were wanting, and juries unwilling to give a verdict that might bring capital punishment, in more than one case, convicted of a minor offence, for which, however, a substantial punishment could be inflicted. Have not English Juries notoriously done the same, when death was the punishment for sheepstealing and other offences under a Draconian code, which has happily been mitigated ? Do they not to this hour usurp the prerogative of mercy, when they acquit on the capital charge and convict of mere concealment of birth a hapless girl, who has been betrayed, while Justice

pitying scarce regrets her blindness? The danger here existing can to some extent be met by greater care, greater caution in the Judge's summing up in any case in which the danger is apprehended. The Writer can bear testimony that his monition was not unheeded, when he warned his jurors that *their* consciences were concerned only with the truth of their expressed belief or disbelief in the evidence, that the responsibility of the punishment rested with the Legislature and the Judge.

The danger from the incapacity of the jurymen to grasp the points of the case and understand and apply the law is one that can be largely controlled by the capacity of the Judge. When the law is lucidly explained to them and their minds are rightly directed to the real points in the case, average jurymen in the great majority of cases find no difficulty in coming to a conclusion; and the quick-minded Bengali is not below the average in this respect. When the law is not understood and an untrained mind without a guide has to deal with a complicated mass of facts and statements not properly digested or reduced to order, bewilderment ensues, and the bewildered mind, unable to see its way to a conclusion, extricates itself from the darkness and doubt by the verdict thought least likely to do anybody any harm—a verdict of acquittal.

When jury trial was first introduced in the provinces, the verdict of the jury was conclusive upon the facts; and in case of appeal by the prisoner could be reviewed by the High Court only upon a question of law. A certain number of failures of justice, however, satisfied the Legislature after ten years' experience that a jury in Bengal could not be placed in exactly the same position as a jury in England without risk to the interests of justice. It was accordingly provided in 1872 that when the Sessions Judge disagrees with the verdict of the jurors or a majority of them, and considers it *necessary for the ends of justice* to do so, he may submit the case to the High Court. In the last amended Code of 1882 these provisions are still more

definite—"when he disagrees . . . so completely that he considers it necessary for the ends of justice to submit the case to the High Court, he *shall* submit the case accordingly, recording the grounds of his opinion." In dealing with the case so submitted the High Court may exercise any of the powers which it may exercise on an appeal; but it may acquit or convict the accused of any offence of which the jury could have convicted him; and, if it convicts him, may pass such sentence as might have been passed by the Sessions Judge. These provisions so largely modified jury trial in the Bengal Mofussil that it may be said, that the very essence of the institution was gone and the name alone remained. This observation has still more truth when we learn that the jury consists not of the time-honoured twelve, but of such uneven number not being less than three or more than nine as the Local Government may direct for each district—and further that it is not necessary that the jurors should be unanimous, but the opinion of the majority will suffice for a verdict. It may also be mentioned that the jury are not locked up as in England, but are allowed to disperse for refreshment, and, if the case lasts over one day, to go to their homes or lodgings at night.\*

The powers given to the High Court in 1872 and more largely defined in 1882 excited no popular outcry. The people have confidence in the High Court, and would probably raise no objection to any further power in the same direction given to this tribunal, which exercises its functions openly in the sight of all men—a strong ground of confidence to the natives of India. That the powers already given, if effectually used by Sessions Judges and the High Court, are large enough to prevent any serious detriment to the interests of justice by the system which still continued to be called trial by jury in Bengal, would

\* The Code of 1882 indeed empowered the High Court to make rules for *keeping the jury together*, when the trial lasted more than one day; but the power was not exercised up to my retirement, nor, I believe, since.

however appear to most persons competent to form an opinion to be a proposition not admitting of doubt. The burden of proving the negative of this proposition lies upon those who say that the privilege of trial by jury in the form in which it has existed since 1872 or since 1882 ought to be taken away in whole or part. The issue into which the whole question resolves itself is then a very simple one—Has it been proved by the experience of the last ten years that the retention of the privilege, as modified by the legislation of 1882, is so seriously prejudicial to the interests of justice that it has become the duty of the Government to take it away wholly or in substantial part ?

When the Executive Government reduced its policy of action to this issue, and began to consider the expediency of wholly or partly abolishing jury trial, it was to be expected that the High Court of the province would be consulted as to the wisdom and necessity of this course of action. It cannot be controverted that the opinions of the Judges of that Court should have been asked, and should have had the greatest weight with those who had the legal power to act. Amongst those Judges are two Hindu gentlemen, who would have looked at the matter from the point of view likely to be taken by the Hindu community, and would have been able to enlighten the Government as to the feelings and wishes of that community. Yet we find that upon the essential question the Judges were not consulted. In May 1890 they were indeed asked for their opinions, (1) as to how the system of trial by jury has worked ; (2) as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime ; and (3) as to what improvements, if any, are called for in its application. They were not asked to say if in their opinion the experiment had so far failed that the Legislature ought to retrace its footsteps—they were not asked whether, in their opinion, the working of the system, as modified and safeguarded in 1872 and 1882, was so detrimental to the administration of criminal justice that in the interests of good government it ought to be abolished

in whole or part. Their published opinions show that they were not considering any such question, but directed their minds, according to the tenor of the questions asked them, to certain suggestions for amending and improving the existing system. Unfortunately then the action of the Executive derives no support from that important quarter, where advice should first have been sought.

Let us now understand exactly what has been done. By the notification of the 20th October last the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has abolished trial by jury in the seven districts already mentioned in regard of the following offences :

(a) Offences against the Public Tranquillity (being No. (1) of the classes given above, p. 311, to which jury trial was applied in 1862) ;

(β) Offences affecting the Human Body (being No. (3) of the above classes), with the exception of kidnapping, abduction and rape ;

(γ) Forgery and using forged documents, coming under class (5) above ;

(δ) So much of Class No. (6) above as is concerned with abetment and attempts of offences under (a), (β) and (γ).

At the same time jury trial has been extended to Offences relating to Marriage (Chapter XX. of the Penal Code), to which it did not before apply, and which include bigamy and adultery, the latter being a criminal offence in India. Roughly speaking, according to a numerical estimate, the number of offences falling under the classes in respect of which jury trial has been abolished, is about half of the total number triable by jury before the Notification ; but inasmuch as the offences withdrawn from the cognizance of juries are the most serious in the Calendar, a numerical estimate does not afford an adequate test of the change.

It is proper to point out that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has acted strictly within the law in issuing the Notification of the 20th October. He has done more. By submitting his proposed action to the Supreme Govern-

ment beforehand, he has safe-guarded his own position ; and if only the papers on the subject, which were published a fortnight afterwards, had appeared simultaneously with the Notification, public criticism could not have assailed the method of doing the thing, and must have confined itself to the thing done.

It may be scarcely necessary to say that the Notification does not affect jury trials at the Calcutta Sessions of the High Court, nor does it in any way affect European British-born subjects. There is, however, a considerable class of Europeans and Americans which it does affect. Tea and other industries, which have been started in the Hills and other places throughout India, have attracted thither Americans and men of almost all European nationalities. The wishes and feelings of this portion of the community were considered by those able men, whose names are associated with the great Indian Codes ; and it was provided that in every case triable by jury, in which a European (not being a European British-born subject) or an American is the accused person, not less than half the number of jurors shall, if practicable, and if such European or American so claims, be Europeans or Americans. The privilege thus conferred is taken away by the Notification as regards those offences in respect of which jury trial is abolished — a change which may appear all the more disagreeable and unreasonable to those concerned, as Sessions Judges may in the near future cease to be Europeans.

In examining the case made in support of the withdrawal of the most serious offences from trial by jury in Bengal, we labour under some difficulty, as same statistics have not been used by all parties to the controversy. We should be sorry to overlook any evidence which may be, or has been, adduced in support of the course of action adopted ; and we have therefore been careful to collect all such evidence procurable. We have first a set of figures supplied by the Registrar of the Calcutta High Court, and quoted in the Minutes of the Judges. According to these figures 1,708

cases were tried by juries in the seven districts during the years 1884-1889. In 325 of these cases, or just over 19 per cent. of the whole, the Sessions Judges disapproved of the verdicts; but in 114 cases only, or a little less than 7 per cent., considered it necessary to make a reference to the High Court. It does not appear what exactly was done in these 114 cases submitted to the High Court—in how many that Court took the view of the Judge; in how many that of the jury.

We have next certain figures given by the *Calcutta Hindoo Patriot*, which show 2,537 cases to have been tried by juries during the previous eight years. In 478 (which, as with the previous figures, is about 19 per cent.) the Sessions Judges disapproved of the verdict wholly or partially, but referred only 125 cases, or nearly 5 per cent., to the High Court. In 70 of the cases so referred, or about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. of the whole number of cases tried, the High Court took the same view as the Sessions Judge; in 47 cases refused to interfere with the verdict of the juries; and eight cases had not been disposed of.

Lastly we have the figures given by the Government of India in their Despatch, which are as follows:—there were 1,489 cases tried by juries in Lower Bengal during the last five years. Of these, 698 came under heads now withdrawn from their cognizance, while 791 fall within those classes, which still remain triable by jury. In the former cases the Sessions Judges recorded their dissent from the verdicts in 97, or 13·8 per cent. of the cases tried; but submitted the verdicts in 67 cases, or 8·8 per cent. only; and the High Court reversed or modified the verdicts in 34 cases, or 4·8 per cent. In the second class of cases the Sessions Judges dissented in 7·7 per cent., and submitted only 4·1 per cent. to the High Court, and that tribunal found it necessary to interfere in merely 13 cases, or 1·6 per cent. It may be observed that there is no material difference between the results obtainable from the three sets of figures, which, however, belong to different periods. The figures relied

upon by the Government of India are more precise, for they distinguish between offences now withdrawn from the cognizance of juries and offences still left triable by jury—very properly so, inasmuch as the figures relating to the former class of offences are alone concerned with the action of the Government, who have shown a wise discrimination in selecting those figures which supply the strongest argument.

Let us now examine this argument. The Sessions Judges recorded their dissent from the verdicts in 13·8 per cent. of the cases tried by jury; but in only 8·8 per cent. did they disagree so completely that they considered it necessary for the ends of justice to submit the proceedings to the High Court. Now it is not suggested, and it cannot be presumed, that the Sessions Judges did not properly exercise the discretion given them by law, and that the cases actually submitted formed a portion merely of what should have been submitted to the High Court. Indeed if the Sessions Judges have erred at all, the figures show that it was in the opposite direction, for the results prove that more cases were submitted than was necessary for the ends of justice—almost twice as many indeed as were necessary. In 4·8 per cent. of the cases tried by jury, the High Court reversed or modified the verdict—in other words, in 4·8 per cent. juries had convicted where they ought to have acquitted, or acquitted where they ought to have convicted, and the High Court by the exercise of the ample powers, by which jury trial was safeguarded in 1872 and 1882, was enabled to *remedy these defects of justice*. There remains then not even a decimal of argument to support the affirmative of the only possible issue in the matter. The argument, used for abolition, is in fact an argument for retention and extension, if the subject were one which could properly be treated on the basis of statistics alone.

But in truth there are many other considerations which ought to be weighed in dealing with the question, and which doubtless would not have been overlooked if the Judges of



the High Court had been afforded an opportunity of expressing their opinions beforehand upon the course of action proposed to be taken. Were erroneous verdicts due in any respect to defective summing up? \* Were these again in any way the result of want of training for this duty, † of less acquaintance with the colloquial language ‡ than is necessary to explain law and summarize facts, or of translations of the Penal Code not quite intelligible to the people? § Could these difficulties be removed by a more careful selection of Judges for jury districts, regard being had to their experience and natural or acquired powers; and by popular translations of the Penal Code in which some attempt might be made to amplify abstract language not easy to translate into Oordoo or Bengali? || Would not jurymen serve more readily and therefore more effectually if the Jury Lists were more carefully revised at the stated periods provided by law, so as to increase the number of jurors as education spreads, and so decrease the burden of this public duty by dividing it between more persons? These and other matters ought fairly to be considered before it can be decided whether the success of the experiment has become impossible. Apart from these considerations, it is not fairly to be concluded that jury trial is more unsuitable at Howrah or Alipore than within the obsolete boundaries of old Calcutta.

Throughout the discussion which has arisen an idea appears to pervade many minds that trial by jury is an

\* Justices Ghose, Norris, and Bannerjee suggest that they were.

† Sessions Judges do not rise from the Bar to the Bench, and have not, therefore, had previous training—necessary to proficiency—in public speaking.

‡ Sessions Judges have usually to sum up in the vernacular. No interpreter is employed as at the Sessions in the Presidency towns.

§ A letter from Patna to the *Calcutta Englishman* says that the law is there read from the authorized Oordoo translation, which is full of Arabic and Persian words, and as intelligible to the average jurymen as Chinese.

|| The definition of murder, and the distinction between murder and culpable homicide not amounting to murder, are exceedingly difficult of explanation in the vernacular to the average jurymen.

institution, of which the operation ought to be as regular as that of nature, the results as uniform as those of a machine, and the effects as satisfactory as abstract justice could desire. Such, however, has not been the proved experience of any country in which it has existed, of England, of Wales,\* of Ireland, or of America. Social prejudices, personal feelings, differences of opinion in creed or politics, erroneous ideas, and hopes or fears excited by recent events have ever been disturbing elements operating at one time against the accused,† at another time in his favour. To mention all this, however, is merely to say that trial by jury—like every other form of administering justice, and like all things human—is not perfect. But it is due to those responsible for the existing system of administration of criminal justice in India (and to the memory of such of them, as are no longer with us) to say, that the safeguards there provided (which would gladden the soul of an Irish Attorney-General) have proved effectual to remedy failures or perversions of justice, such as in our native land have passed irremediable.

At a public meeting of the native community held in Calcutta on the 20th December last, the following resolutions were adopted :—(1) That this Meeting desires to enter its respectful but firm protest against the withdrawal of the most serious offences from trial by jury in the districts to which that system was extended thirty years ago—such withdrawal being contrary to the principles of British law

\* The story of the Welsh jury, who acquitted the prisoner, but warned him not to do it again, even if not capable of authentication, is at least *ben trovato*, and some evidence of the popular estimate.

† This personage, though he has supplied all the figures, does not appear to have received in the controversy that amount of consideration to which he is fairly entitled, and the operation is certainly against him when *dacoity* is rife and juries in a funk. For a parallel, Macaulay, describing the state of things in the North of England during the seventeenth century, says :—“Juries, animated by hatred and by a sense of common danger, convicted house-breakers and cattle-stealers with the promptitude of a court-martial in a mutiny; and the convicts were hurried by scores to the gallows.”—Chap. iii., p. 140, of the popular edition.

and tending to disturb the trust of the people in the Government ; (2) that this Meeting also desires to enter its emphatic protest against the manner in which a valued right has been withdrawn—by Executive order, without giving an opportunity to the people to consider the matter and submit their views to the Government ; (3) that the Criminal Procedure Code be so amended\* that the Local Government may not be able in future to take away one of the greatest safeguards of liberty by executive order ; (4) that a memorial be sent to the Secretary of State, and that a Committee be appointed for the purpose of bringing about the withdrawal of the order.”

These moderate propositions are the natural and legitimate fruit of the education which we have given to the people of Bengal, of the ideas which we have instilled into the minds of her children. Let no man condemn this public utterance, saying that it expresses the mind of a few only, of a mere clique. It is the voice of that select few whom we ourselves have educated to be the leaders of the mass, and throughout history the mass has been led by the few. Neither let any unthinkingly smile at the talk about safeguards of liberty. Self-government does not yet exist in India ; and throughout the length and breadth of the land the work of administration is carried on by a strong and vigorous Executive, always meaning well, but sometimes high-handed, sometimes wanting in tact even where right, sometimes wrong in its estimate of facts, sometimes mistaken in gauging the feelings of the people, and too often forced to rely upon native subordinates not animated by the spirit of their superiors. How many acts of misguided energy and seeming oppression are patiently submitted to, because under the constitution which we gave to the country by our earliest laws, redress can be sought in the Courts of

\* This would well have been done in 1882. The powers very properly conferred upon the local government at the inauguration of the experiment in 1862, became inexpedient and impolitic after a twenty or thirty years' prescription.

Justice, and the people have faith in them. If this faith, more potent than an army, while costing the Treasury not a cowrie, be weakened, while discontent is aroused, the counsels which have brought these results will assuredly prove impolitic. The popular feeling which has been evoked on the present occasion shows that the people of Bengal have learned to regard trial by jury as a privilege. If their rulers yield a sympathetic response to this feeling by restoring the privilege, the incident may be productive of good by creating a popular opinion, to which every future juror in Bengal must be amenable in the discharge of a solemn public duty.

## THE AMIR ABDURRAHMAN AND THE PRESS.

BY AN EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL.

IN the last number of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" it was suggested in an article "on recent events in Chitrál and Chitrál" that it was physically impossible in point of distance and date for the Amir Abdurrahman to have connived at the usurpation of Sher Afzul on Chitrál, as was alleged in the newspapers.\* It is very much to be regretted that, owing to the remoteness and obscurity of the question, anonymous writers should have it in their power to embroil this country in War with Afghanistan.† With some honourable exceptions both in England and India, the Press, which hopes to obtain news, has written under the inspiration of those who hope to obtain official honours or promotion by fishing in waters that they have troubled. Insinuations, misrepresentations, and, in one instance, a direct provocation in a Newspaper, to which the Amir has condescended to reply indirectly in an official pamphlet, have achieved results in perturbing the public mind that could not have been surpassed by the so-called "reptile" prints of other countries. It is, therefore, with regret that one finds in such company the names of leading papers that

\* The Amir's interest in Chitrál is platonic, for that country runs alongside of the mountains of Kafirstan that separate it from Afghanistan proper. At the same time, an independent Chitrál is required in the interests alike of British India and of Afghanistan. Besides, Chitrál was never really subject to Kabul, and its ruler, the late Amán-ul-Mulk, was far more afraid of Kashmir, than of Afghan, encroachments.

† One of the meddlers lately sent the Amir an English Map of Afghanistan, in two colours, one showing the English, and the other, the Russian portions of his country! In spite of the great cleverness of the Amir, he, like the Shah of Persia, cannot always "realize" that the views of our Press may be entirely independent of, or even opposed to, those of the British Official Government, although in his "Refutation" of an Indian newspaper (see further on) he sarcastically suggests that our Government should reward the newspapers that calumniate it. For his own part, he would prefer sending lying correspondents who endanger peace out of the world altogether.

have been misled by a false patriotism, which is not always the last refuge of the honest, to write in haste so that the country may repent at leisure.

Abdurrahman has always been a listener to newspapers, which he regularly had read out to him even during his exile in Russian territory. I am not aware that he knows Russian, but he certainly used to have Russian, among other papers, translated to him. At the Rawalpindi Assemblage, where I had several lengthy conversations with him on non-political matters in his favourite Turki language, he took an interest in all that was going on. Even Lord Dufferin felt sympathy for a man, who forgave us Panjdeh, and whose manly tender at the Rawalpindi Durbar of his sword, whenever required by us, convinced every hearer of the genuineness of his friendship.\*

He has, however, never concealed from us, even before he *took* the throne, that he means to rule Afghanistan as a country given to him by God, and not by us, and to rule the same as a pious Muhammadan autocrat. He accepts our subsidy, because we wish him to defend his northern frontier against Russia, not because he hates Russia or cares much for Badakhshan or at all for outlying districts like Raushan, Shignán, and the still more distant Wakhan and the Pamirs. He, however, most honestly believed, and was not undeceived by us, that he had to watch those frontiers against Russian encroachments, whilst his local representatives imagine that they have to do so against all comers. This is why the Afghans would not allow Col. Lockhart to proceed beyond the Panja Fort, in Wakhan, where he was kept a prisoner pending reference to Kabul, and this is why, in all truth and honour, the Afghan outposts allowed themselves to be shot down at Somatash by

\* A recent proof of this was afforded by his contemplated visit to England, which was not encouraged by our officials, so that this country does not know him, except through *their* reports. He has also just sent Mr. Pyne, the English master of his workshops, with letters to the Indian Viceroy, which will, no doubt, explain much that has been misrepresented.

the Cossacks of Yanoff.\* This is why our most loyal ally at once proclaimed throughout his country that he had called in the English to drive out the Russian infidels, and if our Indian Foreign Department had a little statesmanship as it has abundance of diplomacy, the opportunity would have been taken at once, in his and our interests, to lay the foundation of a belief in *our* loyalty among his suspicious subjects and the frontier tribes, by the expectation of a comradeship in arms between our respective peoples, whenever needed, and, in the meanwhile, to show to Europe and to the Muhammadan world the community of British and Afghan aims. As the first and smallest result of such loyal alliance, our Survey parties would, with the Amir's permission, have been able to perform a duty which they now discharge more or less stealthily, and to the alarmed suspicion of the Amir. Lord Lytton, who is very much underrated as a Viceroy, had a very vivid conception of the advantages of a British and Pan-Muhammadan fraternity based on a Turkish alliance.† Instead, however, of responding in a hearty way to the Amir's proclamation,

\* Somatash is, no doubt, Chinese territory, but did we ever mention China to the Amir? Why, we ourselves attacked and, practically, annexed Hunza, which owes some sort of allegiance to China, as I pointed out in 1866.

† His recognition of Amir Abdurrahman was an act of statesmanship rather than of diplomacy, for Abdurrahman advanced from his exile in Russian Turkistan with the aid of a small Russian gift of arms and money, whilst we also asked him to come, and, finally, in the most open manner as regards Russia, we made him our nominee as he was already that of Russia. He, however, came as "*called*" by Islām and by the people to strike a blow for his inherited rights, and he accepted our moral and pecuniary support, in order to become more, not less, independent against alike British and Russian encroachments. As for the separation of Kandahar from Kabul, it had been proclaimed by us *before* Abdurrahman left his Russian exile, and this separation was, or rather would have been, extremely distasteful to him, but, fortunately for the Amir, Sirdar Sher Ali, who was to have been the hereditary ruler of Kandahar, collapsed after Ayub Khan defeated a British force at Maiwand, and as we certainly were not prepared to maintain the Sirdar by permanently occupying Kandahar, there was nothing to prevent its coming under Abdurrahman (see Sir Lepel Griffin's article in "*The Fortnightly*" of last January). This may also serve as a correction of a misapprehension in Mr. Dacosta's otherwise able and certainly well-meaning article.—ED.

we vacillated in harmony with political fluctuations in England, and even pretended to a virtuous indignation—stimulated by fear of Russia—because the Amir, in perfect good faith, had occupied parts of Shignán and Raushan. I will only allude to the unwise proposal of an interview at Jelalabad with a Commander-in-chief whom he would not care to meet, even if Lord Roberts did not mind meeting the Afghan Generalissimo, Ghulam Hyder Khan, who was one of the four that he had proscribed. The request was made at a time when the Amir was busy quelling a revolt, and so an excuse was forced on him by us to avoid an interview which he would not have sought anyhow.

For let it be told, that the Amir has many, and well-founded, grievances against us that are far more real and serious than the *peccadilloes* which I shall mention further on, and which are evidently invented in order to pick and to justify a most unrighteous and impolitic quarrel with him, to the interests of Russia and to the eventual loss of Northern India. He is to go to the wall for doing his duty by us, whilst the Press magnanimously suggests an understanding with Russia with or without him and certainly at his expense. Such a result, with its fatal consequences, will be rightly laid at the door of our perfidy, and Russia will gain not only territory, but also the respect and affection of the despoiled, as in the case of Khokand and Bokhara.

First, and foremost, at any rate for the purposes of this paper, among his grievances is the ever-restless system of *espionage* by news-writers, underlings, and even members of his family under which he suffers. That this is no calumny may be inferred from the following passage in Sir Lepel Griffin's most opportune article on him in the last *Fortnightly Review*:

“ Many of the inflammatory letters of Abdur Rahman fell into our hands, *for we had spies and paid agents all over the country attached to the household of many of the principal chiefs. Armed with these I was able to remonstrate with full effect, and confronting Abdur Rahman with his own*



*letters*, presented him with what was literally an *ultimatum*, which, finding that further delay and hesitation were of no avail, he was wise enough to accept.—In this conduct, full of anxiety and embarrassment as it was to us at Kabul, I see nothing of which we could fairly complain. Abdur Rahman was playing for his own hand, and he not only wished to get as much as he could out of the English; *but to secure his own position when we had left by representing himself as in no way a servant and nominee of the Viceroy of India; but as chosen by the free voice of the people of Afghanistan to protect the country in the name of Islam against all infidel encroachments.*" [The italics are mine.]

I would also venture to call attention to the remarks on the same subject in this *Review*, dated the 5th December last, before the writer could have had the advantage of reading the article of an authority on Afghan affairs, who, if there is any sense in the existing Ministry, should be again placed in a leading position with regard to their settlement.

"By setting son against father, brother against brother, and in the general tumult destroying intervening republics and monarchies, Anglo-Russian dominions are becoming conterminous. Above all,

" 'There's not a one of them but in his house  
I keep a servant fee'd.'

And it is this unremitting suspicion which is alike the secret of present success and the cause of eventual failure in wresting and keeping Asiatic countries, and of the undying hatred which injured natives feel towards Europeans."

Only the vilest of their race will lend themselves to *espionage*, however necessary or common the unworthy procedure may be in European policy. Yet, these very spies have to be protected, not only in the discharge of their functions, but inevitably also in other disgraceful conduct. Indeed, especially if successful, they have to be honoured under the pretext of their "loyalty," and it often happens that a whole village, district, or tribe has to be handed over to the tender mercies of one whom all know to be a scoundrel.

If we want information about Afghanistan, we should get it direct from the Amir, or from persons whom *he* authorizes for the purpose.\* We know quite enough from general public sources to be able to check such information; but I am convinced from the extraordinary frankness and courage of the Amir's character that it would never intentionally mislead, whilst there would be a fulness of knowledge about it which would destroy intrigues, whether European or native. Indeed, were the whole truth known, we should find that many a sudden reputation or fortune is due to the Government being obliged, for the sake of its supposed prestige, to manufacture heroes out of its failures.

I have already alluded to the irritation caused by stealthy surveys, and it may have been inferred that our constant interference and advice in matters between the Amir and his subjects is singularly unpalatable to a man whom his enemies accuse of never taking advice, and whose mind is conscious of acting rightly by us in his foreign relations. It is, therefore, to his *acts*, that I appeal as being friendly to us and not to idle *words* uttered under great provocation and their still idler interpretations by those who do not perfectly understand his language. I have heard of Foreign Department messages conveying unintentional insults, and unless I see the offensive letters attributed to the Amir, I shall refuse to believe in his affronting a powerful Government, when his letters to humble individuals breathe the soul of courtesy, as I can testify from personal knowledge.

When it, however, comes to *our* acts, how can we justify the precipitate annexation of the tribes subject to him on the Beluch frontier?† How our vaguely-explained Railway encroachments, the interference in, and practical

\* Say from Mr. Pyne, who is said to be a simple-minded and trustworthy person, and to be devoted to the Amir.

† He may have retaliated by encroaching on Chaghi in the desert on the ground of some obscure historical right, but his claim to Wana is, at least, as good as our own.

incorporation of, districts bordering on our frontier of which he is, if not the sovereign, even if not the suzerain, at all events an honoured Afghan Chief or arbitrator by courtesy and, if nothing else, *our friend and ally*? Is it neighbourly to drive away his agents and to be in constant correspondence with his known enemies? Are we aware that there exist traditional ties and written engagements between Kabul and some of the independent Chiefs, even including Chitrál, far more genuine than the solemn farce of our sending so many Infantry and Cavalry and Gatlings in order to *assist* the sturdy inhabitants of this or that village to drive away a couple of agents of the Amir? Is it wise to expect him to fight for us on the North when we infringe his rights on the South? \* Has Russia taken from him a hundredth part of what we have placed under our protection? Above all, are we not to take him at least into our council, if the unutterable folly of constructing a military road through Dir and Chitrál is to be persevered in, so as to enable the Russians to have their choice of invading India either by that road or by the route *viâ* Gilgit to Abbottabad, in which we have equally broken down for them the existing physical and tribal barriers?

What we require is an intelligent and sympathetic person, able to speak and write Persian and Turki, who would listen to the Amir's grievances and submit our own, for their respective rectification, on the *do ut des* principle, if need be, or—*on what has never yet failed to impress Orientals*—on grounds of chivalry (a notion introduced into Europe by the Arab Knights), of justice, of magnanimity, of friendship, and of duty to God. †

\* This also applies to our relations with China, whom we cannot afford to offend on the Burma border, whilst expecting her to fight our battle on the Pamirs. We are pledged to China not to encroach on any territory which was not actually ruled by Theebaw.

† I believe that Messrs. Udny and Moore unite the necessary qualifications and there must also be others able to converse more politely with an Eastern potentate, than Sir C. Euan Smith. The Amir's mission of Mr. Pyne to the Viceroy seems to be a step in the right direction, but it should be responded to in the same spirit and manner.

I have never been deceived by an Oriental, who was not Europeanized, but it is no use *finessing* with him, as we, *e.g.*, once did, when we sought to save our prestige and pockets by pretending to acknowledge one Amir as the *de facto* and his rival as the *de jure* Amir. It is high time that every person connected with the Foreign Department of the Government of India should be able to write and read at least one Oriental language without the aid of a Munshi ; but even the Persian Department of the Panjab Secretariat has been abolished. Indeed, the convenience of doing everything through the medium of English must alienate us from all real knowledge of native feeling, except such as can only partially be represented by the Babus.

If the desirable consummation of the peace and integrity of our Empire in Asia is to be achieved, then a check should be imposed on those officials who would sacrifice a world to their own decoration or promotion. The papers which are ready to kindle a war in order to increase their circulation by reporting its vicissitudes, would then have to be silent. In the meanwhile, they are precipitating a crisis, as I shall proceed to show from a few instances, which have, I regret to say, been long before this brought to the notice of the Amir.

The following misstatements occur in a Conservative daily paper of the 6th January last, which has evidently been "inspired" by a quasi-official source :

*Allegations.*

"Both in London and Calcutta the authorities are less perturbed by Russian claims and encroachments than by the present attitude of the Amir of Afghanistan. . . ."

"who but for us would be an impoverished exile, instead of a powerful Chief, has of late been doing his best to thwart and defeat almost every measure undertaken by the British Government for the defence of the Indian frontier."

Of this the following absurd instances are given : (a) That the

*Reply.*

"Precisely, the object of both the Russian and the English Ministries being, apparently, to come to an agreement at the expense of Afghanistan, our ally."

Abdurrahman left his exile, and became ruler of Kabul by his own enterprise. But for him, we should have abandoned Kabul with disgrace, and Russian influence would now be paramount in Kabul. The "Jingo" Press would induce us to pick a quarrel with the Amir for only too loyally and literally fulfilling his

Kandahar officials "congratulated" some native deserters from Quetta at having left the service of infidels. This is described as a gratuitous and almost "incredible affront."

(b) That he instigated Sher Afzul to invade Chitrál, where he murdered the "loyal" parricide and fratricide, Afzul-ul-Mulk, who has since made way for the rightful heir, Nizám-ul-Mulk, now in power, but whom we also falsely described as "intriguing with Russia." (c) That he has not met Lord Roberts at a proposed interview at Jelalabad. [This has already been explained.] (d) That he sent his agent to occupy an outpost in the Waziri country [from this he has withdrawn, with an humble apology], on which the writer most offensively remarks that "timidity in dealing with Asiatics is no less a mistake than in dealing with *animals*." If this be the temper for maintaining our supremacy in Asia, the sooner we abandon it the better in the interests of humanity.

(e) (from another paper) that he objected to one of his sons speaking in English to his employé, Mr. Pyne, in his presence. (It is nowhere considered respectful for a son to speak before his father in a language which the latter does not understand, even if he is not afraid of *espionage*.)

bargain with us, as we are afraid of Russia, and we can thus sacrifice the Amir "to appease" alike "an angry God" and yet show our power.

(a) To begin with, it is not the Amir who did this, but some of his officials, whom he promptly checked against the repetition of such conduct in future; but the "congratulation" is a natural one, and need not imply hostility to us any more than a British Protestant clergyman welcoming a Huguenot need imply hatred of Catholic France. Such remarks are, obviously, "intramural" and "privileged."

(b) A reference to dates and distances will at once show that it was *impossible* for Sher Afzul to have left Badakhshan for Chitrál, on hearing of Afzul-ul-Mulk's usurpation, with the previous knowledge and aid of the Amir. As a matter of fact, Sher Afzul left in a great hurry, with eight Afghans, such as anyone can collect for any raid, and with a number of the Chitráli slaves, that are paid as a tribute by Chitrál to Badakhshan, which we have declared to be a part of Afghanistan. Had, however, the Amir interfered, as suggested, he could have done so within his rights, as suzerain of Badakhshan, if not also of Chitrál, by the inoperative document of 1874.

The "*Pudel's Kern*," however, is in the "authoritative" statement that the British and the Russian Governments are agreed as to the interpretation to be put on "the shadowy agreement of 1873," and that it is "the poor Amir" who has infringed it, to use an expression of the highest authority at the Rawalpindi Assemblage in connection with "the poor Amir" having to swallow his resentment about the Panjdeh affair in consequence of our representations. He is now supposed to have encroached on Shignán, or, at least, "the portion of it lying to the east of the Panja

branch of the Oxus," but it is stated that this should be forgiven in view of Russia's equally unauthorized annexation of Karategin and that portion of "Derwáz which lies south of the Oxus." These matters, however, are to be adjusted by "the Pamir Delimitation Commission"; but as the Russians have annexed nearly the whole of the Pamirs, the designation had better be changed to that of "the Afghan" or "the Northern India Delimitation Commission." "Grateful for small mercies," our wanton encroachment on Hunza-Nagyr is, in the polite irony of a Russian prince, called our "shutting the gate of India in the face of Russia," although it is our folly that has pointed out that gate to Russia, and that is constructing a military road from it to Abbottabad to the very heart of the Panjab. Since 1866 I have had the particulars of that road, which, so far as the nomenclature is concerned, was submitted to the British Association by Mr. Hyde Clarke, in 1875, but I have refrained from publishing them for obvious reasons. Now, official aggressiveness has itself disclosed this sore point.\* It would be only fair to the Indian Exchequer, as also to the *entente cordiale* between England and Russia, if half the expenditure of constructing the military roads through the Shináki districts, as also through Chitral, were shared between them, and if Russian and British engineers worked together in breaking down "the barriers of India." Another

\* The recent sad loss of Major Daniell and of 51 men killed and wounded in defending the Chilás Fort against the so-called "rebellious tribesmen," is a result of the alarm caused among the Indus tribes generally by our occupation of Gilgit and the construction of a road to Hunza-Nagyr, countries inhabited by Muláís and Shiahhs respectively, with which the Sunni tribes of the Indus have no friendship or indeed any relations. It is the danger to their common independence that has frightened them all and that has revived the raids on the Astor-Bunji road, which the Maharaja of Kashmir managed to keep safe, since 1846, with half a dozen Sepoys. Our Abbottabad Deputy Commissioners have ever reported the Chilásís as a good, quiet people. Now the inspired Press calls them "inveterate slave-hunters," just as it did the slavery-hating Nagyris when they took umbrage at our construction of a road onward from Chalt. When Dr. Robertson occupied the Chilás Fort in December last, some papers announced it as a retaliation for the resistance of the Chilásís to the opening of a road from Abbottabad to Tákk, near the Chilás Fort.—ED.

English Daily, this time a "Liberal journal," already points out the peaceful attitude of the Russian press, which, since Russia has obtained all she possibly can for the present, does not *now* clamour for more, but vents its spite on the Amir. It seems as if the same inspiration guided alike the English and the Russian press, and we now only require Sir H. Rawlinson to preside at a meeting of the "Anglo-Russian Delimitation Commission." Reverting to Hunza, since "Jingo" sentiments are, after all, relished by the masses of patriotic Britons, the journal in question points out that Colonel Grombcheffsky had lived there four years, and so it had become necessary "to expel its contumacious Chief." I have shown elsewhere that Colonel Grombcheffsky was never in Hunza at all, for, if he had been there, he would have known of the existence of the opposite district of Nagyr, which his map ignores; but any misstatement seems to be acceptable in party journalism as long as it promotes the error of the moment. To prove, however, that the press is not without its influence on the Amir, I quote his "refutations," published in pamphlet form, of certain allegations made some time ago in an Anglo-Indian journal. [The pamphlet is in Persian]:

*"Newspaper.*—The Amir has imprisoned Turra Baz Khan, Risaldar, because he was suspected of conveying secret information to the British Agent.

*"Refutation.*—The man named Turra Baz Khan was accused of dishonesty and misuse of the public treasury (*Bait-ul-Mal*). There is no reason why a fraudulent person should not be punished.

*"Newspaper.*—Maulvi Abdul Rahim, inspector (Nazir) of British Agent, was noticed to have visited Turra Baz Khan at his house. When the Amir heard of this, he at once issued an order that none of the subjects of Afghanistan should visit any man of the British Agency, without the permission of the State.

*"Refutation.*—At the time of Cavagnari, information was obtained in this way, and hence this order" (to avoid a second Cavagnari massacre).

*"Newspaper.*—Since the Amir thus treats the British Agent, it appears to be of little use to keep an embassy at Kabul.

*"Refutation.*—Such treatment is at once beneficial to both sides. If the people are not treated in this manner, the result would be disastrous. This is the same Afghanistan where, fifty years before, one hundred thousand men of the British Army perished; and again, only twelve years ago, what a large number of men were killed! The present Amir alone has brought Afghanistan into order.

"*Newspaper*.—It is very probable that forty or fifty men will be banished from Afghanistan on the charge of their being spies of the English.

"*Refutation*.—If it be known that *they spread falsehood and create ill-will between the two countries*, they will not be banished from the country, but put to death at once, and thus be banished from this world altogether.

"*Newspaper*.—Those who believe that the Amir is a friend of the British should explain the following: (1) Why should the Amir be averse to the English? (2) Why did the Amir imprison so many British subjects? (3) Why did the Amir restrict his subjects from conversing with the British Agent? (4) Why did the Amir allow the notorious outlaw Chikai to wage war in Turi and destroy the people? (5) Why are so many persons punished on suspicion of being British spies?

"*Refutation*.—(1) Had not the Amir been friendly to the English, the traders would not have been protected so well from the hands of the Afghans. The sole enmity is because the Amir has kindly treated Mr. Martin and other Indian traders. (2) The subjects of any country who commit crimes in other States are naturally sent to prison in those States. (3) People conversing with the ambassador disturb their minds, and consequently foment other evils. It is not good that the people should have intercourse with ambassadors from other States; it is therefore much better that they should be interdicted. (4) How long should the people of Afghanistan suffer from the hands of the Turis? and consequently the Amir has been obliged to take revenge. The Afghans patiently suffered the aggressions of the Turis for twelve years, but cannot keep patience any longer. (5) It is better that those who distribute the apple of discord should not exist.

"*Newspaper*.—The Amir has several times declared in Durbar that if the English were allowed to construct railways in the country, they would soon overcome the people and take possession of Afghanistan.

"*Refutation*.—Twice before the English have been unsuccessful in keeping possession of Afghanistan. They are not likely to try it again. But it is unfortunate that we, the people of Afghanistan, have neither the ability nor power enough to open railways.

"*Newspaper*.—It is wrong to believe that the people of Afghanistan do not understand the value of railways. There is no reason that a people who are adopting English manners, and using English boots and English coats, should not value the advantages of railways. But it is the Amir alone who thinks that the English would cheat him, and that their intention to construct railways in Afghanistan is founded on such treacherous motives.

"*Refutation*.—As regards the treacherous designs assigned by the correspondent to the British Government, the Government should honour him with a *khillat* (dress of honour or other reward), and treat him very courteously, and should be happy with their own free laws." ["This is sarcasm."] "But as regards Afghanistan, when order is fully restored in the country, and an army of six or seven hundred thousand will be ready, then will be the fit occasion for the construction of railways, but not till then."\*

\* This is perfectly true, for nothing short of a large army could protect railways through Afghanistan from every kind of depredation.



*"Newspaper.*—The Amir well knows that in case the railway is constructed as far as Kabul, he would not be able to carry on his intrigues with Russia." (There can be only one reply to such a calumny, and that reply is given in the following "refutation.")

*"Refutation.*—If the Amir be supposed to have opened a secret correspondence with Russia, or intends to do so in future, who could prevent his doing so? He is independent.

*"Newspaper.*—The answer to those who affirm that the Amir shall never be against the English, since it was through the latter that he got the throne and Amirship of Afghanistan, would be that the Amir knows at the same time that he got the throne through Russia also. When the Amir was driven out of his country, and there was no place of refuge for him, Russia treated him so well that he remained to succeed to the throne of Kabul, and came to the scene at the proper moment. Besides, the British Government has not given over the throne of Afghanistan simply to oblige him. The throne of Kabul was given to the Amir because none could be found to control and govern the country, and the British Government pays a large annuity to the Amir that he may not join Russia.

*"Refutation.*—The Amir knows that the country belongs to God. He alone is the bestower. No man can possibly give over a country to another. 'Thou honourest whomsoever thou wishest, and putteth to shame whomsoever thou wishest. Thou art all-powerful.' The Amir, through God's favour and his own knowledge, because God has given him knowledge, took the reins of government of the country of his own people from the hands of a foreign empire whose people were always in great danger and disquietude from the hands and tongues of the Afghans. He then quieted his own people at a time when there was none to govern and control the country, and there is none else even now. And the reason which the English put forth, has been asserted over the Amirs of Afghanistan since many years. But this is not a new thing.

*"Newspaper.*—A man named Nur Ahmed Khan took the contract of vegetables and fruits for one hundred thousand rupees. The contract continued for two years. Meanwhile, he eluded the officers, and made away with fifteen thousand rupees. On the Amir being apprised of this, he ordered the man to be prosecuted. Nur Ahmed Khan got due notice of this, and when they came to capture him it was found, after a long and fruitless search, that he had run away with all his money and furniture and his family. The Amir has now ordered that every person of his tribe, wherever he be, should be seized, and the sum of fifteen thousand rupees realized from them.

*"Refutation.*—The vegetables and the fruits have never been given on contract in Afghanistan. The correspondent has created all these green and yellow gardens from his vivid imagination. There is no such person as Nur Ahmed said to be a contractor. And even supposing that any man absconds with public money, and runs away, or remains at home, his tribe and relations would be required to clear themselves of any complicity in his crimes. And whenever any tribe is informed of such wrong-doing they should watch the wicked persons. If wicked people commit offences

and are not checked by their tribesmen, the tribesmen become abettors, since they were aware of the crime and did not inform the Government, but preferred to remain quiet. This silence proves that they were partners in the crime. The functions of a Government are to punish and suppress crime, and thus have its influence felt. The correspondent is evidently ignorant of this great secret. It is not within the capacities of every weaver and menial.”\* “Dated 5th Shaban, 1309 A.H.”

The Amir's notice of attacks in the Press may not seem to some to be of great importance, but it, at any rate, indicates which way the wind blows and the inconveniences that may be caused by irresponsible and subservient papers. There is no danger to India except from the ambition of certain officials. There is no necessity for warlike preparations, for the construction of military roads or even for a railway to Kandahar.† The question is not how can we best fight Russia, but is there any necessity for fighting her at all? There is none, if we leave the Buffer-States alone and if we strengthen an independent Afghanistan. We have a score of Hindukush-Circassias between ourselves and the Russian outposts in Central Asia, which no command of a Black Sea can circumvent, even after a struggle of 36 years for the possession of each one of them. Behind, but not in front of, these “Circassias,” stands British India in an impregnable position, with unlimited supplies from the Indian Continent or Seaboard. Pushed forward, we confront an enemy that then, in his own turn, commands an uninterrupted supply of men and material on his own territory and from nearer bases of operations, not to speak of the military Cantonments and Colonies that have so skilfully been advanced during a generation. In a race for battle we must be lost, for no system of fortifications yet

\* This may be an allusion to the class of persons that are often employed as correspondents or spies.

† With Pishin in our hands, we can control Kandahar within a week, in the event of a War, without, in times of peace, rousing Afghan suspicions by the construction of a railway to Kandahar. We also require no British agents at Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, as they may try to justify their appointment by interfering in Afghan affairs. Telegraphic communications of information, that had better “keep,” are also not wanted, and the existing restrictions on trade are matters for the Amir and the traders concerned.

devised will protect the Indian frontiers once they become conterminous along thousands of miles with those of Russia. It is only by a race for good government and in the serene strength of a "masterly inactivity" beyond the Indian Frontier, that a foreign invader can be baffled. The enthusiasm of Indian Chiefs is a demonstration of loyalty that should not be lost on an enemy, but the Imperial Service troops were as little required as our own military preparations, unless we persevere in encroachments that have already brought us into conflict with border tribes, that are unfair to the Amir of Afghanistan, and that sooner or later must bring about a great War. Once there is no longer a strong and independent Afghanistan, a consummation so devoutly wished by Russia, there is no further taxation that will be possible in India in order to keep up the military expenditure. As it is, our finances cannot bear the burthen that it has already inflicted on them, though, of course, I presume that as India was perfectly safe from foreign aggression, the consequences of her inclusion within the range of British Imperial politics, will be paid for by the British taxpayer and not by the Indian ryot. I fear, however, that even the most enthusiastic Jingo will not be able to bear long or cheerfully a strain on his pocket which will be far more heavy than any caused by the French Wars. Of course, if Great Britain is prepared to follow whatever may be Russia's lead in Europe, then the peace in India may be preserved, though at a still unbearable cost of money and anxiety and to the great neglect of education and of non-military public works, even if their respective frontiers in Central Asia ran alongside of one another, but, in that case, we must be prepared to abolish our present system of administering India and precipitately introduce a military conscription and complete Home Rule in that continent, after we have destroyed its old indigenous Oriental forms of Self-Government, and have not yet developed the new and alien methods of a disloyal Anglicism

## THE STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND MOROCCO.

BY MULEY ALI BEN ABD-ES-SALAM, SHEREEF OF WAZAN.

It is thought that an expression of native opinion, at the present moment, by a member of a Shereefian family that has not infrequently played an important rôle in Moorish affairs, may be of interest, whilst my parentage on the mother's side is a guarantee that I am not likely to be animated by any sentiment of hostility towards England.

I confess that I approach the attempt with some diffidence, not merely because I have hitherto taken but little interest in the political entanglements which characterise all international adjustments in Morocco, and which are too apt to degenerate into mere struggles for personal ascendancy, but because it is extremely difficult to criticise any policy without provoking the ill will of its initiators.

First let me say that the natural desire, both of his Shereefian Majesty Muley El Hassan, and the great majority of his subjects, is to be on good terms with our powerful foreign neighbours and, at the same time, to preserve intact our national independence.

So long as there were but few foreigners settled in the country, and those mostly merchants of good standing, the task was easy, but with the rapid increase of the European element, especially of the poorer class, it has become every day more difficult to avoid conflicts, together with that revival of race antipathies which is always a source of the gravest peril. During the spring and summer of 1892, public order in Tangier, where hitherto the good feeling between the various classes, of all nationalities, had produced a sense of exceptional security, was frequently disturbed; robberies and assaults increased to an alarming extent, and there was a general demand on the part of the European public for some more effective protection both for life and property.

The English minister, Sir Charles Euan Smith, was therefore commissioned by his colleagues, the foreign ministers, to request the Sultan to create a properly paid body of native guards; and the English minister further urged upon his Majesty the advisability of placing this force under the control of a European officer.

The Sultan decided to organize a native police but sent a native official, named Kaid Abet Es-salam ben Moussa, to take command of the men, who were mostly recruited from the Riffians settled in or near Tangier.

The Basha or Military Governor of Tangier, who is noted for his excellent disposition, and who is personally known and generally liked by the Europeans, represented to the foreign ministers the necessity of ordering the closure of the numerous taverns and coffee-houses, both native and European, at some reasonable hour of the night. I may here add, that the rapid increase of such establishments at Tangier, houses of the most disreputable character and not subject to the control of the local or native authority, has frequently called forth unavailing complaints and protests from the more respectable inhabitants, both native and foreign.

The foreign representatives had agreed, in principle, to the orders issued by the Basha, to the effect that these establishments should be closed at half past ten at night. But the notification led to much discussion, both in the Tangier foreign press, and in the coffee-houses and bazaars, the native centres for the distribution of news, where it was understood that the Spaniards of the lower class had declared that they would "knife" any Moor who should dare lay his hand upon a foreigner. It was under these circumstances that the native guard entered upon its task of giving effect to the new regulations for closing the wine shops and coffee houses.

The very first night, as might have been expected, a collision occurred. The guards used their batons, and one of them fired his gun. Several Spaniards were batoned,

and one Gibraltarian, who, it is alleged, was drunk at the time, was shot. An ultimatum, as every one knows, was immediately presented by the British authorities requiring an indemnity of one thousand pounds, the punishment of the guards, and the public reprimand of the Sultan's authorities at Tangier. The thousand pounds were paid; and three of the guards were arrested, and confined to prison: their names are, Si Hamed el Wardighi, Wuld el Hadj Abd Essalem Heraresh, and a Shereef from Tetuan named Sid Hamed. The police force has thus become a mockery and a delusion; and the authorities and more respectable inhabitants of Tangier are asking themselves where is their security now, in case of any outbreak of the European criminal class? Would the Moorish guard dare interfere with Europeans again, after this recent experience? Of course we quite understand that if such an outbreak should occur, if the lives or property of European residents should suffer, the Sultan would be again called upon to make good the damage incurred! And, in the face of such events, the Sultan is asked to open still wider the doors of his Empire, to facilitate the establishment of Europeans in the other towns and cities of Morocco.

Doubtless we may be told that such is the price the Sultan must pay for ruling over a turbulent population; that he must give way as other Mohammedan and Asiatic rulers have been compelled, to the invading march of European trade and commerce! Were the great Powers united in formulating such a demand, Mulai El Hassan might indeed be compelled to yield,—but, are the interests of the great Powers identical? Is it not to the interest of France, of Spain, and even of Italy, to maintain the *Status Quo*? For if the Country should be opened to European enterprise, who would be most likely to avail themselves of the opportunity to establish a commercial or industrial footing? Would it be the Frenchmen, who, abandoning “la belle France,” would populate the plains of

Morocco? or would the Spaniard or Italian hasten to invest their accumulations of unproductive capital in Moorish farms or mines?

Whilst I make these reflections, our English friends are doubtless exclaiming "Yes! but what about our prestige! Can we sit calmly under affronts from the Sultan of Morocco? or allow British subjects to be done to death, even when the British subject is disturbing public order and resisting the Tangier police in the exercise of their duty?"

I am perhaps over-young to offer advice to those who have, in so many countries, shown such capacity to take care of their own interests; yet I may be pardoned for calling attention to a fact which the English public may not fully realize—which is, that neither our national interests here in Morocco, nor our personal sympathies, allow us to neglect the advice of our French Counsellors. Leaving out of the question the tact and courtesy with which our notables are treated by the French officials,\* France, with her continuous frontier and easily mobilized Algerian forces, especially adapted to deal with our own guerilla system, is not a *quantité négligeable* either for the Sultan or for the people of Morocco. It might therefore better accord with the dignity of any nation which does not desire to force the Sultan of Morocco into a conflict when he might be supported by the serried forces of the Algerian army, not to ask for concessions which, as I think I have shown, could scarcely be granted with safety to Moorish integrity, no matter how amiably disposed the Sultan may be personally, as we all are, towards our English friends.

It is unfortunately beside the question to urge that we should be better inspired to open our territory to foreign enterprise; that it would bring us undoubtedly an accession of wealth; and would result, in the end, in less turbulence,

\* The elder brother of the writer, Mulay El Arbi el Wazani, has lately received the cross of the Legion of Honour.—EDITOR.

together with a most advantageous modification of the administrative abuses from which we suffer. For in the meantime, between our foes and our allies, we might fare but little better than the unfortunate Tangier guards, who thought they were doing what the European ministers desired (viz., to maintain order) by the only means they were accustomed to employ. True, they did shoot the Gibraltarian; but the Moorish view of the situation was, that the former should have peaceably obeyed the repeated injunctions of the guard to disperse, to go home, to go to bed, not to bawl or shout in the public streets, and smash windows; and that when, instead of thus obeying, the British subject attacked them, his blood should be upon his own head. Alas! they were not educated or accustomed, like the English policeman, to go unarmed about their work; and having fire-arms the Moorish guards thought themselves justly entitled to use their guns when attacked. And now, behold! they are murderers, and are ordered to be beaten and imprisoned; whilst their countrymen groan with indignation, and the Sultan broods in his palace over the event!

On the other hand there has been much animated discussion in the London Press, and also at Paris, Madrid and Rome. England was to send a new minister to retrieve the failure of Sir Charles Euan Smith last summer. For this task an Under-Secretary of State was selected. The *Times* even asserted, in an apparently inspired article, that Colonel West Ridgeway would come supported by such a display of naval force as would compel attention to his demands. Immediately there was question of sending a French squadron from Toulon under Admiral Buge—Italian frigates were announced from La Spezzia and Spanish troops were ordered to be mobilized at Malaga. Then M. Waddington goes to London with very energetic and precise instructions from M. Ribot; and, *presto*, the English music, lately so belligerent, is lowered a couple of octaves; and we now read, in paragraphs equally inspired,



that Sir J. West Ridgeway is to produce the desired effect upon the Sultan's Government, not by the display of ironclads or angry "notes," but by sitting solemnly at the British Legation, until the Sultan, becoming conscious of his own errors, sues for pardon.

The Sultan may indeed hasten to renew more friendly relations with a Power which he has no conceivable interest to offend ; but I express an opinion which is that of my fellow-Muhammadans on this situation, an opinion which might also be that of many well-informed Englishmen, couched in a familiar Arabic phrase, which may be rendered : "Proceed as you begin, If by violence then violently to the end, If by moderation then moderately or benignly to the end." Or more literally translated : "Verily he who does an atom's weight, whether of good or evil, shall find it ; as the beginning is good or evil, so shall the end be good or evil."

فمن يعمل مثقال ذرة خيراً يره ومن يعمل مثقال ذرة شراً يره إن  
كان أوله بالخير يكون آخره بالخير وإن كان أوله بالشر يكون آخره بالشر

Frankly, such unseemly alterations and contradictions of attitude, as some organs of the English press have betrayed of late, are not likely to exalt the prestige of England in native, or foreign, or even in dispassionate English, eyes. Whilst, most unfortunately, infinite harm has resulted from all these alarmist rumours, bitter dissensions have been sown, trade seriously injured, and many much needed local improvements arrested here in Tangier, where English influence, if so beneficial as it is pointed out, might better make itself evident, not in belligerent bluster, but in good works, obviously advantageous even to Moorish eyes.

ALI BEN ABD-ES-SALAM,  
Shereef of Wazan.

## THE NEUTRALIZATION OF EGYPT.

BY SAFÎR BEY, AR-RASHÎDÎ.

[We have inserted the following article, as also extracts from Egyptian newspapers, in the conviction that the strong and well-meaning need not fear criticism, and that it certainly must be an advantage

*"To see ourselves as others see us,"*

—ED.]

OUR religion lays down that our first duty is to man and our second to God, for man can be injured and God cannot, and as both "good works" or alms and "faith" are included in the same root of "Sadaqa" or "righteousness," "he who does not thank man does not thank God," and, finally, it is said that "men follow the religion of their rulers." I will, therefore, discharge the duty of friendship, and comply with your request to inform you of our feelings as regards the English occupation, though argument is no sword, and what is ordained cannot be avoided. and the pious are cautious of blaming Pharaoh (a tyrant), for God has appointed him because of our sins. This land of Egypt is also called the land of Pharaohs, and "to the wise a hint is sufficient."

We thank, therefore, the British for the good which they have done or wished to do, and we beg them now to withdraw, so as also to enable us to earn the merit of good actions by governing ourselves in the fear of God. It will then be seen whether the pupil has learnt the good lessons of his master, or whether he will rather follow his practice, for, verily, the English occupation has lasted more than ten years, and it has been an experience to whoever can profit by it. For though the imitator is not like the originator, yet has the child become a man, and the man will be saved by his own good works, and not by the works or the words of his teacher. It is also not fitting that the teacher should praise himself, for, as is said in the Fables of Lokman, if the lions were painters. the lion would be

represented as conquering the man, and not the man as conquering the lion.

The people of India, whom I have seen, are gentle as sheep; and the people of Egypt were lambs, before Alexandria was bombarded and Arabi taken into captivity and the Sûdân abandoned, which, owing to the help of our Khalîfa, the Sultan, we had ruled for 20 years in peace, and for wishing to retain which the Egyptian ministers were dismissed by Lord Granville in 1884 in a letter which has been wrongly applied in a recent discussion as touching the undoubted right of our Efendi, the Khedive, to appoint his ministers, which is a totally different thing.

Why should the English remain in Egypt, unless we can get back the Sûdân and re-establish the authority of the Khalîfa against the Mahdi, or "the guided" (who is verily *misguided*); then Muhammadans (Sunnis) all over the world would be pleased, and all believers would bless England, and thereby peace and faith can alone be restored.

Why should such large salaries be paid for the administration of justice to foreigners and they yet boast of being just, as if it were a wonderful thing for them to be just, when they already have their reward? And how can justice be administered when every fugitive from Europe has his own Law and a protector in his Consul? French and Russian and English and Italian and of all races come for gain to Egypt, and make false claims and get large compensations.

It is a strange thing that these nations, in whose homes there is much misery and vice and tyranny, are anxious to deliver the oppressed of one another, and not their own, and to lead them in the path of goodness. The French grieve over the oppressed Irish, the English mourn the oppressed Russians, and the Russians wish to free the oppressed Bulgarians, Armenians, and others. Africa has been divided among various nations of Europe, in order to sell their goods and procure produce by paying the smallest remunerations to the sons of the soil. Verily, slavery has been checked by the Prophet, on whom be Peace, but it

has raised the slave, so that he is of the house of his master, and is cared for when old or ill or weak, and ruling dynasties have descended from the Mamalûks (or "the possessed"). But he, who is employed by Europeans, is taught intoxicating drinks, and that, if he works, he can get money with which to buy them, and is left to die of hunger and the thirst of vanities when no longer able to work.

As for the Fellahin, their burthen has always been great, and they do not compare the sorrow of to-day with the sorrow of yesterday, but think the present more heavy than they can bear. Verily, there is truth in this, for the revenues have increased and the salaries of officials are large and the foreign protectors go away with large savings made in a poor country and from poor people, and spend them in rich countries where everything is expensive, whereas in former times our rulers died in the country and left their property to be divided, and, as long as they lived, having the same religion, could be deterred from injustice or punished for it in many ways through relatives or pious men or the censure of companions and the contempt of the people, for which foreigners do not care, getting their salaries from the Khedive, and obeying Lord Cromer.

As for the French, whose manners are light and whose yoke is heavy, they have asked the Khalifa to protest specially, but he has only renewed his old protest, for, by the arrangement with Wolff in 1887, the English occupation would have ceased in 1891, there being a clause of the help of an English army hereafter in the Sûdân, should H.M. the Sultan be unwilling to send more than a Turkish Commissioner with such army, as a sign of his authority over Egypt. The French, however, objected, and also spoke about occupying Syria, and they have, moreover, ruined Egypt by the construction of the Suez Canal, which has cost the lives of thousands of badly-fed labourers obliged to work for nothing, and, when they were dead, compensation was claimed for bringing foreign labourers, who filled the land with wickedness. The

commerce of Egypt has gone, for now the trade of all nations goes through the Canal without benefit to Egypt, and the silk is brought from Japan and the cotton from India and the railway is half empty, but God has punished the subverter of nature, when he wanted to build another Canal to join other waters that God has separated, and He has benefited the enemies of the Canal, who bought up for 500 francs the share which is now worth 2,000, and who now possess most of the shares and nearly all the trade and all manner of interest on this and on that, which is lawful to Christians and Jews. And the tribute also of about £700,000 a year which is paid by Egypt to the Khalifa, is given to foreign bond-holders, so that as long as the Sultan is our master they will enjoy the fruits of their manœuvres. And in the same way let all Egyptian creditors be paid, whether their loans were for our good or for our evil, or were given willingly or not, for "the Believer" has never repudiated an acknowledged debt, whether just or unjust, or turned a suppliant from his gate, and the weak Jews who are expelled by Russia, the powerful, find an asylum in the territory of the Khalifa, may God lengthen his life and increase his glory! And as for Russia, which proposes to seek alliance with him, and thus to become the master of the Muhammadans in Central Asia and India, verily her persecutions of the Faithful and of other creatures of God will be on her own head, and though she may say to the French "Do this" and they do it, yet will this not continue, for the French are not enemies of Islâm, and are among the greatest of nations, who will not obey anyone, whether it be Russian or German or both. Moreover, they speak politely, and they do not beat the Egyptians or find fault with everything, and they are not always wanting to see this and to see that, and are not ever writing books and reports, both men and women not knowing Arabic, and always saying they are the best of men, and sending news to their newspapers, which, being written in haste, are the causes of precipitation and strife, and, although little practising their

own creed, subverting our religion. If the English have come here for our good and to teach us to govern ourselves, they should leave us to do so after the teaching of ten years, and God will reward them as the miracle of the Age, but if they have come here for their good, let them say so, for an honest enemy is better than a faithless friend, and the lowest hell is prescribed for the hypocrite.

As the English vessels can command the Red Sea, even if an enemy had the Suez Canal, there would be no danger to them, and, at any time, "the mother of waters," the "Um-al-má" can be temporarily closed by the sinking of a large ship; so what is the use of giving Egypt as a prey to *all* nations, when by giving it to *none*, all will enjoy peace and the respect in this world and the next! Let it be declared that Egypt is a "Dár-ul-Imán" = a seat of safety and faith, and that whatever nation disturbs that condition, all other nations will fight against it. Let the religious authority of the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, be restored, and the followers of the misguided (Mahdi) will desert him. Let the large salaries now paid to foreign officials be reduced along with the taxes. The sum annually paid for the English army of occupation—whether the same be large or small—may still continue to be paid, provided it is spent on attempts to reconquer Khartum, though I believe that the moment the English army leaves, we shall be able to regain it by religious means. Our Lord the Khedive has acquired the sciences of Europe and possesses those of Islám. The people love him as no other Khedive has been loved, and if the English desire the respect of the people, they must treat him also with respect. We know our affairs better than any foreigner, and we can manage them more cheaply. We shall, however, ever revere the English, if to their great qualities, they add suavity for the creatures of God and consideration for the rights of others.

And although there are men who wield both the sword and the pen, yet should military officers not be sent on

missions of peace, unless disturbance is secretly intended, as at Morocco, for they will use the pens as swords; but they should be sent to the Sûdân, where even the women and boys fight bravely like the heroes of other countries, and the men are as whirlwinds of destruction. As for the heresy of the Mahdi, it had been revived by English wanderers denying the authority of the Sultan of Turkey, as the Khalifa of the Faithful, because he is not of Koreish descent. Truly, the Great Sherif of Mecca is a Koreishi, but he has no army to enforce his decrees, and is not recognized by the orthodox Community as Khalifa, though we venerate him, whereas the Sultan of Turkey has an army, and is so recognized by Muhammadans of the "Sunnat" all over the world. The holy Prophet, on whom be Peace, has said that "a short time after me there shall be no '*perfect*' Khalifa" (uniting all the qualities of descent, secular power, acceptance by the faithful, etc.), and therefore, nearly all the Khalifas have been "imperfect," but, none the less, are true Khalifas of the believers. Therefore, when Emperor Nicholas commanded that he would take Turkey and England might take Egypt, for the protection of her way to India, he wished to have under his control the Khalifa, and destroy the influence of England eventually in India and in Muhammadan countries. The rulers of England are of two parties, which, one openly, and the other secretly, obey Russia, though the people hate her, so they are like Gog and Magog, and we are approaching the days of darkness, unless it is the will of God that there be a delay, and this delay can only be if Egypt is made a land of peace (neutralized) and the authority of the Sultan is acknowledged in acts, as it is in words.

In conclusion, although newspapers, being, as a rule, the fruits of haste, are from Satan, and books, being the fruits of reflection, are from the Merciful, except those about Egypt written by men and women not knowing Arabic, yet it is lawful to seize the weapon of an enemy if one is on the point of destruction, and so I have written this

letter, which will be pure to those who are sincere of heart, but which will be a vexation to the double-dealing and to the tourists who sing and dance on the ancient monuments of Egypt, leaving empty bottles on them and buying bones and carved beetles from the mean of our people, and carrying away the documents of the past to their own countries. Verily these documents are from "the days of ignorance" (before the advent of the prophet Muhammad), but he has recommended us to "seek science, even if it be in China," which was not, in his time, and is not now, a country of Islâm. And whereas even "an intelligent enemy is better than an ignorant friend," so may also the English seek knowledge in Egypt in the fear of God and the love of men, and forgive any errors in this letter, for "it is the part of the small to err and of the great to forgive."

In connection with the above, we publish a few extracts from letters as also from Arabic and French papers that may be interesting to our readers.

The well-known author, M. Paul de R  gla, writes to us as follows, also suggesting the neutralization of Egypt :

"Que puis-je vous dire au sujet de vos affaires en Egypte? J'en ai donn   mon opinion dans mes 'Lettres d'Orient' du Journal 'La Presse.' En r  alit  , je crains que l'occupation prolong  e de ce pays par vos troupes ne soit une cause f  cheuse de guerre europ  enne. Que l'Angleterre se pr  occupe du passage qui conduit aux Indes, c'est l   une chose naturelle. Mais ne peut-elle pas arriver au m  me r  sultat en neutralisant l'Egypte? Je le crois. Que l'Angleterre propose donc    l'Europe cette neutralisation. Elle   vitera ainsi de graves complications et n'aura plus besoin d'immobiliser une partie de ses troupes sur cette vieille terre des Pharaons. Or, qui peut dire que ces troupes ne vous seront pas n  cessaires aux Indes un de ces jours?"

An Arabic paper has the following comments on the conduct of English officials in the service of the Khedive in not recognising the ministry of Fakhri Pasha :

"We are not in a position to punish the insubordination of the English functionaries under the Egyptian Government and to show our indignation at their conduct whilst they take enormous salaries from the poor Fellahin. You would have done much better, if you had waited for a decision of the negotiations (between the Khedive and Lord Cromer as to the Ministry) so as not to expose yourselves to public shame, O ye honourable English officials! We are now aware of your private ends in holding so many offices and warn the Egyptian Departments."



"By your revolt against the Khedive and his Government, you have manifested your evil policy in a telegram despatched to the *Times*,—in the book of Milner and in the publication of Coles (?). You ought to have been at once dismissed for your revolt, so that the *Times* could not have said that by such people is the throne of the Khedive strengthened.

"I conjure you by God to answer this question—if these are the proceedings of the civil functionaries, what can we expect to find from your officers in the Egyptian army, save a thorough submission to Lord Cromer as against His Highness the Khedive and his authority? How shall the Egyptians not defame your reputation and shun you; or shall they put no trust in you and give no credence to your oft-repeated promises? Where is the fulfilment of your solemn oaths, O where and where? . . . Let us, therefore, all unite in single-minded obedience to the beloved Khedive, our Lord Abbas, since we know his patriotism and the encroachments of the English on our honour and rights. . . . The question arising nowadays amongst serious men is whether the former political prestige of the English in Egypt was a result of their own skill or of our weakness—a question which apparently has solved itself; for the late occurrences have proved it to be a result of the latter. We are, however, now in a new era and before new men, who may cause us to forget the measures and men of the past.

"It is certain that all the actions of the Khedive were inspired by prudence and love of Egypt ('Egyptianism' or 'patriotism'). The ability of Abbas to discover in so short a time the selfish ends of the English is a great proof of his intelligence and judgment. The action of France, however, in at once appealing to the Sublime Porte, shows that France has more regard for our rights than the British."

Another writer, Sheikh Abu-Naddara, professes that the halfpenny Journal, which bears his name, is prohibited in Egypt by the British officials to whom it is sent gratis, but is eagerly bought by the natives for sometimes as much as five francs a number! In the Paris *Marine et Colonies* in a long article on "the Sultan, the Khedive, England and Egypt," the Sheikh affirms that since the advent of Abbas, he had laboured to draw closer the bonds between Turkey and Egypt. If so, we do not see in what respect this representative of native opinion differs from the truest British policy on the subject, and we can well afford to let him abuse us when he affirms that he "was ever right in maintaining that neither English intrigues nor their publications, written for an object, would ever succeed in detaching the Khedive from the Sultan. The weal of Egypt must come from Stamboul:" and we have read his

recent novelette "Zarifa" on the Sûdân with the interest that our brave enemies deserve. We certainly think that a coalition of Russia, France and Turkey would be injurious to British, and fatal to Muhammadan, interests, and we cannot too severely deprecate the unpatriotic conduct of any Administration in England that is anti-Muhammadan in policy. The "beating of niggers," is, of course, unjustifiable, and may, at times, undo in a moment the good of years, whilst the impertinent curiosity of tourists, bent on book-making, has had something to do with the ill-feeling that undoubtedly exists in Egypt.

As regards the effect of the European Press on native culture it may be inferred from the following advertisement in the (English) *Egyptian Gazette*, where an interpreter professing to be well acquainted with English and Arabic calls himself, as he has no doubt *been* called, "*A single Egyptian fellow* of 26 years wishes to get employment with an English family." The advertisers in French show more self-respect and a more graceful command of that language, but the French papers in Egypt seem to devote too much space to *feuilletons* and love-affairs. The *Phare d'Alexandrie*, however, points out in an able article how "Lord Cromer with a little tact could have avoided raising the thorny and delicate question" of the continuance and popularity of the English occupation, for, as another French writer remarks, "whatever may happen, the fiction of the English being liked by any class of the Egyptian people is now at an end." We have not seen what the Italian papers in Egypt have to say on the late crisis; the Greek periodicals seem to confine themselves mainly to commerce, but in one, the *Ταχύδρομος*, we find the following passage: "The victory of Lord Cromer has been Pyrrhic. The 10 years' British rule is shown to be a house of cards before the breath of European political complications. The main hope of Egypt is in its Khedive, who has shown manliness and tact in the most delicate circumstances."

## THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES AS A FIELD FOR RETIRED ANGLO-INDIANS.

BY AN ANGLO-INDIAN COLONIAL.

HAVING been frequently asked when in India about the suitability of the Australian Colonies as a field for the settlement of retired Anglo-Indians, I here propose to set forth, very briefly, a few facts for the consideration of those who may have an idea of going there, after the completion of their service in India.

The first great obstacle that would be encountered is the extreme difficulty of getting good servants, or, indeed, any at all. The servants are mostly Irish girls, who are exceedingly rough and uncouth. Their knowledge of cooking is absolutely *nil*, and they spoil the simplest things, while their power of breaking the crockery is unlimited, and is simply ruinous to a family of small means, which in these days of the depreciated rupee, is unfortunately the condition of most Anglo-Indians. They tyrannise over their nominal masters and mistresses, who dare not reprove them, whatever their faults may be and however numerous. If one ventured on a mild remonstrance, he would be immediately overwhelmed by a torrent of shrill abuse, and the servant would probably depart without the formality of giving notice of her intention. They are generally wasteful, careless, and extravagant, while their power of making *dastūri* at the expense of their employers is unequalled by any *bāwarchi*. The Germans make better servants, but they are very scarce, as they generally labour with their husbands, fathers and brothers on the farms, and take their share of the hard work equally with the men; but even could one succeed in getting a German, she would require to be trained by her mistress, and when she got used to the ways of the house, she would probably go to someone else, who offered her more money; or she would get married and all the work of training a servant would have to be gone through *de novo*.

In addition to these drawbacks, servants in the Australian Colonies command very high wages ; in some parts from £40 to £50 a year is, I believe, considered moderate.

Up country, the difficulty of getting servants would be greatly enhanced.

There are no suitable schools for the sons of gentlemen. Education in the State schools is free ; but they are exactly the same class of schools as the Board School in England. In Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide. Brisbane, and some other large towns there are very good Grammar Schools ; but even these are very mixed, for although sons of squatters, merchants, bankers and others attend them, yet there are always a certain number who have won a Government scholarship at an ordinary State School. It is for every father to consider whether he would care to have his sons attend such schools.

Really good schools for young ladies are very rare indeed. There are Girls' Grammar Schools, as well as private schools ; but I very much doubt whether an Anglo-Indian official would like his daughters to attend such schools, where they would meet girls of all classes. I consider that it is much more important for young ladies to go to schools where they would only mix with those of their own class, than it is for boys ; for girls pick up many habits and manners from those of their schoolmates who are of a lower social class than themselves, which are extremely objectionable. In many of these schools it is impossible to avoid mixing up the young ladies with girls of an inferior class, with the result that they very often lose their refinement and good manners, and pick up all kinds of vulgarity and slang, which is by no means an improvement. The best schools in the Australian Colonies for young ladies are, undoubtedly, the Convent Schools. There they are given a good education, and their manners and deportment are also carefully attended to by the nuns, who are very often ladies by birth. I have never heard of their tampering with the religion of daughters of Protestants committed to their charge ; but I

am well aware that many Protestants object to sending their daughters to these institutions.

The next point for consideration is, whether there be any congenial employment for Anglo-Indians and their capital, which is generally small.

I may begin by saying that Australia is most decidedly not the place for a gentleman without capital. The competition for employment out there is every bit as fierce as it is in England ; and all the large towns swarm with educated men, who have either no employment at all, or else are employed at a rate of remuneration such as barely suffices for a mere living. The ranks of the professional classes are all overcrowded ; and barristers, doctors, solicitors, surveyors, engineers and others, find it very difficult to make a living, unless they have sufficient capital to enable them to live for some years in comparative idleness, until they become known and trusted. A clever man in any of these professions, with sufficient capital to back him, would undoubtedly do well after a few years ; but so he would in England. It is the long waiting for the chance to distinguish himself that is so terribly trying.

Should, however, an Anglo-Indian with a moderate capital decide on settling in Australia, it would be by far the best thing to let his capital remain in some thoroughly sound security for a year or two, until he had gained a certain amount of colonial experience and made some good colonial friends, who could advise him what to do. If he were to try to invest his capital at once, he would be almost certain to fall into the hands of some plausible sharper, who would swindle him out of the whole. It is quite possible to get eight or ten per cent. on a good mortgage ; but it is a thing which no one should attempt without having at least a year's experience first ; for there are many things to be considered. For example, in the country districts, many of the farmers are in debt to the storekeeper in the local township, and he may have a bill of sale on the farm. Again, the land laws differ in all the colonies, and

it would be easy to lend money on a farm which the occupier held under certain conditions from the Government, to which, in case of his failure, it would revert.

I presume that no Anglo-Indian would think of farming on his own account, for he could never make it pay. The work is very hard, and no Anglo-Indian, even with grown-up sons to help him, could work a farm himself. To hire labour would be ruinous. Even supposing he could do without hired labour, I do not see how he is to make it pay, for he has no previous experience, and to successfully manage a farm one must be thoroughly trained for it.

Living, in the up-country districts, is certainly much cheaper than in England; but it varies considerably in different places, while there are many drawbacks, some of which, viz., want of good servants and schools, I have already touched upon, while others I shall mention later on. In the large towns, living is very little, if anything, cheaper than it is in England for people of the same class; though there are, of course, more amusements than up country. In Sydney and Melbourne there are nearly always some good theatrical companies to be found; but the theatres are only possible at certain times of the year, and in the summer the heat would be unbearable.

The greater part of Australia is liable to prolonged drought, in which the price of all kinds of produce goes up to famine rates, while horses, cattle, and sheep are then almost unsaleable at any price. The unfortunate farmer has sometimes to send his stock many miles for water, or else every drop has to be brought in carts, and his whole time is taken up in fetching water for drinking and domestic purposes. If he is so fortunate as to have permanent water on his land, the cattle become so thin and weak that they are continually getting "bogged," and then he has to spend hours in extricating them. As for buying food for them in time of drought, in many districts he would be unable to get it at any price; and where it was possible to buy any, the price would be prohibitive. Of course, if the

settler is so fortunate as to be near a line of railway he would not feel it quite so much ; but although a great deal has been done by the different Colonial Governments to extend their railways, it must be remembered that Australia is very sparsely populated : although it is nearly as large as Europe, its population is less than that of Ireland. Nearly all the railways have been built by the State, and private enterprise has done very little, so that many districts have no railway within fifty miles or even more, and no land could be purchased near a railway except at a prohibitive price.

Australia has the further disadvantage of having practically no large navigable rivers to make up for the lack of railways, as the mountain ranges are too near the coast.

I remember some years ago, when I was in Queensland, there had not been a drop of rain for over two years, and in all the churches and chapels there were prayers for rain. The drought was very general over the colony, as also over parts of New South Wales and South Australia. This was followed by very destructive floods. These were not quite so bad as the floods which have recently devastated some hundreds of square miles in Southern Queensland ; yet many small farmers and even large squatters, who had been sorely tried by the prolonged drought, were completely ruined by the floods, or had to borrow money from the banks at high rates of interest, while the horses, cattle and sheep which had survived the drought were swept away in hundreds by the floods.

Then as regards the climate. Many people are under the impression that Australia possesses a most delightful climate, not much warmer than England in summer and not so cold in winter, and that it has not the everlasting rain and gloomy weather with which the inhabitants of these islands are unfortunately afflicted. But this is by no means the case. True, Australia is not so damp as this country ; it is, on the contrary, remarkable for the extreme dryness of its climate. Of the three eastern colonies, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, the last is the

most temperate ; but in summer it is subject to hot winds and dust-storms, when the only thing to be done is to shut up the house as closely as possible and not go out at all. But as these storms sometimes last for several days together, it is almost worse to remain in the house for so long than to go out and face it. In New South Wales also, the hot winds are very trying, but the dust-storms are not so bad as those of Victoria. In Queensland the hot winds are not so frequent as in the Southern Colonies, but the climate is much hotter on the average. In fact, the Australian Colonies in summer are quite as hot as many parts of India ; and in Sydney and Melbourne the thermometer is often above  $90^{\circ}$  in the shade, while in Brisbane it is above  $100^{\circ}$  ; and further north it is, of course, hotter still. This may not seem very much to those accustomed to the heat of the Indian Plains in summer ; but in India there are various compensations which are totally absent from Australia, such as punkahs, tatties, thermantidotes and plenty of cheap servants to wait on one. There are no such things as punkahs and tatties ; and even if there were, there are no servants to work them. For my part, I consider life in India in the hot weather far more endurable than in Australia. In India, ladies and children can always go to the Hills and escape the worst part of the hot weather ; but in Australia there are no Hill Stations.

The cold weather in Queensland (May, June, and July) is bright and invigorating, and very similar to that of India : cold at night and in the early morning, and agreeably warm in the middle of the day.

In New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, it is, of course, much colder ; while in Sydney and Melbourne the hot winds which were so prevalent in the summer, become the piercing cold winds of the winter ; for it is a curious fact that in Australia the hottest and coldest winds in the year blow from the same quarter, the West. No overcoat can protect one from the bitter cold blast and I have never yet felt an East wind in London that



could compare with the West wind in Sydney and Melbourne in July.

In Australia, every man thinks himself the equal of every other man; and this, though no doubt very charming in theory, is rather embarrassing in practice. An Anglo-Indian settling down there, who expected anything like the deference and respect which he is accustomed to in India, would be greatly disappointed. His own servants, if he employed any, would talk to him in a free and easy style which would rather shock his sensibilities.

Another drawback for an Anglo-Indian is, that there is no cultured class in Australia. The country is too young yet for any considerable class to devote its attention to culture and refinement. Everyone is too busy making money to have any time to spare for that sort of thing; and this would no doubt be very trying for an Anglo-Indian. There are many very wealthy men in Australia; but they are nearly all self-made men, and are very proud of their own handiwork; but whether Anglo-Indians would join them in their self-admiration, or find them pleasant companions, may be doubted.

Most of their public men—legislators, magistrates and others—are men who emigrated many years ago, when fortunes were rapidly made and as rapidly lost. It is even said (but this is an exceedingly delicate point), that some of them were either convicts who had been released on a ticket-of-leave, or the descendants of such; and though they are now justly respected for their many excellent qualities, yet they are not quite the sort with whom Anglo-Indians would care to be intimately associated.

The Australian Colonists are, as a rule, the kindest-hearted and most generous and hospitable people in the world. They extend a warm welcome to visitors from the "Old Country" as they affectionately call England, and entertain them royally. I do not know of any more delightful place to go for a visit than either Sydney or Melbourne; but Australia is not a place where I should recommend Anglo-Indians to settle down.

These remarks apply to the island-continent of Australia only, and do not include either New Zealand or Tasmania, where I have not been. But while in Australia I naturally met many people from both places ; and I will in a few brief lines say what I think of them. New Zealand and Tasmania have each a very delightful climate, though on the whole, I believe Tasmania to be superior to New Zealand in this respect, and I believe that there are many Anglo-Indians already settled down there. Regarding suitable schools, I can, of course, say nothing of my own knowledge ; but I understand that in this respect they are very similar to Australia. As to servants I cannot, for the same reason, speak positively, but I never heard that they were more plentiful or more suitable, than in Australia. From all I could gather, I think that New Zealand and Tasmania and more especially the latter, are far more suitable for the settlement of Anglo-Indians than the mainland of Australia ; but it would be advisable for anyone who thought of settling there, to go out and see for himself beforehand—say during a furlough—and not take anything simply on trust from agents and interested parties.

To sum up, I am of opinion that Australia is a most unsuitable place for the settlement of retired Anglo-Indian officials, who have a family to educate and bring up to some profession. Tasmania and New Zealand I consider far more suitable in some respects though they too have drawbacks similar, in others, to those in Australia. To all, I say, before finally deciding to settle in our Australian Colonies go there for six or twelve months and see for yourselves. For those whose pensions are paid in silver, there is the additional disadvantage of the heavy loss by exchange, the coinage in Australia being the same as in England. A Hill Station or valley in India appears far more suitable in every way, than any part of Australia, for the Anglo-Indian.

## “VIKRAMÂDITYA’S ERA.”

TWO PAPERS READ AT THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF  
ORIENTALISTS (LONDON, 1891).

- I. The Samvat Era by Pandit Jwâlâ Sahâya of Ludhiana (Panjab).
- II. Bhârata Nâtya Shâstra or the “Indian Dramatics by Bhârata Munshi” by Pandit H. H. Dhruva of Baroda.

These two papers, from the pens of well-known native scholars, mark another stage in the history of Indian Chronology, and furnish a fresh illustration of Prof. Whitney’s dictum, that all dates in Indian Literary History, based upon the conjectures of European scholars “are pins set up to be bowled down again.”

The history of the controversy as to Vikramâditya’s date is briefly as follows: universal tradition in India places Vikramâditya and the “nine Jewels” of his Court—of whom Kâlidâsa, the author of the *Shakuntalâ*, was the most famous—in the first century before Christ, and makes this first year of his era almost coincide with Julius Cæsar’s invasion of Britain.

Some years ago, a school of European Orientalists, setting aside the universal tradition, attempted to show, by a series of ingenious conjectures and assumptions, that Vikramâditya’s date was really six or seven centuries later. The reasoning which led to this conclusion was never very convincing, and was based on the very dangerous doctrine that it is possible to fix the date of a work by arguing deductively from the assumed antiquity or modernness of the ideas it contains. When writing of the date of the Upanishads, Prof. F. Max Müller himself pointed out how dangerous this doctrine is: “Till we know something more,” he wrote, “about the date of the first and the last composition or compilation of the Upanishads, how are we to tell what subjects and what ideas the first author or the last collector was familiar with? To attempt the impossible may seem courageous, but it is hardly scholarlike.”\*

The reasoning which led to Vikramâditya’s date being placed in the sixth century after Christ, may be illustrated as follows: “Kâlidâsa was contemporary with Vikramâditya. Kâlidâsa’s style is artificial, and therefore comparatively recent; the seventh century of our era is a comparatively recent date; therefore Kâlidâsa, and with him Vikramâditya, must belong to about the seventh century of our era.”

It is hardly necessary to point out the fallacy of this argument, as the conjectures on which it was based have practically been given up, and scholars are coming round to the view, first put forward by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Peterson, that the universal Indian tradition as to the Vikramâditya era, is almost certainly right.

One word more; the view has been put forward, and Prof. Weber has endorsed it, that the Samvat era is a parallel to the Julian and Gregorian computations; and that it may be as wrong to put Vikramâditya in the first year of his era as to put Julius Cæsar or Pope Gregory in the first year of the Julian or Gregorian Calendars.

\* *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xv., p. xxiv.

But this is quite misleading. The case of the Samvat *era* is completely different from the cases of the Julian and Gregorian *Calendars*. No one speaks of the Gregorian *Era* or of the Vikramâditya *Calendar*, so that this parallel was fallacious from the very beginning, and all reasoning based on it was necessarily erroneous.

Prof. Weber has pointed out that we do not know what event formed the starting point of the Samvat era, and has used this as an argument to discredit the traditions of India; but exactly the same may be said of our own era; since the birth of Christ is fixed by the authority of the Church in the *fourth* year B.C. But no one has sought to base on this fact a theory that Julius Cæsar was contemporary with Egbert or Charlemagne; and the transfer of Vikramâditya from the first century before Christ to the sixth century of our era is really something like this.

The movement set on foot by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Peterson is remarkable, not so much because it throws back a date in Indian history several centuries; but far more so because it is a vindication of Indian Chronology, as against European conjecture; let us hope that it marks a new era in the study of Sanskrit Chronology and its illustration by the living traditions of the East.

We trust to be able to publish the second, or Pandit Dhruva's, paper in our next issue, when we also hope to have an opportunity of bringing this important inquiry up to date by the light of the most recent researches.—ED.

## THE SAMVAT ERA.

BY PANDIT JWÂLÂ SAHÂYA.

DURING the last few years, much has been written, by various Oriental scholars, on the era of the well-known Hindu king, Vikramâditya the Great, so much eulogized by native poets for the encouragement he gave to learning, and whose court was adorned by "the nine illustrious jewels;" he is held by some to have reigned 57 B.C., while others deny this statement, and urge that the style of Kâlidâsa's poetry cannot be ascribed to a period earlier than the sixth century A.D., a period which has been termed the "Renaissance of Sanskrit literature." According to the conjecture of the latter party, Vikramâditya, who had under his protection such poets as Kâlidâsa and Shanku, flourished in the 6th century A.D. Dr. Fergusson is at the head of those scholars who advance this theory. He maintains that the Vikrama era began in 544 A.D., whereas

according to Hindu chronology it began in 57 B.C. Prof. Max Müller, enforcing the former view, states that “the whole theory would collapse if one single stone or coin could be produced dated contemporaneously 543 of the Samvat of Vikrama.” Dr. Weber endorses the view of Holtzmann, which is as follows:—“To assign him (Vikrama) to the first year of his era might be quite as great a mistake as we should commit in placing Pope Gregory XIII. in the first year of the Gregorian Calendar, or even Julius Cæsar in the first year of the Julian period to which his name has been given, *i.e.*, in the year 4713 B.C.” Prof. Peterson argues that this theory is no longer tenable, and shows (in a paper read before a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay) that poetry of the kind exemplified in the books of Kâlidâsa was already an old art in India in the first century of the Christian era. It reached back at least to the poem on the life of Buddha by Ashva-ghosha, a Brahman converted to Buddhism, who wrote in the time of Kanishka (78 A.D.). Prof. Peterson thought that the great triad of grammarians—Pânini, Kâtyâyana and Patanjali—were all poets as well; and holds that it is no longer desirable to regard with distrust the traditions which assign Vikramâditya and his court to 57 B.C., and represent him as surrounded by famous poets. Dr. Bühler has come to the conclusion that the era was in use before 544 A.D., and Prof. Kielhorn agrees with him.

I have not the slightest hesitation in agreeing with the last-mentioned three scholars; and the following notes are written to support their view.

The well-known native tradition found in the *Jyotirvidâbharana* makes Kâlidâsa the most illustrious poet of Vikrama's court; and his poems and dramas show that he was well-versed in almost every branch of Sanskrit Literature. In his works we find references made to Vedic theology, Hindu philosophy, Pauranic stories, and astrology, so that his writing the *Shrutabodha* on Prosody and the *Jyotirvidâbharana* on Astrology is not surprising. He mentions himself in the *Jyotirvidâbharana* :—

•  
Shankv-âdi panditavarâh kavayas tv aneke,  
Jyotirvidah samabhavanshcha Varâha-purvâh ;  
Shrî Vikramasya budhasansadi prâjyabaddhes,  
Tair apy aham nayasakhah kila Kâlîdâsah ;

Kâvyatrayam sumatikrd Raghuvansha pûrvam,  
Jâtam yato nanu vishrutikaryavâdah ;  
Jyotirvidâbharana Kâlavidhânashâstram,  
Shrî Kâlîdâsa kavito hi tato babhûva ;

and

Varshe sindhuradarshanâambaragunair yâte kalâu sanmite,  
Mâse mâghava sankshite'tra vihito granthakriyopakramah ;

It is evident from the last of these verses that the *Jyotirvidâbharana* was written in 3068 of the Kali Yuga. According to the Kali era the present year is 4993. Hence the book was written 1925 years ago. Various works on Astrology assign the date 3044 of the Yuddhisthra or Kali era to the accession of Vikramâditya, who began to reign 24 years before Kâlîdâsa composed the *Jyotirvidâbharana*. It can now be mathematically concluded that the Samvat era was counted from the accession of Vikramâditya.

Moreover I recently secured a Sanskrit MS. named *Gurjaradeshabhâpâvali*, which helps much to dissipate doubts on the subject. The book, consisting of about 100 stanzas, was written by Rangavijaya, a Jaina, in Samvat 1865. So little historical literature in Sanskrit has come down to us that even a small historical record is a great boon to modern investigators. The author gives a very detailed account of the kings of Gujarat from the death of Mahâvîra, the teacher of Jainism, to the decline and fall of the Mughal power in India. I give a brief synopsis of what he says of the Hindu Râjâs.

The very night when Mahâvîra, the Tîrthankâra, breathed his last, Pâlaka ascended the throne and reigned sixty years. He was succeeded by the nine Nandas, whose rule lasted for 155 years. Then followed the Mauryan dynasty of Chandragupta, which held the throne of Gujarat for 108 years. After this we find the names of Puspamitra, Balamitra, and Naravâhana ; these reigns

occupy 130 years. Gardabhillā, who ruled for 13 years only, is described as having lost the throne through the intrigues of Shyāmāchārya Saraswati. The Sākas (Scythians) then occupied the land for 4 years, and were subsequently driven out by Vikramāditya, the King of Ujjayinī, who ascended the throne 470 years after the death of Mahāvira. He has been greatly eulogized for his liberality and benevolence. He instituted a new era of *samvatsaras* (years), and reigned 86 years. His son succeeded him, but another king, Shālivāhana, rose into power after 135 *samvatsaras* (years) had passed, and created the Shāka era. I think it better to quote what the author says about Vikramāditya and Shālivāhana :—

Vīramokshachcha saptatyāyute varshachatuṣṣate,  
 Vyatite Vikramāditya Ujjayinyām abūd itah ;  
 Satvasiddhāgnivetālah pramukhānekadevatāh,  
 Vidyāsiddho mantrasiddhah siddhah sāuvarnapurushah ;  
 Dhairyādigunavikhyātah sthāne sthāne narāparāih,  
 Parīkshakashapāshāna nighashasatvakāñchanah ;  
 Sa sanmānāih shriyām dānāir narānamakhilāmīlām,  
 Krtvā samvatsarānām sa bhāsitkartāmahitale ;  
 Shadashītimitam rājyam varshānām tasya bhūpateh,  
 Vikramādityaputrasya tato rājyam pravartitam ;  
 Pañchatrinshadyute bhūyādvatsarānām shate gate,  
 Shālivāhana bhūpo'bhūd vatsare shakakārahah ;

After 50 years' reign of Shālivāhana, Balamitra the Pious became king, and reigned for 100 years. From Samvat 285 years the author names Kings Harimitra, Priyāmitra and Bhānumitra, whose reigns lasted up to Samvat 557. Then followed Āma, Bhoja, and 5 others, who ruled for 245 years. Banarāja, the first of the Chaura dynasty, was King of Gujarat for 60 years, during which time he built the city of Pattana. Other Chaura kings are as follows :—Yogarāja, 35 years ; Kshemarāja, 26 years ; Bāhadurāja, 29 years ; Badhar Singh, 25 years ; Ratnāditya, 15 years ; and Sāmanta Singh, 7 years. Altogether the Chauras reigned 196 years.

We now come to Samvat 998 when Mūlarāja took the sovereignty of Gujarat and held it for 55 years. He was

undoubtedly the first of the Châlukya dynasty. Then followed kings of this family, and reigned about 245 years. The most famous among them is Kumârapâla (Sam. 1199-1230). His clever minister Vâhada built the temple of Jinapati in Bhrgupura, the capital of the Lât Country. In Samvat 1298 Viradhavala ascended the throne, and dying ten years after was followed by four Râjâs who ruled Gujarat for 63 years ; the last of these, Karana Deva (Sam. 1361-68), was succeeded by Khizr Khan Khilji.\* Thenceforward Gujarat became the possession of Mohamadan Kings, and the author comes down to the time of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam.

This author seems to have compiled his epitome from some larger books of history before him. Though so little historical literature is preserved in the Brahmanical books, yet recent researches have shown that Jaina libraries can throw much light on the ancient history of India. Recent investigations have also shown that Jainism came into existence about the same time as Buddhism, and that both these systems branched off quite independently of each other, from a common form of asceticism which had existed long before the 6th century before Christ. According to the *Gurjaradeshabhûpâvali*, Mahâvira, the 24th Tirthankâra of the Jainas, died 527 B.C. I am told by a learned teacher of Jainism that the death of Mahavira occurred 16 years after that of the founder of Buddhism. The latter happened 2434 years ago, if we give some weight to the Buddhistic chronology† prevalent even now among the Buddhists.

The Pâlaka mentioned in this book is very likely the Râjâ named in Shûdraka's drama named *Toy-cart*. Pâlaka died in 467 B.C. ; and nine Nandas reigned till 312 B.C. The Mauryas had possession of Gujarat from 312 to 204 B.C.

\* From this period, we have Mussulman synchronisms for the history of India.

† The Buddhistic era now is 2434. Notice that  $16 + 470 + 1948$ , the current Samvat = 2434.



Then followed Pushpamitra, most probably the one mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya of Patanjali.\* A little later we find Gardabhilla, the well-known father of Vikrama. The Scythians took possession of the country for four years, and were driven out in 57 B.C. by Vikrama, then known by the name of Sâkâri (the enemy of Sâkas), and he ascended the throne of Malawa and its dependencies (including Gujarat, etc.). It was most probably in commemoration of his great success that he began to reckon an era from his accession. Further on, we find that, 135 years after Vikrama's accession, Shâlivâhana became paramount ruler and instituted the Shâka era. It is a noteworthy fact that the commencement of both the Samvat and Shâka eras was originally connected with the defeats of the Scythians at the hands of Vikrama and Shâlivâhana, respectively.

Rangavijaya, the author of *Gurjaradeshabhûpâvali*, gives such a detailed consecutive description of the Hindu kings that preceded and followed Vikramâditya, that it will be admitted by the reader to bear the stamp of trustworthiness. If in accordance with Dr. Fergusson's suggestion Vikrama be supposed to have reigned in the 6th century A.D., what kings must we invent to fill up the gap of 86 years after 57 B.C., and to win a great victory over the Scythians? Some scholars would like to suppose more than one Vikrama to have held paramount power in India. But so far as this important MS. is concerned, we find no other Vikrama mentioned except the Sâkâri.

It has now, besides, been ascertained that Shâlivâhana's era began in 78 A.D.; and Rangavijaya states that it happened 135 years after the commencement of the Samvat. This fact is proved not only by the MS. in question, but is also evident from the following traditionary lines which are found in almost all astrological books and commonly given in the beginning of Sanskrit almanacs :—

\* Sabhârâjâ 'manushyapûrva: II. 4, 23 Pânini; Patanjali explains this sûtra thus: Tadvisheshanânâncha na bhavati; pushpamitrasabhâ Chandraguptasabhâ.

Yudhishtiro Vikrama-Shâlivâhanâu,  
Tatas tu râjâ Vijayâbhinandanah ;  
Tatastu Nâgârjunah Kalkibhûpatih,  
Kalâu shad ete shakakârakâsmrtâh.

Prathama Indraprashthe Yudhishtirah ; tasya Shakah 3044. Dvitiya Ujjayinyâm Vikramas ; Tasya shakah 135.

I see no reason for discarding this astrological tradition, which seems to be supported by Jaina literature, so far as the Samvat and Sâka eras are concerned.

To suppose the Samvat *era* to have originated like the Gregorian and Julian *calendars*, is quite an unwarranted assumption, for which no evidence is found in the ancient history of India.

Further on Rangavijaya mentions Âma, Bhoja, and five other kings who reigned, Sam. 557-802. If we allow 15 years for Âma, Bhoja can fairly be imagined to have ascended the throne about Sam. 542. This date of Bhoja's accession accords exactly with that given by a later Hindustani chronicler,\* who says that Bhoja lived 542 years after Vikramâditya. The Hindustani chronicler mentioned above had undoubtedly in his mind the Bhoja who reigned about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., and counted his date 542 years after 57 B.C.

In conclusion I venture to think that in the light of my brief remarks in support of the Vikrama era we do not really stand in need of any stone or coin to prove its antiquity. I may mention incidentally, however, that Dr. Cunningham, in his "Archæological Survey of India," iii. 31-39, directly assigns an inscription, dated Samvat 5, to the year 52 B.C.

\* Probably Sher Ali Afsos. *Vide* Weber's "History of Indian Literature," page 201, note marked ‡.

# NOTE ON THE PROGRESS OF INDIAN NUMISMATICS,

*DURING THE YEAR 1891—1892.*

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S.,

Indian Civil Service, N.W. Provinces and Oudh.

CIRCUMSTANCES have prevented me from preparing a formal supplement to the Report on the Progress of Indian Numismatics which was submitted to the Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1891;\* but even an informal note calling attention to the most remarkable works on the subject published during the last twelve months may be of use to some persons, and I therefore venture to submit such a note, though it is avowedly rough and incomplete.

The Government of the Panjâb has issued in quarto, published at Lahore, a Catalogue of the Coins in the Lahore Museum, prepared by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India. A long review of this book written by the author of this note appeared in the "Indian Antiquary" for June, 1892 (vol. xxi., p. 194). Mr. Rodgers' Catalogue is in many respects open to criticism, but gives full details of the coins in the collection. I understand that, since its publication, the whole of Mr. Rodgers' cabinet, including his fine series of Mughal coins, has been bought by the Panjâb Government.

Mr. Rodgers is engaged in preparing a Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which has recently acquired the splendid series of gold coins of the Gupta period, collected by Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E. This set includes about 100 pieces.

In a paper entitled "Observations on the Gupta Coinage," read at the Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1892, I noted all the new facts gleaned from personal examination of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's and other coins,

\* The introduction to that Report was printed in the "Academy," and has been reprinted in Mr. Crooke's periodical, "North-Indian Notes and Queries" (Allahabad, 1892).

and brought up to date my monograph on the Gupta Coinage published in 1889. Dr. Bühler's opinion that the Gupta Era was founded by Chandra Gupta I. at his accession, the year 1 being 319-320, seems correct. A revised chronology of the Gupta dynasty is given in the paper referred to.\*

Many numismatic notes will be found scattered through the pages of Dr. Führer's "Monumental Antiquities of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," a handsome quarto, lately issued from the Government Press at Allahabad. This work was reviewed at length by me in the "Indian Antiquary" for October, 1892.

Dr. Hoernle at Calcutta continues to examine and describe all noteworthy coins which pass through his hands. A catalogue of the coins in the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is badly wanted.

The publication by Sir A. Cunningham of his little book "Coins of Ancient India," (8vo, London, Quaritch, 1891), has thrown a flood of light on the ancient coinage of India from the earliest times down to the seventh century A.D. An elaborate review of the book by me appeared in the "Indian Antiquary" for November, 1892. Equally important is Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's Catalogue of the Coins of the Mughal Emperors in the British Museum, just published.† The historical portion of Mr. Lane Poole's book is issued separately at a low price, and entitled "The History of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan, illustrated by their Coins."‡ These two works supply for the first time much-needed systematic guides to the coins of the pre-Muhammadan period, and to those of the long line of Mughal emperors.

An account by Dr. Hultsch of the coins of the southern

\* This paper is printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, January, 1893; with 3 plates. Plate II. gives facsimiles of selected coin-legends, prepared by Mr. E. J. Rapson, of the British Museum.

† Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, vol. iii. Coins of the Mughal Emperors, by Stanley Lane Poole, with a map and thirty-three autotype plates. (8vo. Printed by order of the Trustees, London, 1892.)

‡ 8vo. Archibald Constable and Company, Publishers to the India Office; Westminster, 1892. This edition consists of one hundred copies, numbered 1 to 100, and was exhausted in November, 1892.

kingdom of Vijayanagar appeared in the "Indian Antiquary" for September, 1891. The same periodical, for November, 1892, contains another valuable article by the same scholar, entitled "South-Indian Copper Coins." Most of the coins described form part of those selected by him from the collection of the late Mr. T. M. Scott of Madura, for the Government Central Museum, Madras. The coins treated of are classed as (1) Vijayanagara, (2) Chola, (3) Madura, (4) British East India Company, (5) French coin of Karikal. He quotes the following recent numismatic works:—

(1) "The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire," by James Atkins. London, 1889.

(2) "History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Madras Museum," by Edgar Thurston. Madras, 1890.

(3) "Pandyan Coins," by the Rev. James E. Tracy, M.A. In the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Session 1887-88.

(4) "Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India," by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M.S.C. Madras, 1889.

An article by Mr. T. J. Symonds, on "The Coins of the Nawâbs of the Karnatik," appeared in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, vol. ii., No. 5.

A learned and valuable paper on the "Coins of the Hûna Kings" was submitted by Sir Alexander Cunningham to the London Congress of 1892, but is not yet in print. The Hûnas, presumably the same as the Huns who devastated Europe, are now beginning to take a very clearly defined position in the history of India during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. A still more important publication by the Nestor of Indian archæology and numismatics is Sir A. Cunningham's treatise on the "Coins of the Kushâns, or Great Yue-ti," illustrated by eleven autotype plates, which has appeared in the "Numismatic Chronicle" for 1892. This work, combined with the author's earlier papers, will

probably be considered for a long time to come the leading authority on its subject.\*

M. Edmund Drouin has published, in the "Babylonian and Oriental Record" for November, 1892, a short paper entitled "A Symbol on Turko-Chinese Coins," in which he notes that a certain symbol found on these coins is also found on the coinage commonly attributed to the Sunga kings, and on other ancient Indian issues. He suggests that this symbol may be derived from the Egyptian scarabæus.

Mr. Rea, in the Progress Reports of the Archæological Survey of Madras, submitted by him from time to time to the Local Government, frequently notes facts of numismatic interest. These valuable reports are distributed to a considerable number of learned societies and individuals, and I have no doubt that the Madras Government would gladly supply them to any scholar likely to make use of them. The Government of the North-western Provinces and Oudh has recently, for the first time, issued a similar Progress Report for the year 1891-92. In this document Dr. Führer shows that the original name of the site now known as Râmnagar, and called Ahikshetra, Ahikshatra, or Ahichchhatra in the Mahâbhârata, Harivansa, and Pâṇini respectively, was Adhichhatrâ. When excavating a Saiva temple at this site he found (among other discoveries of high importance) 16 copper coins of the Kings Dhruvamitra, Sûryamitra, Bhânumitra, Bhûmimitra, Phalgunimitra, Agnimitra, Brihaspatimitra, Indramitra, Vishnumitra, and Jayamitra.

I have not been able to search systematically for the year's publications, and the above rough notes are all that I am in a position to give. I submit them, such as they are, at Dr. Leitner's request, and hope that they may be of some use.

February 22, 1893.

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\* Cunningham (Sir Alexander), "Coins of the Indo-Skythians : Sakas and Kushans," 5 parts in 1 vol., 8vo., *map*, 27 *plates of Coins, alphabets, etc.*; cloth, 30s. (Quaritch, 1893). This is a collection of six papers printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but here reduced to a whole in order to facilitate the attentive study which they demand.—*Publisher's Note.*

## ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS OF ENGLISH TEXTS.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

Many disasters can be traced to our linguistic shortcomings. Millions of money and multitudes of men have been sacrificed in order to save the prestige of a mistake in translation committed "by authority." As a Chief Interpreter during the Russian War in 1855-56 I first felt and pointed out the grave inconvenience of leaving to Levantine subordinates a monopoly in the command of languages which should be acquired by Englishmen to be trained in England for careers in the East.

In London I founded the Oriental Section at King's College, which had such pupils as the present Dr. Wells and others who have distinguished themselves as Oriental scholars. Before I left it for my Indian appointment in 1864, it grew to 22 students, taking up four Oriental subjects each; after all, not a satisfactory result in the Metropolis of the greatest Oriental Empire, but still more so than its present condition of barely numbering half-a-dozen students, amalgamated though it is with the Oriental Classes of University College, and enjoying, as it does, the inestimable patronage of the Imperial Institute.

Considering, however, that its President, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as early as 1866, encouraged the establishment of an Oriental Society and University in the Panjab, and that the Imperial Institute will be formally opened on the 23rd May next by the Queen-Empress, who is herself a student of Urdu, we may be at the beginning of a new Era of living Oriental studies in this country, which are indispensable to its culture and material welfare.

Hitherto these studies have been the mere stalking-horse of so-called Orientalists unable to speak a single Oriental language. The reason of their real neglect is not far to seek. When a Clergyman need not *master* Hebrew, the language of the Old, and the true interpreter of the New, Testament, why should Indian Governors learn Urdu? When there are natives of various parts of the East who know, or mutilate, English, why trouble ourselves to obtain full and faithful information and the confidence of the Oriental *masses*, by acquiring their languages and by a sympathetic attitude towards their religions, customs, arts, and aspirations?

The East is now often misrepresented by europeanized specimens, as England is flooded with the writings of popularity-seekers, whose knowledge of English and of English audiences constitutes the real secret of their reputation as Orientalists. These publications have often diverted intending students from Oriental research in its original languages, which is the only road to Oriental learning. The public is satisfied with diluted and distorted information obtained at second-hand from those whose aim, in this age of hurry, is "to get on," not "to know" or to impart a linguistic knowledge that would destroy the rule of the one-eyed among the blind.

• I. THE URDU NATIONAL ANTHEM.

As I consider it to be most important, if not indispensable, that every person, from the Secretary of State for India downwards, who is connected with the administration of that country, should be, at least, a master of Urdu, its *lingua franca*, I wish to point out, as I have since 1859, the inconveniences that arise from our continued neglect of Oriental Linguistics. I will begin with the Urdu translation of the "National Anthem," a task to which, it might have been supposed, that even our Chamber-Orientalists would have addressed the fulness of their attention and knowledge, but which was, practically, left to a Persian who was only imperfectly acquainted with that language. A movement, which cost or spent much money, time and labour, for rendering the Anthem into various Oriental languages, took place ten years ago, but beyond the Bengali and, perhaps also, the Gujerati versions (which I am not competent to criticize) a more lamentable exhibition of want of linguistic insight and scholarship, especially in the Urdu translation, could not be conceived. As I see that this production is actually republished with praise, in a recent "up-country" paper in England, I must again expose its defects and the carelessness of those who recommended it for adoption, but *none* of whom really knew Urdu.\* I will

\* I make an exception in favour of the late Professor W. P., who is *alleged* to have approved it, and of Sir W. M., who is, however, not so much an Urdu as an *Arabic* scholar, and who, therefore, advocated the official adoption of the title "Kaisar-i-Hind," which I had invented and carried into popular acceptance, on grounds that make it *inapplicable* to India. I may here mention, as an instance of unconscious superciliousness, due to want of sympathy with linguistic research, that when Her Majesty was to be proclaimed "Kaisar-i-Hind," at the Delhi Imperial Assemblage to the Chiefs and the peoples of India, the proclamation was actually going to be read out in English only, had I not, being accidentally on the Committee for the reception of addresses, heard of this intention, and interposed at the last moment to get it translated into Urdu for the benefit of those whom the new title directly concerned, and in aid of whose identification with Great Britain I had started a polyglot journal called "Qaum-i-Qaisari," = "The Imperial or Cæsarian Nation." I do not recollect any instance in History of even an Asiatic conqueror ever proclaiming his intentions to the conquered in his own, and not *their*, language, especially when he proposed to confer a favour or an honour on them.



then proceed to analyze the translations of certain missionary publications, which can only 'pervert' the Oriental Pagan or Muhammadan, and I will also refer to the impression created by the public utterances of some special Envoys, Viceroys, Philanthropists and others, who endeavour to rule or to influence natives of the East without knowing their language or studying their history, religions, and customs. The Treaties or Letters translated into pigeon-Urdu, kitchen-Persian, and porter-Turkish or Arabic by irresponsible "native" subordinates of careless English superiors, also deserve attention, because of the mischief which they have wrought to British interests. The interviews of European Envoys with Eastern potentates should be described in the *ipsissima verba* of their interpreters, so that they may be compared with the official account rendered by our last hero or saint to the Foreign Office or to the Press. Nor are the vagaries of our Indian Census and other Reports unconnected with incorrect or too literal translations of an English model. It is high time that the present system of self-stultification should cease, and that the British public should know precisely how Eastern affairs are managed. There is, *e.g.*, now an unnecessary, or rather suicidal, project for a Delimitation Commission of the unknown Pamirs and adjoining countries. I have not yet heard of any person in connection with it, who could, if he would, understand the merits of a case that should be decided, not by either English or Russian preconceptions, but by a sole regard to truth and to the facts, that can only be elicited by a knowledge of the languages, history, and vested rights of the *peoples concerned*. However, to return to the "National Anthem." For the small sum of fifty rupees I obtained a dozen versions, including the one to which Sir W. Andrew awarded a prize of five hundred rupees, and which I criticized in the last issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. They are all far better than the subjoined translation of the "London National Anthem Society," which, amidst much blowing of trumpets, demanded thousands of pounds for what it called a "gift to

India," whereas the sole *raison d'être* of a truly "*National Anthem*" in India would have been its spontaneity *in* that country, as, *inter alia*, shown by, practically, entailing *no cost whatever*. At the same time, there is no reason why, as an "*Imperial Anthem*," "the British National Anthem" should not be properly translated into the various languages of Her Majesty's subjects. This cannot, however, be done by Chamber-Orientalists or by uneducated Oriental natives in this country, whose translations or quotations are sometimes intentionally derogatory to the European objects of their praise. [Of this, a notable instance has occurred lately.] I cannot conceive how anyone at the India Office could have commended a translation, the very heading of which for "*National Anthem*" is scarcely appropriate. It is "Haqq Kaisar-Ka Yár ho." Again, the heading is followed by an explanatory note which, if not utterly meaningless, confines the invoked blessing to the present and the past and the Anthem itself to *churches* (if we read the hybrid "Kilisiáôn" rightly). The note literally is: "This pamphlet (!) for churches composed (water? to take?) its conclusion thanks to God upon past and present protection" = "*Ye nuskha Kilisiáôn ke liye tartib páni khatima uska tashakkur Khudá ko mázi aur hál ki himáyat-par.*" Spelling, grammar, construction, sense, and intention, all are wrong, and in two lines the loyalty, religion, and good taste of our fellow-subjects are alike insulted. Instead of all this "explanation," some heading like "Naghma-i-Kaisari" or "Sarôd-i-Kaisari" for "*Imperial Anthem*" or "the Anthem of the Kaisar"-[i-Hind] would have told its tale without offence to anyone.

THE LONDON NATIONAL ANTHEM SOCIETY AND ITS  
URDU TRANSLATION OF "THE NATIONAL ANTHEM,"  
WITH SUPPLEMENTARY STANZAS FOR INDIA.

*First Verse—*

*Line 1.*—Khuda bachawe Kaisar ko.

2.—Be hadd barhawe Kaisar  
ko.

3.—Haqq Kaisar ká yar ho.

I.

1. GOD save our EMPRESS-QUEEN ;
2. Long live our Gracious QUEEN ;
3. GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The fact that the above is not a correct rendering of the original, will, I submit, appear from the following retranslation :

May God protect the Cæsar (Kaisar).

May He increase Kaisar infinitely.

May God be Kaisar's companion (friend or lover), or "May He be the friend of Kaisar's right."

1. The word "save" is mistranslated ; its sense is not covered by the word "bachawe," which really means "save from trouble or danger," or "rescue from danger." The phrase "salâmat rakhé" would have been better, and is the "save" of the Persian Anthem in "Salâmat Shah." "Kaisar" is used too vaguely. It does not show *what* "Cæsar" is meant. There is nothing to indicate that the translator means "Kaisar-i-Hind." It might be a reference to "Kaisar-i-Rûm," which would render it *inapplicable* to India. "Kaisar" or "Cæsar" for Her Imperial Majesty of India is quite correct, but it would be well to state the whole title of "Kaisar-i-Hind"; otherwise "Kaisar" might stand in Muhammadan eyes for the Sultan, one of whose designations is "Kaisar-i-Rûm" = Kaisar of (Eastern) Rome or Constantinople, if not for "Kaisar-i-Rûs" = the "Czar of Russia" or the Kaisar of Central Asia.

2. The whole of the 2nd line is devoid of sense ; if it means anything at all, it means what I have sought to convey, *i.e.*, "May He increase Kaisar infinitely." It should have been translated "hamari mehrban Malka ki u'mar ziada ho"\* or, in the metre of the translator, "barî úmar de Kaisar ko."

3. The word "yâr" is vulgar ; "yâwar" would have been better. The whole line is not a proper rendering of the original. "Haqq" = "the Right," is certainly one of the 99 epithets of the Deity, and is specially used by the mystic Sûfis for "God." The word "Khudâ" is less distinctively Muhammadan than "Haqq."

*First verse—*

Line 4.—Bhej deve us ko ba zafar.

5.—Saida kar hamida far.

6.—Farmandeh ham par hayat  
bhar.

7.—Haqq Kaisar kâ yar ho.

4. Send Her victorious,

5. Happy and glorious,

6. Long to reign over us ;

7. GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The above Urdu version may be re-translated as follows :—

May He send her with victory.

(She being of auspicious and laudable splendour.)

On us as a ruler for life.

May God be companion or (friend) of Kaisar.

4. "Bhej deve" is unidiomatic ; "Bhej dé," would have been more correct. The second object of the verb "Bhej de" is too distant from its verb. Besides, *where* is the Kaisar to be sent? The meaning obviously is that "God may send Her Victory."

\* "May the Life of our Gracious Queen be long," or "great Life give to the Kaisar."

5. "Saida kar hamida far" is very incorrect. The translation should have been "Khush aur Zî-shán." The words "kar" and "far" are never used in Urdu separately. They are used as one word "kar-o-far" meaning "splendour."

6. "Hayat bhar" is an altogether unidiomatic as well as incorrect rendering of "long," which is "buhut muddat tak" and, if it be intended to express this more emphatically, the word "sadá" or "abad ul-abád" would have been appropriate.

*Second Verse—*

1.—Yá rabb, hamara Kirdgár.

2.—Kar Dushman uske taro-mar.

3.—Gir parnedé unko.

II.

1. O LORD, Our GOD ! arise ;

2. Scatter Her enemies,

3. And make them fall.

1. "Yá" is wrong ; it should have been "Ai" in this case, when the word "rabb" has the next phrase in apposition to it. Had it been only "yá rabb," it would have been more correct than "ai rabb." "Hamara" is grammatically wrong ; it should be "Hamáre Kirdgár." The word "arise" has been left out in the translation.

2. "Taromar" is a strange word to Urdu and is never used in that language. It appears that the translator meant "Tittar bittar" or "paráganda."

3. "Gir parnade unko" may be translated : "Allow them to fall" which is quite different from the original "make them fall" which should be translated "unko girá."

The remaining four lines of that verse, whether those of the original Anthem or of the London Society, have not been translated at all, but the four last lines of the "*special second verse*" "for Her Majesty's Armies in time of War" have been substituted for them. The original 4 lines of the 2nd verse and those of the London Society are as follows :

*Original.*

Confound their politics,  
Frustrate their knavish tricks.  
On Thee our hopes we fix,  
God save us all.

For these verses the London Society  
substitute :

Bid strife and discord cease—  
Wisdom and arts increase—  
Filling our homes with peace,  
Blessing us all.

III. (*original*).

Thy choicest gifts in store,  
On her be pleased to pour,—  
Long may she reign,  
May she defend our laws,  
And ever give us cause,  
To sing with heart and voice  
God save the Queen.

The following is the verse adopted, instead of the above, by the London National Anthem Society. I venture to think that Indian loyalty would be more stimulated by the translation of the original verse.

Thy choicest gifts in store  
 Still on Victoria pour,—  
 Health, Might, and Fame.  
 While peasant, Prince and peer  
 Proudly Her sway revere,—  
 Nations, afar and near,  
 Honour Her Name.

*Special second verse*—(four last lines).

- |                                |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 4.—Mubarak hon jo larte hain.  | Bless Thou the brave that fight |
| 5.—Upar amr us ke parte hain.  | Sworn to defend Her right,      |
| 6.—Izz teri se ham darte hain. | Bending before Thy might,       |
| 7.—Bacha ham sabhon ko.        | RULER of all.                   |

These lines are really the 2nd part of the marginal verse (No. 2) "for Her Majesty's armies in time of War," where they are more appropriate. In addition to this transposition, the above rendering is wholly incorrect and unidiomatic; the second line especially "upar amr us ke parte hain" is wholly devoid of sense, besides being against Urdu grammar and syntax. It may be retranslated as "fall on her command" whilst the original means "unhonour uske haqūq ki hifāzāt karne kā half uthāya hai." "Upar amr us ke" is ungrammatical. It should be "uske amar par."

6. "Izz teri se ham darte hain" may be retranslated as "we are afraid of Thy Might" whilst the original "bending before Thy might," means "tere Jalāl ke samne sar-ba-sujūd hain." The word "Might," is rendered by "izz," but there is no such word as "izz" in Urdu. In classical Arabic "izzat," not "izz," means "Might" but in Urdu the word is used only in one sense, *i.e.*, "honor." "Izz teri se" is a wrong construction; it should be "tere izz se."

7. "Bacha ham sabhonko" means "protect us all" while the original is "Ruler of all" which should be translated "Ai, sabki Hākīm Tu" or "Ai 'ālam ke Shahan-Shah." There ought to be no "h" after "sab."

*Another rendering of the second "special verse" is as follows :*

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1.—Khuda hamara rab tu kar.     | II.                      |
| 2.—Dushman us ke tittar bittar. | O Lord, our God ! arise, |
| 3.—Girparne de unko.            | Scatter our enemies,     |
|                                 | And make them fall !     |

"Hamara" is wrong; it should be "hamare"; as to line 2, see remarks on line 2 verse II.

The following four lines are nowhere to be found, either in the original Anthem or in the suggested verses of the London Society :

*Urdu rendering and its literal retranslation into English.*

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 4.—Tor janam se tughian ka bal. | Tear from its birth the wing or hair of mutiny. |
| 5.—Jab ghadr uthe mar use dal.  | When revolt rises kill its fling ;              |
| 6.—Shahanshah hai tu zuljalal.  | King of Kings art Thou, possessor of splendour, |
| 7.—Apne kar sabhon ko.          | Make us all Thine.                              |

Line No. 4 means nothing ; it may be translated in English as “break the wing of mutiny from its birth.” The London Society’s “ordinary” second verse had “bid strife and discord cease,” which, translated, should be : “Jhagre fasád band kar-dé.”

The word “bál” is used by the translator in the sense of “wing” but it is never used in Urdu in that sense. The Urdu word “bál” means “hair.” “Tughíán” has the meaning of mutiny or rebellion in Arabic or Persian only.

Line 5 “Jab ghadr uthe mar use dal” may be translated “when rebellion breaks out kill it forthwith.”

“Ghadr uthe” is unidiomatic ; it should be “ghadr ho.”

The lines—

“Wisdom and Arts increase.

Filling our homes with peace.

Blessing us all,” have been entirely left out.

Line 7 “apná kar sabhonko” is wrong ; it should be “apná kar sabko” which means “make all of us yours” whilst the original is “blessing us all.”

The omitted lines should be rendered as follows into Urdu :

Akl our fanún ko barhá.

Hamare gharon ko aman se  
bhar.

Ham sab-ko barkat de.

Wisdom and Arts increase—

Filling our homes with peace,  
Blessing us all.

*Special Second Verse.*

Urdu translation of the London  
Anthem Society.

*Special Second verse—*

1.—Khuda hamara rab tū kar.

2.—Madad jab ur uqab-i-shar.

3.—Uchhále sabhon ko.

4.—Báz rakh yad apne azab ká.

5.—Dekh rahmat se hal turáb ká.

6.—Bap chhor yeh saif atáb ká.

7.—Jud se sun hamon ko.

*(In time of Famine or Pestilence.)*

O LORD, our GOD ! arise

Help, while Destruction flies,

Swift o'er us all !

Stay now THY chastening hand ;

Heal THOU our stricken Land,

FATHER ! in grief we stand

On THEE we call.

The above lines may thus be retranslated into English :

“O God our Lord !

Help us when mischief’s eagle flies and causes all to jump (or tosses all in the air).

Withdraw hand of thy punishment.

Look at dust with compassion (or pity).

Father ! sheath this sword of wrath,

Listen to us with generosity.”

1. “Hamara” should be “hamare.”

2. “Ur” is cut short ; it should be “uré.”

"Uqab i shar" may be rendered in English as "mischiefs Eagle." The original is Destruction (personified) or, translated, "Barbádi ká Farishta."

4. "Yadd" means "hand" in Arabic but it is never so used in Urdu; the word "hath" is more common and correct.

5. The same remark applies to the word "turáb" for "land," which really means "dust" in Arabic. "Land" should be rendered by "zamín" or "mulk."

6. "Yeh" is redundant—

"Saif atáb ka" should be "saif atab ki." "Saif" is always used with the feminine gender.

7. "Hamon ko" is incorrect; it should be "ham ko" "ham" (we) is the plural itself—"hamon" is a double plural and quite unidiomatic.

The *correct* translation of the last 4 lines should be as follows :

Ab apne 'aqubat ke hath ko tham.

Hamari musibat-zada zamin ko taskín a'tá kar.

Ai Bap! ham maghmum khare hain.

Aur tujh-se dua' karte hain.

*Third verse—*

1.—Khazane se zubde nawál.

2.—Victoria-par phir bhi dál.

3.—Sihat salamat sit.

4.—Chhoti wajhen sal pe masrur.

5.—Uth dil us ka karen masrur.

6.—Wajd ki awaz nazdiko dúr.

7.—Nam us ka howe git.

### III.

THY choicest gifts in store  
Still on VICTORIA pour,—  
Health, Might and Fame.  
While peasant, Prince and peer,  
Proudly Her sway revere,—  
Nations, afar and near,  
Honour Her Name.

The whole verse as it stands above, especially the last 4 lines, are meaningless and ungrammatical. An idea of the nonsense of the above may be obtained from the following retranslation :

"From the treasure choicest gifts.  
Pour on Victoria once more again.  
Health, Peace and Voice.  
Small reasons on year transit.  
May rise and gladden her heart.  
Ecstasy's Voice, far and near.  
May her name be a song."

1. "Zubde nawál" is unidiomatic—"Zubdá" in Arabic means choicest, cream, &c.; "Nawál," means gift; but both of them are never used in Urdu in any sense. "Zubde" is a wrong plural of "Zubda;" this word should never be in the plural. "Choicest gift" means in Urdu "umda-si-umda nia'mat." The word "khazana" is used vaguely; it does not show whose treasure is meant.

2. "Phir bhi" is an incorrect rendering of "still" which means here "sada."

"dál" is vulgar—indeed, the whole sentence may so be called.

3. "Sit" literally means voice—figuratively in Arabic and Persian it is used in the sense of fame, reputation; but certainly not in Urdu.

The remaining 4 lines are entirely devoid of any sense, as appears from the re-translation which we have given above.

*Fourth verse—*

- |                                  |                               |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Bache hath se har ghaddár ke. | IV.                           |
| 2. Usé, ya rab ! dafai azrar ke. | Guard HER beneath THY Wings,  |
| 3. Tū phir junna-dár ho !        | Almighty KING of KINGS,       |
| 4. Farishte pas uske hifz par.   | SOV'REIGN unseen !            |
| 5. Rahen yonhin rát din bashar.  | Long may our prayer be blest, |
| 6. Dua karen ba sozbarr.         | Rising from East and West     |
| 7. Haqq Kaisar-ka yár ho !       | As from one loyal breast :    |
|                                  | "GOD SAVE THE QUEEN."         |

This will, if re-translated in English, stand thus :

"May She be protected from the hands of every traitor.

Be, O God! again the shield-possessor for putting away mischiefs from Her.

May the angels be near Her for her protection day and night.

In the same way may the people.

Pray for Her (on the tongue breasts).

O Righteous (God) ! be Thou the companion of the Kaisar !"

2. "Usé" is wrong ; the translator perhaps means "usko."

In "dafai azrár ke," "wáste" is left out ; without this word the lines become nonsense.

"Azrár" means "losses" in Arabic ; it is never used in Urdu without prejudice to idiomatic accuracy.

3. *Phir* is redundant.

"Junna-dár" is an incorrect phrase.

"Junna" in Arabic means "shield" ; it is never so used in Urdu, the Urdu equivalent for "shield" being "dhál" or "sipar."

6. "Soz-i-barr" means "fervour of chest," "bar" is never used even figuratively in the sense of "heart."

The whole of this verse does not correspond either in sense or words to the original.

Before concluding, it may be well to mention that the greatest defects in the above translation are due to the fact that the translator is under the wrong impression that every Arabic or Persian word can be used in Urdu in its original sense. It is evident from the above criticism that the translator has not even a fair acquaintance with the Urdu language. As to the metre, it is enough to say that it is not any of the metres used in Urdu Prosody.

#### CORRECT RENDERINGS OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

I now give various renderings, which are all infinitely superior to the "official" version, and which practically cost nothing. They possess both rhyme and reason, which the official version does not. The first correct translation is by Maulvi Fázil Ghulám Qádir :

#### FIRST *Metrical* TRANSLATIONS INTO URDU OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

(*With a rough retranslation into English by Maulvi Inám Ali, B.A.*)

- I. Malka salamat ho sadá,  
Zinda use rakhe Khudá,  
Háfiz haq ho Qaisar ka !



Ho wuh muzaffar aur mansur,  
 Ba shaukat-o-hashmat masrur,  
 Ham pe rahe hukm uska zurur,  
 Hafiz Haq ho Qaisar ka !

(1). May the Queen be ever safe, may God keep her alive, may The True One be the guardian of the Qaisar ; may she be victorious, delighted in the possession of majesty and grandeur ! may her rule continue over us ! (may The True One be the guardian of the Qaisar.)

II. A'rz sun ab hamare Khudá,  
 Kar muntashir uske a'dá,  
 Aur unko markar girá.  
 Jang-o-jadal sabhi mithé,  
 Hikmat-o-fan barhá karé,  
 Hon amán-o-sulh se ghar bharé,  
 Barkat hamen tu kar 'atá !

(2). O our God, hear now (our) prayer, scatter her enemies, and beat them down, may discord and strife be entirely effaced, may wisdom and art continue to grow, may houses be full of peace and comfort, bless us all.

(In time of war).

A'rz tu sun ai Parwardigár,  
 Uske husud hon beqarár,  
 Aur unko tu már kar gira.  
 Barkat unpar larte hain jo  
 Qaisar ka haq bacháne ko,  
 Ate hain ran men half utha.  
 Robaru tere jalal ke,  
 Sijde men unke Sar jhuke,  
 Ai sab ke Farmanrawá.

(2) Hear (our) prayer, O Lord ! May Her enemies be harassed, and beat them down ; bless those who fight in the cause of Qaisar, (and) come in the field, sworn (to fight in her cause) ; before thy glory their heads bow in thy worship, O Ruler of all.

(In famine and pestilence)

Arz sun ab hamare Khuda,  
 Hamko madad se tu bachá,  
 Qahr ka jab Farishta ure,  
 Dast-i-uqubat ko rok le,  
 Afat Zada hai yih mulk sab,  
 Is ko bahal kar de tu ab,  
 Gam men khare hain ai Pidar,  
 Karte dua hain sar basar.

(2) O God, hear now our prayer, protect us with thy help ; when the angel of wrath flies, stay thy chastening hand ; afflicted is this whole land, restore it now (to its former condition) ; in grief we stand, O Father, and pray all along.

III. Umda se' umda ni'maten,  
 Qaisar-i-Hind ko sab milen,  
 Sihbat, Quwat, namwari.

Dihqan-o-amir-o-badshá,  
Fakhr se hukm ko laen bajá,  
Dur aur qarib ke log sadá,  
Izzat karen is nam ki.

(3). May, all the choicest gifts be granted to the Qaisar of India—health, strength and fame, may peasants, peers and princes, proudly obey her command, may the people living afar and near, always honor her name.

IV. Ranj-o-khushi men, ai Khudá,  
Us ka rahe tu rahnumá,  
Raushan Kurah-i-charkh ko,  
Hukm tera nafiz ho,  
Us ka jahan qadam paré,  
Raushan us ko wuhin karé,  
Fazl ki teri kiran sadá,  
Chamke bas uspe ai Khudá.

(4). In grief and pleasure, O God, Thou wast her guide, to the bright sphere of the sky may thy order be issued, (requiring it) to brighten every spot where her foot may fall, may the ray of thy grace ever shine over her, O God.

V. Apne bazuon ke tale,  
Rakh apne hifzmen tu use,  
Qadir Mutlaq Badsha.  
Sada du'á men barkat de,  
Jo sharq aur magrib se uthe,  
Khas dil se namak halal ke,  
Hafiz Haq ho Qaisar ka.

(5) Beneath thy wings keep her under thy protection, O Almighty King ; ever bless (our) prayer, when from East and West rises out of every loyal breast the voice, may the True One be the guardian of the Qaisar.

SECOND VERSION.

I. Qaisar salamat ho.  
Haq zinda rakh usko,  
Malka ki khair.  
Kar us ko zafarmand,  
Khushhal aur iqbalmand,  
Hukm uska sar buland.  
Qaisar ki Khair.

(1). May Qaisar be safe ; God, keep her alive, Prosperity to the Queen ! make her victorious, happy and glorious ! Exalt her command, Prosperity to the Qaisar !

II. Uth, ai Khudawand, ab,  
Mar uske dushman sab,  
Khwar kar unko,  
Jang aur nifaq ho dur,  
Hikmat aur fann wafur,  
Hon chain se ghar ma'mur,  
Fazl tera ho.

(2). Rise now, O Lord, kill all her enemies—make them contemptible, may war and dissension be far, may wisdom and arts abound, may houses be full of comfort, may Thine be the grace !

III. Teri khub ni'maten,  
Qaisar-i-Hind ko milen,  
Zar, sihhat, nam,  
Dihqan, Amir, Badshah,  
Fakhr se hukm laen baja,  
Dur aur pas ke log sada,  
Qadr karen tam.

(3). May Thy choice gifts, be granted to the Qaisar of India—wealth, health and fame ; may the peasants, the Noble, the king, proudly obey her command. May the people living afar and near, ever respect her implicitly.

IV. Khushi ranj men Khuda,  
Us ka rahbar raha,  
Raushan kureh-i-charkh ko,  
Hukm tera nafiz ho,  
Us ka jab qadam pare,  
Raushan us ko wuh kare,  
Fazl ki kiran sada,  
Chamke uspe, Khuda.

(4). In grief and pleasure, O God, Thou wast her guide ; to the bright sphere of the sky may thy order be issued (requiring it) to brighten every spot where her foot may fall, may the ray of grace ever shine over her, O God.

V. Khas bazu ke tale,  
Rakh tu hifz men use,  
Haq lá sání.  
Is dua men barket de,  
Jo sharq-garb se uthe,  
Dil se wafadar ke.  
Khair Qaisar ki.

(5). Beneath thy wings keep her safe, O Matchless God ! Bless this prayer, which from East and West rises out of every loyal breast, God save the Qaisar. (Weal to the Qaisar !)

#### THIRD VERSION.

I. Malka Muazzima ko salamat Khuda rakhe,  
Zinda hamare mihriban Malka sada rahe,  
Hifz-i-Khuda men Hind ki Qaisar rahe sada,  
(Afat musibton se bachawe use Khudá),  
Fateh-o-zafar ho Hind ki Qaisar ke ham qadam,  
Jis ja rahe wuh khush rahe bá jáh-o-bá hasham,  
Sar par hamare uski hukumat rahe sada,  
Malka Muazma ko salámat rakhe Khuda.

(1). May God save the Great Queen, may our gracious Queen be ever alive. May the Qaisar of India ever remain under the protection of God, may God protect her from unhappiness and misfortunes ; may victory and

triumph accompany the Qaisar of India, wherever She live, may She live happy, majestic, glorious. May her rule ever remain over us, may God save the Great Queen !

II. Ham sab ki Arz sun tu Khudawand ai Khudá,  
Kar dushmanon ko uske paraganda aur girá,  
Jhagre miten, nifaq mite aur hasad mite,  
Ilm-o-hunar frasad-o-hikmat barha kare,  
Ham sab ke ghar bhi sulh-o-aman se bhare rahen,  
Barkat tere karam se Ilahi mile hamen.

(2). O Lord God hear our prayer, scatter her enemies ; and make them fall ; may strife, hatred and envy cease ; may wisdom, art and learning increase ; may the houses of all of us remain full of peace and comfort ; may we get blessings through Thy divine grace !

(In war)

Ham sab ki Arz sun tu Khudawand, ai Khuda,  
Kar uske dushmanon ko paraganda aur gira,  
Barkat tere ho un pe jo larte hain, ai Khuda,  
Qaisar ke haq bachane ko ate hain half utha,  
Age tere jalal ke rakhte hain sar jhuka,  
Ai hakimon ke Hakimo, ai Shah-i do sara.

(2). O Thou Lord, O God, hear our prayer, scatter her enemies and make them fall, O God, bless those who fight, having sworn to defend Qaisar's right. Who bow their heads before thy glory, O Ruler of rulers and king of both worlds.

(In time of famine and pestilence)

Ham sab ki a'rz sun tu Khudawand, ai Khuda,  
Kar apni tu madad hamen is qahar se bacha,  
Jab urta hai farishta tabahi ka tez par,  
Ham par se—apne dast i-u'qúbat ko band kar,  
Afat-zada hai mulk, tu us ko bahal kar.  
(Ujra hai mulk logon ko uske nihál kar,)  
Gam men khare hain rubaru tere ham ai Pidar,  
Karte hain a'jzi se du'a ham pukar kar.

(2). O Lord, God, hear our prayer, help and save us from this wrath ; when the swift-winged angel of Destruction flies over us, stay thy chastening hand from us ; afflicted is this land, restore it thou (to its former state) ; desolate is the country—make its people happy ; in grief we stand before thee, O Father, and loudly, but humbly, we pray to Thee.

III. Tere khazáne men se pasandida ni'maten,  
Victoria ko fazl-o-karam se sada milen,  
Tere karam se uske yih sab hamrahi karen,  
Sihhat, khushi-o-quwwat-o nam aur shuhraten,  
Dihqan bhi, amir bhi aur badshah bhi,  
Izzat karen wuh fakhr se sab uske hukm ki,  
Nazdik-o-dur mulk men qaumen jahan ki,  
Izzat karen ba jan-o-dil us *khas nám* ki.

(3). May the choicest gifts of thy store be ever liberally granted to Victoria; may health, happiness, strength and fame attend her; may peasant, peer and king proudly respect her command, may the nations of the world living in far and near countries, heartily honour this particular name (Victoria).

IV. Ranj-o-khushi ke mukhtalif auqat men sada,  
 Ai Rab hamare hami tu uska bana raha,  
 Raushan kurah ko hukm kar is asman ke,  
 Raushan jagah wuh ho jahan uska qadam pare,  
 Fazl-o-karam ka nur Khudawand ai Khuda,  
 Malka Mu'azma ko i'nyat se kar a'ta.

(4) In times of grief and pleasure, O our Lord, Thou hast been always her helper. Order the bright sphere of this sky to brighten every spot where her footstep may fall, graciously grant the light of Thy grace, O Lord God, to the Great Queen.

V. Tu apne bazuon ke tale rakh use Khuda,  
 Malik-ul-mulûk Qadir-i-mutlaq use bacha,  
 Ai *Badsha*! jo logon ki nazron se hai chhipa,  
 Amn-o-aman-o-hifz men rakh usko daima,  
 Barkat tu de hamari dua'on men, ai Khuda,  
 Mashraq se leke Garb tak uthti hai jo sada,  
 Misl us ke jo uthe hai wafadar qalb se,  
 Ba i'jz-o-inkisar hai maqbul kar use,  
 Malka Muazzima ko salâmat rakhe Khudâ,  
 Mashhûr nam uska *mubarak* rahe sadâ.

(5). Keep her ever beneath Thy wings, O God; save her, O king of kings, Almighty Being, O king who art invisible to men, keep her ever in peace, comfort and safety; Bless our prayers, O God, as a voice rises from East to West, like that rising out of a loyal breast, it is offered with humility, accept it; God save the Great Queen, may her renowned name ever be blessed.

There are many lines of exquisite beauty in the above versions, which are also of value as a study of idiomatic Urdu. I have several other versions, which I have not yet carefully examined; but none of them, from a cursory perusal, seem to be open to any objection on the ground of style, sentiment or sense. The great fact, however, that in a comparatively short time and at, practically, no expense, so many poetical renderings of "the National Anthem" could have been elicited in the frontier province of India, is a remarkable proof of the loyal spontaneity of the people of the Panjab. I circulated a large number of these versions in Urdu, Persian and other languages at the Rawalpindi Assemblage, where they were exceedingly well received by the assembled Chiefs and Visitors.

## THE TWO STAGES IN BUDDHA'S TEACHING.

THE following is an epitome of the teachings of Gôtama—"The Buddha." I have culled these treasures from the sacred Buddhist books and the conversations of pious monks, especially during a seven years' residence in various parts of Upper and Lower Burma.

Every line can be traced to the early writings of the Faith, or the direct teachings of the great Mūni, or the detached discourses and writings of his immediate followers.

The textual teaching is strictly adhered to, though a line may often give the substance of a long passage.

Like most religious men Sākya Mūni passed through divers emotional stages, awakening from "a worldly" life to a pious sense of sin, but also to a pessimistic belief in the vanity of all things. His were also stirring times, not only in India but everywhere—one of those cyclic periods so prominent in my Chart of "Rivers of Life." The sixth century B.C. had at Buddha's birth opened with the Agnostic "*Six Darsanas*" or philosophies of the schools of the great metaphysician and Rishi *Kapila*, the neighbour and probable tutor of the rising Buddhist Avatāra.

Rishi Kapila had then been long writing and teaching—inspired it was believed by Vishnu—in the revered groves on the Banks of the sacred *Rohini*, our Kohānā, by the waters of which, in a lovely garden, *Māyā* had given birth to a greater than even the aged philosopher of Kapila-Vastu.

As Gôtama grew up, his thoughtful nature became greatly touched by life's miseries, and by the *atheistic* heresies of the philosophers. In vain did his anxious Father *Sud-dhodana* try to overcome the fears and resolves of his *Sid-dhārtha*, or the "one in whom all the aims" of his kingdom were centred.

Gôtama refrained from all independent action 'until he was of age, had married, and had a son ; when, like many pious Brâhmans, he became a *Vāna-prastha*, or "Forest recluse." It was then he forsook the Court of Oudh, and retired to the Forest of Rāja-griha, in the kingdom of Behār, by paths still everywhere marked in the memories of half Asia. He settled at Bôdha Gayā, some 120 miles easterly from Banāres and 200 from his home.

Here he strove for several years to follow in the faith of his Fathers and to suppress the ever disturbing truths which the *Vedānta* and *Nyāyā*, or logical schools, but especially the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy of Kapila, had brought home to him. Believing that the flesh was the destroying element of our higher nature, he would have perished in his ascetic life but for Hindus going about feeding such hermits.

So Buddha lived for about five or seven years as did his Western counterpart Pythagoras (another "Pūtha-gūrū") Apollonius of Tyana and others.

Under the sacred Bo-tree at Gayā, Gôtama studied and taught all comers, until "he obtained enlightenment" and became famous in his small circle as "The Buddha" or "Wise One"; and this is what we call his FIRST STAGE, the 2nd being that of an active learned man, ever going about doing good. Then it was that he thrust aside all egoistic thoughts, and leaving his Forest retreat, started for the great world of Banāres, determined to do his best to regenerate mankind. Then, as now, there was endless speculation regarding the existence and nature of a soul, but on such dark points Buddha ever refused to deliver judgment where proof was, he said, impossible.

His decision to forsake the Forest life horrified his still orthodox disciples, who forsook him, probably fearing a cruel martyrdom at Banāres. Buddha however hesitated not, but wended his lone way, and encamped by the sacred *Kund* or well of Sār-nāth two or three miles N.E. of the city.

Here it was he opened the campaign—one brave man against the surrounding millions, who clung to their ancient superstitions.

What had he to offer in opposition to the wishes of all these nations? Nought, than simple *Common-sense*, or as he named it, “Right Doing and Right Thinking”; that which Buddhists called *Dharma* or “The Wheel of the Law”—the Evolution of *Bhāvana* or Existence.

Within half a life time—the Hindu Rome—Banāres itself, and great kings and peoples owned his reasonable, kindly sway; and before he had passed away (or as they said “attained *Nirvāna*”), many millions worshipped the very ground wherever his weary steps had trodden, and hailed him as the only one who had ever brought home to them enlightenment and peace such as they had never before experienced.

#### BUDDHA'S EARLY STAGE.

Come unto me all ye who are bowed down  
With the sorrows and evils of a weary life  
And I will show unto thee the way of Peace.\*  
Remember that the flesh ever tries to rule the Spirit,  
Set therefore before thee good laws and precepts.  
Begin by controlling the body by a strict regimen  
Abstaining from rich foods, and eating only at stated periods.  
Art thou young? shun dances, songs and gaities,  
For they corrupt the heart, and make thee frivolous.  
Avoid ornaments, perfumes and soft couches  
And touch not money—the root of most evils.

The good man obeys the following primary laws  
I. He covets nought which is another's, nor touches it.  
II. He drinks not, nor associates with a drunkard.  
III. He speaks no falsehood, be it to save his life.  
IV. He neither destroys nor injures the life of animal or insect.  
V. And looks not on another woman than his wife.

Wouldst thou excel in righteousness?  
Then part with all thou hast and wear  
The rags which others have cast away.  
Live but on alms, and take one meal daily :

\* The sage's words were “draw nigh unto me ye wounded ones, afflicted and distressed, and I will fold you in my arms. My religion is a path wide as the heavens, where the highest and lowest caste, rich and poor, young and old, can walk and dwell together.”



Reside in solitary places apart from men,  
 And seek only their haunts for thy morning alms.  
 Let the trunk of the tree be thy pillow  
 And only its foliage, thy garment of sleep.  
     Take no thought for the morrow  
     But amid the Tombstones of Men  
     Do thou nightly meditate  
 On the transitoriness of all human things.

#### BUDDHA'S 2ND STAGE ON LEAVING GAYĀ.

Be up and doing, work for the good of all mankind,  
 Regarding not thine own comfort, or salvation.  
 Put away covetousness, self-seeking and sloth ;  
 Be energetic in mind as well as in body, tho' meek in heart and word,  
 Seek contemplation, so that thou mayest be full of wisdom,  
 And seek learning in order to know and practise every virtue.  
 Entertain no evil desires, nor think wrong of any one,  
 Modestly regard thyself, and be fearful of sinning.  
 Persevere in goodness however thou mayest be opposed,  
 And forgive injuries however oft persisted in.

Be willing to receive, and profit by reproof ;  
 Have contentment and gratitude with sympathy for all ;  
 Moderation in prosperity, submission in affliction  
 And cheerfulness at all times.

He who can act thus, will enjoy the perfection of happiness  
 And perhaps hereafter supreme reward.  
 Yet, having done all, count not thyself good,  
 Nor seek a return, even in personal happiness,  
 Virtue indeed has its own reward here and hereafter ;  
 But beware lest thou seek this in rites and ceremonies ;  
 For that is no true virtue which seeketh reward,  
 Which crieth "Give and it shall be given unto thee"  
 But that which *un*influenced by any creed or Faith  
 Or hopes, or fears ; giveth, expecting no return.

He truly is Divine who is pure in heart and life,  
 Fearing only that he does not sufficiently show this  
 By unselfish actions, sympathy, and kind words  
 And full faith in the regeneration of his race.

Not by birth art thou lowered, nor by birth does the  
 Wise Man esteem thee, but by thy words and deeds  
 Dost thou fall and rise in his just estimation.  
 Folly and ignorance is common among all ranks,  
 Yea the Ascetic's garb oft covers the irreligious mind  
 As does a humble as well as lordly guise, a Celestial heart.

Encourage learning everywhere and at all times, for  
 Ignorance is the chief cause of Evils and Superstitions.

Knowledge is the only wealth which thieves cannot steal  
And by zeal and diligence it can be gathered in everywhere,  
But as Music cometh only by playing on instruments,  
So seek the company of, and ponder the words of the Wise.  
Indolence soon defiles young and old. Hold high the Torch  
And busy thyself in works of usefulness and mercy.

Nought is so precious as the first steps to holiness  
Nor so attractive and useful to all mankind,  
Therefore specially cherish, youthful efforts to goodness,  
They oft recur in later years when evil temptations wax strong.

It is Nature's rule, that as we sow, we shall reap,  
She recognizes no good intentions, and pardons no errors ;  
Therefore no deeds, virtuous or sinful are to us of  
Small importance. All must bear some fruit  
And must follow us like shadows for good or ill,  
Mayhap to rankle secretly and for ever to poison our lives.

Begin by restraining and conquering thyself ;  
Practise the Art of "Giving up"—of doing unto all  
As thou wouldst have them do unto thee.  
Weary not in well doing, but be active and earnest,  
Sympathetic and benevolent even in thy thoughts  
Concerning others, and courteous in words and manner.

Observe "the old rule" that soft words and looks dissipate anger.  
Return good for evil, justice for injustice ;  
Remembering that hatred is only overcome by love ;  
That as Evil develops Evil, so does good, Goodness,  
And that Righteousness yields happiness unto the doer.  
Seek not thus however any personal boon or advantage  
But only the highest good of all sentient creatures.

Virtuous conduct comes naturally to him who practises virtue,  
And his heart and life will be full with kindly activities,  
With the spirit of Charity, gentleness, purity and truth,  
Let these be precious to thee as the breath of life.  
"To cease from sin, attain virtue and a pure heart  
Is the Religion of Buddhas," not rites and ceremonies ;  
Not reading of Vedas, shaving the head or going naked  
In dirt or rough garments, nor any penances  
Prayers or sacrifices availeth or cleanseth thee :  
But anger, evil words, envy, hatred and malice  
Defileth more even than the eating of forbidden flesh.  
Sin can only be atoned by ceasing to sin ;  
No priest can gain for thee or grant thee salvation,  
And sacrifices but injure the innocent, are cruel and selfish.  
Thou mayst not seek good by doing an evil deed,  
And to inflict injury on any sentient creature is a  
Breach of all the laws of just and moral conduct

If thou wouldst have mercy, be just and merciful ;  
 Sympathize with sorrow, and rejoice with the joyful  
 Ever striving to fill the world with lovingkindness.  
 Till well thine own field and help others to do likewise  
 And accept no exaltation to the prejudice of another.

Cultivate equanimity and patience under all conditions.  
 Life is full of sorrows. They are part of Nature's Order  
 Which the wise man accepts as the inevitable  
 But does his best to alleviate and utilize.  
 With this view he may seek for long life, power and wealth  
 And this even for those who desire to follow in his steps,  
 So that wrongs and miseries may be thus mitigated.

Love and venerate thy parents and respect the aged,  
 Help the young, the bereaved, the sick and helpless.  
 Take thought for thy friend, and fear to offend him.  
 Let husbands love their wives and wives revere their husbands,  
 Judge none hastily, harshly or by outward appearances  
 But calmly and sympathetically, remembering that thou  
 Too art far from having attained to "the Perfect Way."

Be ever more ready to praise than to blame any,  
 For the fault-finder has need to be himself faultless ;  
 Yet withstand the wrong-doer and the evil speaker,  
 Instructing with judgment if they will hearken.  
 Perchance ignorance, error or a wrong, have misled,  
 And by enlightening thou mayst guide aright.

Thou must work to live, but choose a peaceful calling,  
 And give of thy earnings to the virtuous needy.  
 Live righteously, doing as thou wouldst be done by ;  
 Nor let ingratitude weary thee in well doing.  
 Subdue thyself, if thou desirest to subdue others,  
 And the former is a yet harder task than the latter.

Be long suffering, meek, pious and tranquil ;  
 Practise and accept what is good in all teachings ;  
 Fine words without good actions are fruitless  
 And beguile alike the teacher and the taught ;  
 Reason out thy faith earnestly and with simplicity ;  
 Submitting all to Reason, thy surest guide  
 Amidst the fallacies and sophisms of creeds and philosophies.

Go forth and *alone*, into all lands and preach holiness ;  
 Trusting in its serene power and in no arm of flesh.  
 Instruct rich and poor, males and females, priests and peoples,  
 Driving away ignorance and befriending the wronged.  
 Let thy words be as lotuses rich in scent as in colour,  
 Springing from the depths of a pure heart and mind.  
 Decry not other sects, faiths or individuals,

But accept truth under whatever garb it may appear,  
Rendering due honour unto whom honour is due.

Doubts and difficulties must exist whilst minds endure,  
They are agents and progressive forces of Man's Nature,  
And must not hinder us in the pursuits of Virtue  
However rugged and difficult they make the path.

Busy not yourselves anxiously and unprofitably  
About other worlds, gods, spirits or demons ;  
Nought is proven ; all is unknowable and incomprehensible,  
Whilst the duties of life are substantial and urgent.

"Trouble not yourselves because I pass away ;"  
It is of the nature of things that all must separate,  
For whatsoever exists is without endurance,  
And death may be only a beginning of new life :  
By it we shall live in the assemblies which follow—  
Mayhap "in the foundation of a Kingdom of Righteousness."  
Ye my disciples, have run well ; continue to be  
Earnest in the duties of life, vigilant unto the end ;  
So wilt thou reach unto supreme Wisdom  
"An unconditioned state—the fruition of Enlightenment."  
Askest thou of Brāhmā—the Spirit of the Universe ?  
Such is incomprehensible, infinite, emotionless ;  
Therefore weary not thyself, seeking after the hidden :  
*Work* : for the paths of duty lie close before thee,  
Behold thy brethren call unto thee from the ground,  
From miseries, perplexing and unspeakable  
Which if thou wouldst, thou couldst alleviate.

J. G. R. FORLONG.

## SANSKRIT PÆAN.

BY RAJA SOURINDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.I.E., ETC.

RAJA SIR SOURINDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.I.E., the well-known scholar who has revived in India the teaching of Sanskrit music, to which he has set some of the most charming Sanskrit poems of his own composition, has sent to the Lisbon Oriental Congress "a Brief History of Music in India," as also a number of musical instruments including the curious "Nyastaranga," a wind-instrument which is played by the mechanical pressure of the muscles of the throat from the outside.

He has accompanied his paper by a musical and poetical address in Sanskrit to the highly-gifted King of Portugal—himself an Orientalist—celebrating the history of Portuguese enterprise in India [see specially verses 18 to 26], which we quote in its English translation. The Congress is celebrated in verses 28 to 40. Persons desirous of understanding Sanskrit music, that wonderful art and science which seeks to render not only every variety of human feeling and thought but also of the seasons and the hours in their mystic dance, should study the dramatic, epic, lyrical, idyllic and mythological compositions of the Raja as also the collection of Eastern, ancient and modern, musical instruments (especially Indian) at the Museum of the Oriental University Institute, which will be open to visitors on Saturday afternoons, by special permission of the Principal.

*Translation.*

1. May He, whose illusion-producing powers cause the deities and men to move incessantly about like so many blind beings, the ignorance of whose real nature makes men look upon the earth and other mundane objects as separate entities, whose kindness instils parental affection into the hearts of our mothers and fills their breasts with milk—May He, that supreme Being, preserve thee, Dom Carlos, King of Portugal!

2. May Indra and other guardians of the ten regions of the universe protect thee and thy friends! May Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning, charmed with thy attainments, make thy throat her happy home! May Victory and Prosperity attend on thee on earth, and may the Moon, the repository of cooling herbs, shed nectar on thy kingdom and for ever cause an increase of crops!

3. May Lakshmi, the Goddess of Fortune,—whose look of anger makes even Indra and the other deities forsake

their divine character and behave like senseless mortals— May Lakshmi abandon her favorite home in Vaikuntha and live in happiness at thy Royal abode !

4. The six evil passions, Desire, Anger, Covetousness, Ignorance, Pride, and Envy, are known as the greatest curses of human life ; but, under circumstances, they are productive of good. May, therefore, thy Desire shun all females of mortal make and cherish as its long-lived Consort, the cultivation of Letters and Art ! May Anger alone be the victim of thy Anger ! May thy Covetousness draw its attention away from wealth, empire, and other ephemeral objects, and confine itself to virtue alone which follows man to eternity ! May thy Ignorance be only that of evil ways ! May thy Pride challenge such persons only as are noted for their control over their passions ; and may thy Envy claim for its object only those who may be the most powerful among thy enemies !

5. May thy superior prowess scatter thy enemies even as the dazzling light of day drives owls to seek shelter in dark sequestered spots !

6. The sight of the lunar Circle causes the ocean to swell, but the ocean is unable to overflow its shores. The sight, however, of thy bright, spotless, and moon-like face makes the ocean of pleasure in all good men's hearts swell and overflow.

7. Only once a month, at new moon time, does the ocean expand. But the sea of thy kindness is at all times expanding at the sight of the poor man's woe. The ocean, undoubtedly, yields the palm to the sea of thy kindness.

8. The submarine fire is, to my thinking, nothing else but the visible manifestation of the unbearable anguish which the ocean feels at finding that the gravity, majesty and other attributes of which it thought it had the monopoly, have been surpassed by thine.

9. King Bali made over to the dwarf-god his dominions in the three regions of the universe, and subsequently his own self. The sage Dadhichi gave away the bones of his

body to Indra to be made into thunderbolts. Both donors have risen to eminence by their uncommon deeds of charity, and the aroma of the lotus of their fame has delighted the three worlds. But in the present day, the white swan of thy reputation for charities is attempting to destroy that lotus by eating into the soft fibre attached to its stalk.

10. In describing the fame of an illustrious personage, poets compare it with the moon, the pearl, or camphor. But the moon is full of spots, and thy fame is perfectly pure ; the pearl has a hole drilled into it, whereas thy fame is all intact ; and the camphor evaporates, while thy fame endures all time. These objects, therefore, cannot form suitable similes for thy fame.

11. Sarasvati lives in the lotus of thy mouth. Lakshmi came to pay her a visit in thy palatial residence, but thou, being aware of her ever-veering proclivities, didst bind her with the cord of thy virtues. Hence her inability to leave thy palace and visit her lord, Narayana, in the celestial regions of Vaikuntha.

12. The Earth, in her division representing Portugal, holds thee in her bosom as a glorious gem excelling in value the combined treasures of the mines, and prides herself on the significance of her name *Vasundhara*—the receptacle of wealth.

13. Thou bearest a matchless name and enjoyest all happiness on earth, because the bee of thy soul ever covets the honey of the lotus of virtue.

14. O mighty King ! who can now rival thee in the anxiousness that thou evincest for the company of the good and for achieving glory by the performance of kingly duties alone ?

15. Mayst thou prosper with thy friends and ministers ! Mayst thou meet with no obstacles in the run of thy career ! May thy enemies be destroyed ; and may Peace dwell for ever in thy dominions !

16. By dint of thy virtues, thou hast given thy subjects health and wealth, and made them attached to thy royal

self, by instilling goodsense into them, with the help of thy wholesome advice. Hence it is that thou art honoured by the world at large.

17. The sun of thy prowess acts on the faces of thy friends as on the blooming lotus, and on the faces of thy enemies as on the drooping white lily.

18. The Portuguese were the first of the inhabitants of the West who, for commercial purposes, crossed the vasty deep—so full of marine monsters—to discover a way to India. By rounding the Cape of Good Hope, they fulfilled the hope that was long cherished in their hearts by the European nations. No commercial country will ever be able to repay its debt to Portugal.

19. The river Sarasvati rolled through Bengal with a rushing current when the Portuguese people started commercial enterprises in this province. It is a matter of utter regret that with the close of those enterprises, little has been left of the river save its name.

20. In the town of Bally, near Hugli, in the province of Bengal, stands a church which was established there by the Portuguese, and which serves to keep alive in us the memory of that great nation.

21. It is the Portuguese who are said to have introduced into India the musical instrument called the violin—an instrument which by its use in vocal, instrumental, and dance performances, contributes so much to the delight of the heart, and which is equally in favour with the rich and the poor.

22. All parts of India enjoy the benefits of Western civilization, brought into this country, for the first time, by the Portuguese of the days of old.

23. It is the Portuguese who first brought into India the variety of European apparel, so delightful to the senses, which contributes so much to health of body, and is held in such favour by the people of this country.

24. All articles of European make, introduced here for useful or ornamental purposes and tending so much to our



comforts, were first brought into India by the Portuguese nation.

25, 26. It is the Portuguese who introduced into this country the Flute, the Clarionet, and other wind instruments, and several varieties of percussive instruments made of metals or covered with skin, together with the musical system and orchestral performances of Europe.

27. People feel as much delight at a conçoourse of learned men, as one left in darkness does at the sight of a brilliant lamp, or as one cast into the sea does at the unexpected arrival of a large ship, or as one oppressed with thirst when ice-cool water greets his vision.

28. The Tenth International Congress of Orientalists which sits in thy Capital spreads thy fame far and wide.

29. This Congress, adorned by scholars, meek in spirit and wise as the sage Vrihaspati, looks like the celestial Court of Indra transported to earth.

30. People at large may think that noble scholars from all parts of the globe where light and air prevail, have met together in this Congress to promote friendly feelings among themselves. It strikes me, however, that they are come to thy capital, under colour of the Congress, to satisfy themselves with their eyes, as to what was communicated to their ears about thy matchless glories.

31. How shall I describe thy luck, O King! For firstly, the fickle Goddess of Fortune, has become steady (since thy coronation), and has ever since resided at thy abode; and secondly, the foremost scholars of the world have of their own free will accorded thee the first place in the Congress.

32. Thou hast been chosen President as there are but few to equal thee in thy taste for literature and music.

33. Thou art respected by the learned, honored by the great, and possessed of matchless luck and inestimable virtues. Hence the *savants* of the world have elected thee to the Chair of the Congress—an honour accorded but to a few.

34. Thou devotest thyself to the performance of thy

royal duties, and thereby promotest the welfare of thy subjects. Thou art meek, pleasant-spoken, and a champion of truth. Hence thou hast come to be so highly esteemed in civilized society.

35. The family of the Tagores have for ever been bound to thy nation by the ties of gratitude ; for the ancestors of this family amassed great wealth and fame by faithfully working at the commercial concerns of thy nation in Bengal.

36. The renowned Scholars of the world will meet in thy Kingdom in order to bind themselves in stronger cords of sympathy. Thou hast remembered on this occasion and invited an humble individual like myself, who has little pretensions to learning and intellect. For this high honour I feel exceedingly gratified and proud.

37. In my early years, I studied poetry under erudite professors and subsequently cultivated music—an art that charms infants, the lower animals, and even vicious serpents. By the grace of Sarasvati, the presiding goddess of these two arts, I have composed these unpretending stanzas, and set them to Aryan music—In honour of the Congress, I have taken the liberty of submitting these my humble compositions at the foot of thy Royal Throne.

38. This little poem does not boast of any brilliant sentiments. Still, I humbly hope it may not prove unacceptable to thee, as it has been set to music—an art adored by all the Aryan races.

39. May the Lord of the universe shower blessings on thee and the members of the Congress !

40. Ye members of the Congress—young, adult, or old ! May Sarasvati, whose favourite arts are Poetry and music, be pleased with the enthusiasm shown by yourselves, and pour the honey of righteousness into the lotus of your hearts ; and may you live long, and, with your families and children, enjoy its blessed Sweets !

# THE FIRST OF THE GHAZALS OF HAFIZ OF SHIRAZ.

BY SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

هو الله

۱

ALIF.

*Alá yá!* send the Cup round! Oh, Saki, brim and send!  
Love, which at first was easy, grows harder at the end.

For ache of what the Breeze brought from that sweet-  
scented brow  
Those musky, tangled tresses—heart's blood is dropping  
now.

Well! soak thy prayer-mat purple with wine, then—as 'tis  
bid—  
Such solace of Love's stages from Magians is not hid.

But this World's stage, Belovéd! 'tis too long! when the  
Bell  
Calls to unpack our Camels, by God! it will be well.

The black Night, and the fearful Wave; and Whirlpool  
wild of Fate,  
Ah, lightly-burdened Ones ashore! what know ye of our  
State?

Wending mine own way, unto woe and ill-fame am I  
brought,  
How, in the loud Assemblies, could such high lore be  
taught?

If thou wilt have the Presence, Hafiz! why, seek it so?  
This World and the Belovéd—choose one, and let one go.

## SIX PERSIAN CHRONOGRAMS.\*

By G. W. L.

[The numerical value of the letters of each line give the date marked at its side.]

- (۱۸۹۳) بیا شیخ کبیر عصر یگانه مردان \* در عقلت پیر در عمل هستی جوان  
 (۱۸۹۱) اسم ترا مسمی با خوش سنگ \* دري يتيمي قابان هزار رنگ رنگ  
 (۱۸۹۲) خوشسنگ میلادت مبارک باد آمین \* برت برآل یرعلم مبارک بادا آمین

*Transliteration.*

- Biá! Sheikh Kabir-i-A'sr, Yagána-i-Merdán!† (1893.)  
 Dar A'qlat Pír, dar A'ml hasti jiwán (1893.)  
 Ism turá musamma bá "*Khúsh-Sang*" (1891.)  
 Durri Yatimi tabán hazár rang birang. (1893.)  
*Khúsh-Sang!* Miládat mubárek bad! Amín! (1892.)  
 Bar-at, Bar-ál, bar-i'lm, bar-A'lam mubárek bádá! Amín!  
 (1892.)

*Literal Translation.*

Come! Grand Old Man of the Age, The One among men!† (*ávaξ ávδρῶν*)  
 In [as far] Thy Mind an ancient sage, in action Thou art young.  
 The *name* to Thee is an *epithet* (explaining itself) for it is "*Glad-stone*"  
 [Since it is] the *unique* precious stone and star ["the *orphan* pearl" or star of the age] shining a thousand colours in colour.  
*Glad-stone!* May Thy birthday be blessed! Amen!  
 On Thee, on *Thine*, on Learning, on the World may it indeed be blessed! Amen!

*Remarks.*

The combined letters of the 1st, 2nd and 4th lines being descriptive of a fact or appellation on the day of their com-

\* This is, probably, the only instance in an Oriental Language, in which a Chronogram extends to more than one line or is found in each of the six lines of a composition.—ED.

† This suggests that the words "*ávaξ ávδρῶν*" are etymologically and philologically connected with the "One" or "*unique*" of men, and not with either an Egyptian tribal appellation or the "Anakim."—ED.

position—the 1st January, 1893—form the date 1893 [each line]. The third line refers to the date 1891, when Mr. Gladstone was out of office, and, therefore, alone with his name and intrinsic merit without external adjuncts. The two last lines have each the numerical value of 1892, that being the date of Mr. Gladstone's last Birthday in connection with which a blessing is invoked. The versatility as also uniqueness of Mr. Gladstone's disposition and attainments are indicated by the variety of the colours thrown out by "the orphan pearl of the age"—an Arabic simile of rare endowments—as also by the apparent inconsistency in the name which combines the "*suaviter*" of "Glad" with the "*fortiter*" of "stone" [in its Persian Translation, or as the name would be popularly understood in English without reference to its forgotten etymology].

P.S.—This view may be further carried out in the following additional lines — *not* Chronograms — that may be inserted between the 4th and 5th lines of the first page. They rhyme with "Khûsh-Sang," thus :

Khûsh-Sang !

اگر دنیا صلح خواهد نمی کنی جنگ  
اگر دین جنگ خواهد نمی درنگ

Agr dunyâ sulha khâhâd, na-mî-kunî jang  
Agr din jang khâhâd, na-mî-kunî dirang.\*

*Literal Translation.*

If the World (or secular matters) wants Peace, Thou dost not make War.

If Faith (or religious matters) wants War, Thou dost not make Peace (put a delay or obstacle to War).

The following lines in *Urdu* are intended to express the sorrow of departure after a short acquaintance.

آپکا شان سنکر ازاد ایا مین  
آپکا شان دیکھکر پابند رہا مین  
کاشکہ ازاد رہتا نہیں انا  
کاشکہ پابند رہتا نہیں جانا

\* These lines may indicate alike the peaceful policy and the controversial gifts of the great statesman.—ED.

*Transliteration.*

Āpka shán sunker azád áya main  
 Apka shán dekhker paband rehá main  
 Káshke azád rehta nahin átá  
 Kashke páband rehta nahin játá !

*Translation.*

Hearing your story, a free man came I ;  
 Seeing your glory, your captive stayed I ;  
 O had I kept free and never had come,  
 Or, staying your captive, never had gone !

*Turkish* (Death and Love).

biledjeksin nè dir ölmek.  
 göredjeksin nè dir getshmek.  
     a'f' et beni !  
     sevdim seni !  
 biledjeim, göredjeim.  
     unutma beni !  
     severim seni !

*Translation.*

Thou wilt know what it is to die.  
 Thou will see what it is to pass.  
     Forgive Thou me !  
     I *did* love Thee !  
 I will know, I will see.  
     Forget not me !  
     I *do* love Thee !

*An Oriental Echo.*

What though all swimmers in a shoreless sea  
 Should mingle with the elemental Whole ?  
 While waves and tides, and years and ages, roll,  
 God rules, and is eternal ; HIS are We.  
 Light shall not fail, though mortal eyes grow dim.  
 Am I eternal ? shall I vie with HIM ?  
 How long I live—HIS Wisdom and His Will !  
 Swimming or sinking, may I TRUST Him still !

## THE REVOLUTION IN HAWAII.

BY HIS EXC. A. HÖFFNUNG,  
Hawaiian Chargé d'Affaires in London.

To trace the causes and the probable results of the revolution which has recently taken place in the Hawaiian Islands, it is necessary first to examine, as briefly as possible, some of the salient points connected with the development of the country in its political and material aspect. These have been sufficiently remarkable and interesting to deserve attention.

It is but little more than one hundred years, since that adventurous Englishman, Captain Cook, discovered and made known to the world the existence of the Sandwich Islands. These were thickly peopled by natives of the Polynesian race, primitive if not savage in their habits, and quite unconscious of the forms of civilization known to their discoverers.

Some thirty years later, that is in October, 1819, the first company of missionaries to these islands sailed from Boston—two schoolmasters and their wives, two ministers of religion, a farmer and a planter. They landed at Kailua, on the Island of Hawaii, and there inaugurated the missionary work which they had undertaken: that they were successful is beyond all question.

King Kamehameha II., who reigned over his native subjects at that time, was reading the English Testament in three months. His instructor was the Rev. Asa Thurston, one of the missionaries above mentioned. The object of these good people was to rescue the natives from the darkness of superstition, and to teach them the Gospel of Christianity and the arts of peace, civilization, and self-government.

It stands to the undoubted credit of this devoted little band, and of the brave men and women who subsequently joined them in their noble work, that they were successful almost beyond the dream of hope. For in less than 75 years (which is but an atom of time in the life of a nation) a

miniature kingdom has arisen, so perfect in all its details that it has been the admiration of all who have come in contact with it, and have had the opportunity to examine its workings.

A Queen and Court, whose distinguishing characteristics have been gracious and lavish hospitality, a government able and intelligent, with its diplomatic and consular representatives in every important part of the world, an incorruptible bench and an honest judiciary, a native race, happy and contented, wholly converted to the great truths of consistent religion, a school system as perfect as any that exists, so that illiteracy, even amongst the natives, is practically unknown, laws wisely framed and justly administered, and a legislature composed both of natives and white settlers not more susceptible to unwise influences than similar institutions in much older communities—all these have been the results of valuable work by the heroic people above mentioned.

It is impossible not to honour the memory of the brave persons who first undertook, and who carried out with rare patience, self-denial and credit, the transformation of the untutored natives of the Hawaiian Islands into a civilized nation, developing in an incredibly short space of time all the attributes of a people capable of the highest forms of self-government and civilization. If the American missionaries had nothing else to be proud of—and they have much—the splendid work they have accomplished in the Hawaiian Islands reflects upon them imperishable glory. Turning now from this moral and political retrospect, let us examine for a moment the material advance of these highly-favoured islands. In 1850, the total imports were \$1,035,000; in 1890, they were \$6,962,000; in 1850, the exports were \$783,000; in 1890, they were \$13,282,729, giving a total export per capita greater than that of any other country, and exceeding even that of the Australian colonies during the flower of the gold discoveries. In 1856, the revenue of the kingdom was \$419,228; in 1890, it was \$3,632,190.



It is not intended to burden this article with statistics : enough has been cited to demonstrate the remarkable progress which the Hawaiian Islands have made in civilization and material prosperity, a progress so substantial and promising, that it may well stimulate the sanguine expectations of those who have faith in the destiny of the human family, and who confidently look for similar results amongst the native races in Africa and other parts of the world, which are at present backward in civilization.

But for the moment a cloud has overshadowed this fair prospect. What Americans have so well done, Americans are now apparently seeking to undo. Asa Thurston was one of the original missionaries who covered himself with glory in the cause of human progress. Lorrin A. Thurston (a descendant of this great progenitor) is now in Washington, with four other delegates, seeking the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, and this mainly on two grounds :—"the monarchy is effete and corrupt, and the people are incapable of self-government." The work accomplished with so much heroic and patient self-sacrifice during the past 75 years is alleged to have been in vain. The native Queen and her subjects, who were taught the lessons of peace and good-will on earth, and the golden precept of doing as they would be done by, have been, suddenly and without notice, confronted and overawed by the armed forces of a powerful foreign State, with which the Queen has always been in friendly treaty relations. The sovereign is summarily deposed, and the independence of the kingdom is threatened with extinction.

The spectacle would be a sad one, and the ardent friends of human progress might well despair, if the grounds upon which these acts have been based, were capable of substantial verification.

The Queen, since her accession to the throne two years ago, has won golden opinions from all classes of people : some of those who have just assisted in her deposition had

spoken and written, but very recently, in glowing terms, of her wisdom, sagacity and popularity. The graceful pen of Sir Edwin Arnold, who has but just returned from a visit to the Islands, thus describes her whilst referring to the situation in which she is now placed. "When ill-informed people write of Queen Liliuokalani as if she were some barbarian princess, and venture upon what is meant for pleasantry, over the particulars of her dignified protest against the rebellion and her last efforts to check it, dressed in her robes of State with a coronet on her head, it is well to remark that a more refined graceful Christian lady does not live than the Hawaiian sovereign. . . . Queen Liliuokalani is as real and true a royal lady, in spirit and education, as the courts of Europe could furnish. She is as much and as solemnly the rightful sovereign of the Sandwich Islands as any monarch in Europe of his dominions. This armed coercion of herself and her people and the act of retirement forcibly wrung from her must find very different and very much better pleas to justify them than any which have yet been made public."

It is alleged that the Queen desired to encroach upon the rights of her people and to deprive them of their political privileges by the attempt to promulgate a new constitution. But this charge has not yet received any satisfactory definition. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that a sovereign possessed of no armed force beyond a handful of men as a body-guard, and dependent entirely upon the good-will of her subjects, should make so insane an attempt, or that, if made, it should not have been resented and put down by a truly popular rising. What really happened seems to point to an opposite conclusion. A section of the community, numerically small but powerful in position and influence, were dissatisfied with certain closing acts of the legislature; and thereupon they appear suddenly to have determined on seeking annexation by the United States, as a means of carrying out a favourite project, which had long been in the air. A United States

man-of-war at that time in port, conveniently furnished an armed force, which assisted or at least protected the movement. The Queen was deposed, the population overawed, and a provisional government established. Martial law was proclaimed, and the writ of Habeas Corpus suspended. A steamer was chartered and five gentlemen were promptly despatched to Washington, with the object of tendering the Islands to the United States. It is remarkable that no popular expression of opinion was sought upon this momentous policy so pregnant of consequences, either from the representatives of the people then assembled in Honolulu, or from the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, which form a part of the Hawaiian Archipelago, and which in area and population exceed the island of Oahu, on which the capital is situated. From some of these adjacent islands significant protests are already coming in, which even under the suspension of the customary safe-guards for criticism and freedom of speech, seem likely to gather strength.

It is our duty to examine if there do not exist causes, other than those that have been alleged, which underly and go to the root of this startling movement; and in doing this it is not necessary to attribute to its promoters sinister motives:—indeed, the high character of those who are at the head of the annexation party forbids such an assumption.

The prosperity which, up to 1891, was enjoyed in so remarkable a degree by the Hawaiian Islands was due mainly to the operation of a Reciprocity treaty with the United States first entered into in 1876 and since renewed with conditions varying, but always favourable to Hawaii.

For fourteen years the sugar produced in the Hawaiian Islands was allowed to pass into the United States free of duty, whilst similar sugars from other countries paid a duty of from \$40 to \$50 per ton. This was practically a bonus to that extent to the Hawaiian planters, given to them, no doubt, because American capital, enterprise and ownership largely predominated in the production of this staple of

Hawaii. So far as it was in the power of its people, Hawaii gave to the United States reciprocal advantages, even to the granting of a harbour situated close to Honolulu, to be used by the United States as a coaling and naval station for its war-ships. The advantages which accrued to the Hawaiian Islands were exceedingly valuable :—the production of sugar was stimulated to a phenomenal degree. In 1876 the Hawaiian export of this staple amounted to 13,000 tons, which rapidly increased until, in 1890, it amounted to the enormous total of 130,000 tons, all of which found a ready and profitable market in the United States. It may be remarked that the benefits which this treaty conferred were not exclusively on one side. The United States reaped some substantial advantages also ; the products and manufactures of America, with few exceptions, were equally admitted into the Hawaiian Islands free of duty. The trade and shipping of the port of San Francisco were greatly stimulated in consequence of this large interchange of products between the two countries. A considerable portion of the wealth gained in Hawaii found its way to the United States, both in dividends on plantation stock held there, in the purchase of machinery and supplies for plantation purposes, and in payment of many other articles of consumption. In the end, about 92 per cent. of the entire import and export trade of the Hawaiian Islands passed to the United States.

But the McKinley tariff came to blight the prospect. One of its provisions abolished the duties on all sugars entering the United States ; and this at once deprived Hawaii of its exclusive advantage. As the price of sugar in America naturally declined to the extent of the duty which had previously been paid, the Hawaiian planters found themselves obliged to accept \$50 per ton for sugar which they had previously sold at \$100 per ton more or less. So sudden and serious a shrinkage of value, estimated in a single year at £1,300,000 or about one-half the value of the entire crop, could not be borne without considerable

suffering and pecuniary difficulty. Many plantations were compelled to cease operations, and others struggled on unprofitably. The injury done to this predominant industry more or less affected every other. Trade of all kinds suffered. Merchants, bankers, artisans, and agricultural labourers all seriously felt the general depression.

The abolition of the duty on sugar in the United States called for compensation to the domestic producer of this article. The sugar planters in Louisiana and the cultivators of beet sugar in the western states demanded protection against the free import of foreign sugar raised under more economical conditions. This was granted in the form of a bounty of two cents per lb. (equal to \$40 per ton) to all American producers of sugar. It was reasonably expected for a time that some compensation would also be granted to the Hawaiian Islands for the serious loss they suffered, through no fault of theirs and in violation of the beneficial provisions of the treaty. It would doubtless have been just, if this point had received fair consideration. But in working out its own economic policy the government of the United States seemed to have become oblivious of the existence of Hawaii; and during the two years from the passing of the McKinley bill, the gloom deepened in the Hawaiian Islands, without any apparent prospect of relief.

In these circumstances what more natural for the Hawaiian planters than to look to annexation by the United States as a panacea for the evils which had come upon them? Once annexed to the United States, the bounty granted to the domestic producers of sugar would be equally theirs. Many other advantages too, might be expected to follow. The Hawaiian public debt, which, small as it is, had in adverse times become burdensome, would be transferred to the broad shoulders of "Uncle Sam." American capital would flow to the islands; property in which they were largely interested would presumably rise in value; and a form of government with which Americans were in sympathy would prevail.

To this tempting prospect there were but two drawbacks, the monarchy and the native sentiment. The former was disposed of, by pronouncing it at once aggressive and effete, whilst conscience was satisfied, with regard to the natives, by the presumption that annexation to the United States, whether liked or not, was for their ultimate good.

It must, of course, be granted that the material interests of a state are of momentous importance; and if, in their pursuit, men seek to change the existing order of things, they are entitled to plead justification. But surely, in such circumstances, existing institutions deserve tender consideration. Momentous changes should be accomplished by peaceful and constitutional means. If it be better for the Hawaiian Islands to be annexed to the United States, this should be clearly shown, and the consent of the people should be obtained.

The question of the hour is, "Will the people of the United States consent to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands?" The probabilities do not seem favourable.

Mr. Harrison's Cabinet certainly appears to have entertained the proposal; but a moribund government is hardly competent to deal with a question which goes to the very root of American policy. The practical American will ask himself what advantages the United States would derive from so distinct a departure from its traditional policy. It has been shown that America already enjoys 92 per cent. of the Hawaiian trade, and has acquired a naval and coaling station near Honolulu: what more can be obtained but responsibility? In time of war with any great naval power, the possession of the Islands would be a serious weakness to America, and would render her vulnerable more than two thousand miles from her base of operations. Thinking Americans may well doubt the wisdom of annexing a country, without some distinct expression of opinion on the part of the great bulk of the people, who, if coerced, would naturally assume a hostile attitude and resent all attempts to deprive them of their independence. The sovereign rights

of the people is the foundation of American institutions ; and it seems eminently consistent that the people of Hawaii should have a voice in their own disposal. It must be remembered also that the sugar producers of America are likely to object to the admission of so formidable a rival within the boundaries of the Union. This hostility has indeed already made itself manifest. It has been suggested that unless the United States take possession of the Hawaiian Islands they may be occupied by some European power coveting the strength of their geographical position. This is both improbable and unreasonable. Not only have France and England bound themselves to respect the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, but they have entered into a treaty of self-denial, by which each has solemnly undertaken not to interfere with its autonomy. The United States were requested to join in this treaty, but declined, on the ground that the government of that country did not find it incumbent upon them to undertake not to do that which they had no intention of doing. No European power would venture to incur the resentment of the United States by attempting to take possession of a group of islands well understood to be so peculiarly within the sphere of American influence, by reason of their proximity to her shores. After the United States, Great Britain has doubtless the largest interests in Hawaii ; but this is comparatively so small as to carry but little weight in considering the important question of her independence. There are about 1,500 Englishmen in the entire group ; and whilst British interests in the sugar industry of the islands is represented by a capital of less than \$6,000,000, American interests stand for about \$25,000,000. Throughout the present difficulty, Great Britain does not appear to have raised a finger of protest, recognising no doubt that the question is one which mainly concerns the United States and Hawaii, and is too distant from the sphere of British interests and influences to call for any action on her part. British interests in Hawaii would without doubt be

equally safe under American as under Hawaiian rule. It has been shown that whilst Great Britain has recognised the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, she has not bound herself to defend it. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Englishmen are indifferent to the fate of this miniature kingdom, and the promising and successful advance made by the native race in the arts of peace, civilization and self-government. The unanimous expression of sympathy with the Queen, and the condemnation of the methods employed to dethrone her, which appeared in the London press on the day the news was received, sufficiently indicate the drift of public sentiment in England on the subject. It is difficult to forecast the probable issue of the present situation in Hawaii. It is clear that President Harrison, whatever may have been his inclination, has not had time to carry out the project of annexation. The question therefore remains in abeyance for the administration of President Cleveland. But will the United States depart from its traditional policy of non-interference in countries beyond its own ample borders? Under ordinary circumstances, it might be safe to answer this question in the negative; but the United States stand compromised by the act of its representative at Honolulu, who practically assisted in the dethronement of the Queen; and if annexation is not deemed expedient, must either withdraw or assist in establishing some form of government acceptable to the majority of its inhabitants. Of these nearly half are natives and half-castes; or, to be precise, the Census of 1890 discloses the following particulars. At that date, the total population was 89,990: of these 34,436 were natives, 6,186 half-castes, 7,495 Hawaiian-born foreigners, 1,928 Americans, 1,344 British, 1,034 Germans, 70 French, 8,602 Portuguese, 227 Norwegian, 15,301 Chinese, 12,360 Japanese, and 1,007 of various other nationalities. The native population is very far advanced in education. They possess a complete educational system. The total number



of schools in the kingdom is 178 (besides a noble college situated in Honolulu), at which the average attendance of scholars is 10,006, mostly taught in English. The number of teachers employed is 368. The public schools are all, with one exception, maintained at the expense of the government, at an annual cost of about \$200,000. Illiteracy is practically unknown. Newspapers, printed both in English and Hawaiian, circulate extensively. The natives, in common with the rest of the population, enjoy a liberal franchise, take an active interest in politics, and send a considerable number of their own representatives to the national legislature. In these circumstances native sentiment must ultimately be reckoned with in determining the form of government and the political destiny of the Hawaiian Islands. The readiest solution of the present difficulty would appear to be the restoration of the Queen, with the proper constitutional safe-guards already existing. The lesson of the revolution will not have been lost. The Queen would prove herself a truly constitutional sovereign, acceptable alike to the natives and the inhabitants of every nationality.

It is by no means improbable that the democratic government of President Cleveland will abolish the bounty system, to which it is opposed in principle, and in consideration of this, will restore the duty on sugar, which in times past has yielded a revenue of from 50 to 60 millions of dollars. In this event the benefits of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty will at once become operative, and prosperity will again smile on the Hawaiian people. But whatever happens, all well-wishers of this beautiful and interesting little Kingdom will earnestly hope for its peace, happiness, prosperity and independence.

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The above article was written on the 28th February 1893. Since then, some of its anticipations have actually taken place—notably the reluctance of the United States to annex the Islands, which, notwithstanding President Harrison's seemingly favourable declaration, is now unlikely to be carried out by his successor. Mr. Cleveland has, in fact, withdrawn the annexation proposal from the consideration of the Senate at Washington.—ED.

## A SECRET RELIGION IN THE HINDUKUSH [THE PAMIR REGION] AND IN THE LEBANON.

### I.—THE MULÁIS OF THE HINDUKUSH.

A NUMBER of conjectures as to the origin of the word "Mulái," all of which are incorrect, have been made by eminent writers unacquainted with Arabic or the meaning of its theological history and terms. A few of these conjectures, however, go very near some fact or view connected with the "Muláis." The word may not mean "terrestrial gods," but there are no other, for practical purposes, in the creed of the "Muláis." It is certainly not a corruption of "Muláhid" or "heretic," if not "atheist," although this term has been specially applied to them by their enemies. It can have nothing whatever to do etymologically with "Muwáhidin" or worshippers of "One" [God], though they, no doubt, call themselves so, *i.e.*, "Unitarians." There is this additional difficulty, moreover, introduced into the question, that no name can be conclusive as to the esoteric appellation of a sect that has been obliged to practise "Conformity" or "Pious fraud" or "concealment" of its religion, in order to escape persecution or wholesale massacre. The Shiahs,\* whose belief, in the hereditary succession, through the descendants of A'li, of the *spiritual* "Imámat" or leadership or apostleship of the prophet Muhammad, rendered them overt or covert enemies of those Sunni rulers who held the *temporal* power or "the Khiláfat" (misspelt as "the Caliphate"), were, and are, allowed to practise "Taqqia" (which I have rendered as "Conformity") outwardly and the more exaggerated or exclusive a particular A'liite or Shiite sect, the more careful had it to be. The Sunni and Shiah may both publicly confess "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his prophet"; but

\* It is superfluous to inform readers of this Review that the Persians are Shiah, and the Turks Sunni, Muhammadans. Most of the Indian Muhammadans are Sunnis.

the Shiah adds under his breath, "A'li is the Deputy (Governor) of God and the heir of the prophet of God." Now this word for "Deputy" is "*vali*," "to be close to," whether it be to God, a king, a priest, a master, or other position of eminence in Arabian belief, society, history, or intellectual creations.\* "Maulá" or "Mulá" comes from the same root and is generally applied to a spiritual master, but, among the Shiahs, specially to their "LORD" A'li. Therefore, "Muláis" are the special followers of the "Lord A'li," just as the Jesuits claim to be a fraternity of special followers of "the Lord Jesus" When, then, the term "Mauláná" or our "Master or Lord" is specially used in the Druse Covenant of Initiation [see further on], there is not far to seek for the meaning of the appellation "Mulái," though it was left for me to find it out from the A'liite songs of the Muláis of the Hindukush. Whatever the innermost coterie of the "initiated" may practise or believe, a connecting link of the sect with some existing creed is necessary for their safety or respectability. Thus, the *Ismailians* might call themselves "*Sadigis*" or "the righteous," in order to spread the belief of their being special adherents of the 6th Imám, (in the order of descent from A'li), the Imám Ja'far *Sádiq* (the righteous), without entering into the vexed question as to whether his son "*Ismáíl*" was the real "seventh" Imám or his other son, Mûsa (through whom the bulk of Shiahs look for their Mahdi or Messiah, the 12th Imám). Nor would any such special fervour in revering a particular phase or man be necessarily deemed to be heretical, even among Sunnis. I have often heard a Sunni, especially if he was a Persian scholar and the strange magic of that language had subdued him, admit the impeachment of having "a particular love

\* Many words denoting proximity, become honorifics, such as "Sheríf" (Shereef), "Hazrat," "Jenáb," etc. "Khalifah" is one who succeeds, or follows, or is a deputy. Strictly speaking, this title refers to the Sultan of Turkey as the successor of the Prophet Muhammad in the temporal headship of the Sunnis, but even the successor of the heretical Mahdi in the Sudán calls himself "Khalifa."

for the house of A'li," and the numerous class of Sayads, who claim to be descendants of the Prophet, is respected, if not venerated, among Sunnis, who, in theory, oppose the "hereditary" claims of Shiah.\* The Máulais, therefore, of the Hindukush, being, consciously or not, a sub-sect of Shiah, can make friends with the main body of Shiah, and yet pretend to the Sunnis as being, in many respects, with them. Normally, the Mauláís would profess to be good Muhammadans of the Shiah persuasion, leaning, however, to the 7th Imám ; if surrounded by, or in danger of, Sunnis, they would *outwardly* "conform" (which is all that the Sunnis require), and, at home, practise their own rites. The Khojas of Bombay, who had been converted from Hinduism, but whose very name is Ismailian, used to read the "Dasawtar" or "ten incarnations," in which "A'li" is made out to be the "Tenth Incarnation," thus rendering their step from Wishnu Hinduism to Shiah Muhammadanism an easy one. "All things to all men" is the dictum of the Muláís, without, thereby, sacrificing their own convictions. The more a Mulái knows, the more he acts on Disraeli's sneer that all sensible men are of *one* religion, but do not tell what that religion is. The less a Mulái knows, the more fanatically is he an A'liite, centring however his faith on the living descendant of the 7th Imám. "Nothing is a crime that is not found out" may, or may not be, the theory among the Druses, or the practice all over the world ; the fact remains that neither the Druses nor the Muláís, whatever their belief, are worse than their neighbours. Even the odious signification that attaches to the term "Assassin" has been a calumny against those misguided Ismailians who sought to rid the world of tyrants

\* The "Sherifs" or "Shereefs," in a special, princely or official sense, are lineal descendants of Muhammad through his daughter Fatima who was married to A'li, and have, perhaps, even a higher claim to the respect of the Faithful, than ordinary descendants or "Sayads." The Grand Shereef of Mecca, the Shereefian dynasty of Morocco, the Shereef of Wazan, who also bears the title, like the Emperor of Morocco, of "Muláy," or "Maulái," show the great extent of the "House of A'li."

who had ordered the general massacre of the sect or who sacrificed one man in order to save a whole people.

In 1866 I discovered the languages and races of "Dardistan" and gave that name to the countries between Kashmir and Kabul, including Hunza in them. In 1886 I was again on a special mission regarding the language of Hunza-Nagyr and a part of Yasin. I had already pointed out in 1867 the importance which our good friend, His Highness Agha Khan of Bombay, the Head of the Khojas in that city, enjoyed in those, then nearly inaccessible, regions, as also in Wakhan, Zebak, Shignán, Raushan, Koláb and Derwáz, where the Muláis predominate and are governed by hereditary Pírs or ancient sages of their own choice,\* to whom they yield implicit obedience, as do also the covenanters with "Al-Hákim" among the "initiated" of the Druses. Of these Pírs, Agha Khan is Chief, and any command by him would be obeyed in some of the most dangerous parts of the Hindukush. Advantage was only taken in 1886 of this hint, when Colonel Lockhart's mission was supplied with letters of recommendation by His Highness to the Mulais. My identification of their mysterious rites with those of the Druses connects the Lebanon with the Hindukush through the Ismailia sect, which under the name of the "Assassins" enjoyed such an unenviable notoriety during the Crusades and establishes a link among the nations of Richard Cœur de Lion,† of Palestine and of the Pamirs. The connection of Hunza with the Huns or Hunas and the relations between the "Old Man of the Mountain" and our own Richard may be the subject of a future article. At present, I will confine myself to translating from the Persian original a Pythian utterance out of the "Kelám-i-Pir" or "the Word of the ancient Sage," which takes the place of the Korán among Mauláis,

\* Among these Pírs each Mulái chooses his own, of course, *under* the supreme headship of Agha Khan.

† Who has been accused of instigating the "Old Man of the Mountain" to send his emissaries to murder Conrad of Montferrat, titular King of Jerusalem. The Ismailian "Assassins" are also accused of an attempt to murder Prince Edward of England at Acre.

and of which the following is the first extract ever given from that hidden book. It was partly dictated to me and partly written out on the occasion of His Highness, the present Agha Khan, paying me a visit, by the leader of some Muláís, who had fled, first from Russian tyranny, and then from the still heavier Afghan oppression in the border-countries of Central Asia, my own Hunza man also being present on the occasion.\* The extract was called the Mulái "Mukti" or "Salvation" Cry of the Muláís. It may be incidentally mentioned that Shah Abdurrahim in Zeibak was (and perhaps still is) the greatest Pir in Central Asia. He controls Hunza, so far as that God-forsaken country can be controlled. In Wakhan, Khwaja Ibrahim Husain was the Mulái leader, and in Sarikul, Shahzada Makín. Sayad Jafar Khan ruled what there is of the sect in Bokhara, Balkh, Kabul and Kunduz. "*The Pir*" or "ancient sage," however, was the historical Shah Nasir Khosrô, who is styled "a missionary of H. H. Aga Khan's ancestor." He is said to have had the complete "Kelám-i-Pir," a book of which I have for so many years in vain tried to get a copy, although assisted by my friend, the Mihtar Nizám-ul-Mulk of Yasin and Chitrál. The following extract from it, in one and the same breath, affirms and denies the special doctrine of metempsychosis and other notions opposed to the professed Muhammadanism of the Muláís :

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The MUKTI or "SALVATION."

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The Mulái "Á'QIL" or "intelligent" = "initiated" [the singular of the Druse "U'qalá" or "initiated"] first asks, in inelegant and enigmatical Persian :

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"ALA! In what I say, can I remain *knowingly* an Á'qil?" or "initiated" or "I remain knowingly an Á'qil, although what I say

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I. "Come, solve for me a difficult story [or conjecture]

\* Whom I took to England and whose name, curiously enough, was "Matavali," which is also a derivative of "vali."

Come, tell me the Light which the spirit from the world-shape [this world of Phenomena]

When it becomes [gets] beyond [of] this shape, where [is] its abode and station? [place of descent = "manzil"]

Is its place [of existence] in plants or in the Higher Universe [the world above?]

Or in the Lower Universe between water, dust and clay" [or stone]? [the strata between the centre and the surface of the earth]

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2. "If, *knowingly*, that secret, come and tell me: 'Light' And, if not, away! not *knowing*, without head-wandering, careless [care not]

Dear ones! The spirit of the *knowing* when it departs from these chains,

Does it become [wend] towards the skies [heavens]? Is that its Station obtaining?\*

Or why in the shape of man [anthropomorphic shape] is the Adamite created?†

Nay (?) the perfect man [ko-burd] cultured perfect,‡ or 'the ruling man [if] perfect, develops perfect culture'

But they who are not wanted [the useless] are ignorant doubters"

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3. "Let me tell its Commentary; every one, Come! in the ear make it acceptable.

The present is one stride [or state of a man]

When they put him outside the body

They bind him in chains; he becomes with cow or ass entering

Another time his place [of staying] is the [world of] plants. They hold him [there]

\* Also, "Does it rise in the direction of heavens, or is its descent in vegetation?" [taking "Hásil" = obtaining for "Mehásil" = vegetation], reproduction (?)

† Also, "Or in the form of Man how does it again rotate into being born an Adamite?" or, "Why is man created in the form of a human being?"

‡ Also, "Nay, but the perfect man, the seemly, the all-perfect wins the prize."

He will remain inside these chains for three years [many a year] [under] that vain curse" [this is a vain word]

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4. AL LÁY! Helper of Chosroes!\* Such secrets to men why recklessly impart? [it only makes them impudent] Not will say ever this the *A'qil* [or "the initiated one."]

[The wise do not mention their religion; if they do, they only make the unwise impudent.]

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So, after all, we have not been told the process or secret of after-life, whether ascending into air, descending into earth, renewing human life or migrating into animal, plant or stone. In fact, we are made to understand that our inquiry is folly and that its answer, whether true or not, is also folly. Yet are we allowed to conjecture the belief of "the initiated" in transmigration.

As for the Muláís "being all things to all men" in matters of religion—Sunnis with Sunnis and Shiahs with Shiahs—this is, as already stated, a mere amplification of the Shiah doctrine of *Tagqûah* or concealment in times of danger, to which I have specially referred in my "Dardistan."

The leaning of the Muláís is, of course, rather to poetical Shiism, with the chivalrous martyr A'li as its demigod or "next to God" in the A'lewia sect, than to prosaic and monotonous Sunniism, so that to strangers they seem to be Shiahs, as will be seen in an extract from a native Indian Diary† written some 20 years ago, and which, it may be

\* These words are so badly written that they may also be read as, "O, thou that waitest not for wisdom."

† Degol is the first village of Zebák . . . which is ruled by Shah Abdur-Rahim, a Sayad of the Shiah sect, worshipped by all the Shiahs of Kashkar, (Chitrál), Yarkand, and Khokand. They also worship Shah Bombáy, Shah Madkasan, who is learned, good-natured, and friendly to travellers. . . . The people give a tenth of their income to their preceptors; if one has ten children, he consecrates one to Shah Abdur-Rahim. . . . The inhabitants are strong and hardy; the women do not cover their faces from strangers. Although Shiahs, they have no mosques and repeat no prayers. Abdur-Rahim has one in his village, where *he* prays. Every



incidentally stated, still throws much light on the present conflicts in Dir, Bajaur and other petty States bordering on our frontier. No stranger is allowed to see the Kelám-i-Pír, which takes the place of the Korán with Muláís, but in the most popular poem that is recited by them, the Imám-ul-Zemán or Sahib-al-Zemán = the Imám or Lord of the Age (H. H. Aga Khan) is worshipped as the Monarch of this World, the visible incarnation of the Deity, offerings or a pilgrimage to whom dispenses a Mulái from prayer, fasting or a visit to the sacred shrines of Mecca or Madina, or rather the Shiah Kerbelá, the place of the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, which Shiahs annually celebrate by what are inappropriately called "miracle plays," but which really are "elegies," and commemorative funeral recitations and processions. A person who has seen "the Lord of the Age" or who possesses some of the water in which he has washed his feet is an honoured guest in Mulái countries. The poem above alluded to is a parallel to the Druse "Contract" which will be considered further on, and begins with an invocation for "Help, oh Ali."

"Nobody will worship God, without worshipping Thee, Lord of the Age !  
Jesus will descend from the fourth heaven to follow Thee, Lord of the Age !

Thy will alone will end the strife with Antichrist, Lord of the Age !  
Thy beauty gives light to heaven, the sun and the moon, Lord of the Age !

May I be blessed by being under the dust of Thy feet, Lord of the Age !"

A Maulái is, if sincere, already dead to sin, and can, therefore, not commit any. He needs, therefore, no resur-

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morning at *Chasht* (the middle hour between sunrise and noon) he sits in the assembly and distributes breads of wheat among the members, followed by the servants handing round tea in porcelain cups in which each one soaks his bread, and, after eating it, lifts his hand to bless the giver, a custom also followed by the nobles on entering the assembly. If Shah Abdur-Rahim addresses any of them, he rises from his seat and answers as if he were reading a *ruka't* at the time of praying, and then returns to his place, and sits on his knees, for to sit otherwise is reckoned a sin amongst these men." In other words, the only worship of the prayerless Muláís is to their Pír, to whom they address the *ruka't* given by real Muhammadans in prayers to God [bowing, whilst standing, with hands resting on the knees].

rection or last Judgment day. Obedience to the Pír is his sole article of faith, and he holds his property, family and life at this Chief's disposal.

I must now conclude this introduction to a comparison of the creeds of the Druses and of the Muláis by quoting a few words from a rhapsody of A'li, repeated by the ordinary Mauláis till the pious frenzy is at white heat :

“ Oh A'li, to God, to God, oh A'li, my sole aim, the only one, our Mula A'li ; My desire, the only our Mula A'li ; My passion only the beauty of A'li ; My longing day and night for union with A'li ; Higher and Higher A'li, oh A'li ; A'li is the Killer of difficulties, oh A'li ; He is the Commander of the Faithful, namely A'li ; *That* one is the Imám of the steadfast in faith, namely A'li,” and so on *ad infinitum* till we come to the natural connection between normal Shiism, its exaggeration into A'li worship, its mysterious interpretation of the self-sacrifice of Husain to save the world, and, finally, to all other aberrations of which Maulaism is one. The poem then goes into wild Turkish and Arabic measures, which exhausted my informant, Ghulam Haidar, who adds on behalf of himself, also in verse : “ It is not proper that I should not answer the question which you ask me, but what am I to say ? The answer from me is easy, but I see a difficulty in *your* way. Oh Ghulam Haidar ” (thrice repeated). Then in prose. “ In the night of Friday, the Mulái men (in Hunza), instead of worship and prayer, taking Guitars and Drums (Rabábs and Daffs) in their hands, play the above “ Ghazals ” on them. Then six old men, Akhunds (priests), having assembled, read (sing) them in the Mosque, when the men of the mass of the people gather and give ear to them :

“ Yá A'li, Yá A'li, Yá Imám-i-Zemán ” —

“ Oh Ali, Oh Ali, Oh Imám (and Lord) of the Age ” —

is the mention (Chorus) which they take on their tongues. From the beginning of the evening till the morning they thus show their zeal ; the Raja then as a reward of thanks for that worship bestows (gold dust to the value of) four

tilas on the priests and gives them a quantity of butter of the weight of four measures and one sheep or big calf and one maund of wheat in order to hold a feast."

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## II.—THE COVENANT OF "THE INITIATED" DRUSES.

The following is a rendering of the Covenant or Contract which the U'qalá or "the initiated" amongst the Druses are reciting in mysterious seclusion. It was overheard by my informant, an "uninitiated" Druse.\* It formed, as it were, the evening prayer of his uncle and aunt. Although an educated and highly intelligent person, he was not aware of even its local interest, much less of its general historical and religious importance.

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### *The Covenant = Al Mitháq :*

"O Governor [Vali] of the Age,† may Allah's blessing and peace be upon him" (this phrase seems intended to delude

\* The Druses are divided into "Juhelá" = "uninitiated," or the Laity, and "U'qalá" = the "initiated."

† It should be noticed that this apotheosis of "Al-Hákim," the mad Fatimite Khalifa of Cairo (A.D. 996-1020), who was the head and originator of the special Ismailian sect, which became subsequently known to the Crusaders under the name of the "Assassins"—a corruption of "Hashishin," or drinkers of Hashish (*Canabis Indica*)—commences with titles of governorship or Age which would seem (to the uninitiated) to be compatible with his subordination to the Deity, although, for practical purposes, Al-Hákim is the "ruler of this world," whether for good or for evil. He is, therefore, the Prince of this world, if not Apollyon, and the fact that the words "Vali" = a deputed governor or "Hákim" = a governor, may cause him to be confounded with either an ordinary ruler, or be merely ringing the changes on his own name of "Al-Hákim," it is clear, at any rate to the initiated, that the only Deity worth caring for is thereby meant, and that he began with the Khalifa Al-Hákim, who lives for ever. In the titles "Maula" and "Vali" there is also an allusion to A'li, who is "next to God," and from whom Al-Hákim was descended. The Mauláis or Muláis of the Hindukush use similar titles for their spiritual head, whether dead, or continuing in his lineal descendant, Agha Khan of Bombay. The "Kelám-i-Pir," or "the Logos or word of the Pir or ancient sage," mainly refers to the sayings attributed to the "Sheikh-ul-Jabl," or "Old Man of the Mountain." In Hunza itself, the Muláis equally address their practical Deity as "The Ancient of the Age," or "Pir-uz-Zamán."

Muhammadans into the belief that the Druses have the same Allah or God, but it has an esoteric sense which will become apparent further on). "I put my confidence into 'our spiritual head the Lord' (literally 'OUR MAULA AL-HÁKIM') (here is one of the esoteric formulæ)—'the One, the Single, the Everlasting (Lord), the (serenely) Distinct from Duality and Number.' (This is a protest not only against the female form of the Deity, but also against the notion of a distinct good and evil principle, an Ahriman or Ormuz, whilst its Muhammadan form would seem to outsiders to be merely a protest against giving any 'companion to God.') The initiator and the to be 'initiated' then go on repeating together the following, the former using the 3rd, and the latter the 1st, person. 'I so and so' (here comes name of the initiated), 'son of such a one, CONFESS firmly the confession to which he (or I) respond from his [or my] soul, and bears testimony to it upon his spirit, whilst in a condition of soundness of his spirit and of his body, and with the (acceptance of the passing of the) lawfulness of the order, obeying without reluctance and under no violence: THAT he verily absolves (himself) from all Religions and Dogmas and Faiths and Convictions, all of them, in the various species of their contradictions, and that he does not acknowledge anything except the OBEDIENCE TO OUR MAULA AL-HÁKIM, may his mention be glorious! and this obedience it is the worship, and that he will not associate in his worship any (other) that is past or is present, or is to come, and that he has verily entrusted his spirit and his body, and whatever is to him and the whole of what he may possess to OUR MAULA AL-HÁKIM, and that he is satisfied to fulfil all His orders unto himself and against himself without any contradiction, and not refusing anything and not denying (refusing) anything of His actions, whether this injures him or rejoices him, and that he, should he ever revert (apostatize) from the religion of our Maula Al-Hákim which he has written upon his soul, and to which he has born testimony unto his spirit, that HE SHALL BE BEREFT (free) of the Creator,

who is worshipped and deprived of the benefits of all the sanctions (rules, laws), and that he shall be considered as deserving the punishment of God, the High, may His mention be glorious! And that he, if he acknowledges that there is not to him in Heaven and not in the Earth an Imám in existence *except our Maula Al-Hákim*" (this confession distinguishes the Druses of the Lebanon and the Muláis of the Hindukush from the orthodox Shiahs, who believe in the coming of the ever-present Mahdi, or the twelfth Imám, a view that had been fostered by us in the Sudán to our endless confusion by our inexcusable opposition to the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa of the Sunnis), "then will the mention of him (who only believes in Al-Hákim) become glorious, and he will be of the *Muwáhidîn* (who profess the unity of God), who will (eventually) conquer." (This appellation is common to the Druses and to the Muláis, but is not admitted as being applicable to them by orthodox Shiahs or Sunnis. In retaliation they call the Sunni a dog, and the Shiah an ass.) "And (the above) has been written\* in the month so and so of the year (chronology) of the I'd (festival) of our Maula Al-Hákim, whose nation be glorious, whose Empire be strengthened to Him alone." (The Maulái Chronology is said to begin with the *special* revelation of the Imám on the 17th Ramadán in the 559th year of the Hejira, at the castle of Alamût.)

### *The Special Recitation.*

The following is repeated by Druses at the conclusion of their prayers: "May God's blessing be upon him who speaks (confesses) the Lord of goodness and benefits. May God bless the Ruler of the Guidances (Hidāyā); to him be profit and sufficiency. May God's blessing be on our Lord the Hādi" (the Guide or "Mehdi" means one who is guided aright by God = the coming Messiah of the Shiah world,) "the Imám, the greatest of the perfect light" (this is an allusion to the 7th Imám, Ismail, descendant of *the* light†

\* The contract is thus repeated from a written document.

† Many Shiahs call A'li "the light" of God.

(Mohammed), "who is waiting for the refuge (salvation) of all living beings. On Him may be (our) trust, and from him (may be) the peace. May God bless him and them whatever passes of nights and of days and of months and of years, whenever flashes the dawn of morning or night remains in darkness may abundant peace and trust be for ever! *O Allah-humma!*" (the mystic Muhammadan remnant of Elohim = Lords, Gods) "provide us with *Thy* contentment" (this is a play of words implying that our best "daily bread" is God's contentment with us) "and with *Their* contentment" (this is either a Trinitarian or Polytheistic invocation to "Elohim") "and with *their* intercession and with *Thy* mercy and with *their* mercy in this world and in the next! O our Maula! and Lord of the Imám" (this is indeed significant as to the pretensions of Al-Hákim to the godhead, or to some dignity very near it).

Now comes an ancient curse with a modern application and an appeal to arms (whispered along the line of assembled Druses) :

"Pray for the ornament of sons,

In the East the five\* residing (compare also the Shiah · Panjtan'† and the five main Shiah sects) ‡

\* There are *five* books of the *Sheikh-ul-A'ql*, "or old man of the intelligence," or of the "initiated," and also apparently a book of investigation and of the unity of the Godhead for the "initiated of the retirement" = "U'qala al Khalwat." There are *five* "Maulas" or Mulas of "the initiated," which I take to be the names of five books, namely: (1) the Mula of the A'ql, or Mind, or of the body-corporate of the "U'qalá" or "the initiated"; (2) the Mula of the Nafs, or Breath; (3) the Mula of the Zeman, or the Age; (4) the Mula of the Kalima, or the Word; (5) the Mula of Al-Hákim, or the founder of the sect. Numbers 3 and 4 are probably the Kelám-i-Pir and other dicta of the Mulais of the Hindukush, to which I have already referred.

† This holy roll among extreme Shiahs has *five* names, namely, God, Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husain, which positively excludes the prophet Muhammad, but includes his son-in-law (Ali), his daughter, Fatima, and the martyred grandsons of Ali, namely Hasan and Husain. As a rule, however, the ordinary orthodox "Panjtan" among Shiahs (and even in some Sunni Mosque inscriptions) are: "Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husain." "Panjtan" means "the five (holy) bodies."

‡ There are *five* main sects among the Shiahs, or, rather, "Adelias,"

They say : Father Abraham has appeared,  
and they announce the good tidings to the worshippers of  
*One* (the Druses).

They say : With the sword has Father Abraham ap-  
peared ;

A violence to his enemies

O brethren ! Prepare earnestly for the campaign,

Visiting the House of Mecca.

The House of Mecca and the sacred places,

On them has destruction been ordained.

Oh people of the Berbers ! Extermination is lawful.

With the sword shall ye be sacrificed.

The French are coming with stealth.

The 'A'ql' [or 'the body of the initiated'] will protect  
us with its sword.

Rejoice, people of China, in the hour of Thy arrival.

Welcome to thee, city of Arin (?), oh my Lady !"  
[Fatima ?].

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A Druse wedding-song may also be quoted here :  
(" Allah, billáli, billáli.") *The Chorus* : " O God, with the  
pearls, with the pearls," " Sway on to me, oh my Gazelle !"  
*Song* : " Thou maid who combest her (the bride's) tresses,  
comb them gently, and give her no pain ; for she is the  
daughter of nobles, accustomed to being a pet " [*delláli*].  
*Chorus* : *Allah, billáli, billáli ; wa tanaqqali, yá Ghazáli !*

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*Another Song* : " Sing the praises of the shore, oh  
daughters ; sing the praises of the daughters of the shore ;  
for we have passed by the pomegranate-tree bearing full  
fruit, and we have compared it with the cheeks of the  
daughters of the shore."

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or advocates of "the rightful" and hereditary succession to the Apostleship  
of Muhammad, in opposition to the elective principle by the *consensus*  
*fidelium* of the Sunnis. The two sects that now concern us are the African  
Ismailians, and the Ismailians of the Lebanon and of the Hindukush.  
The number of Shiah sects is estimated variously from 3 to 72.

A NOTE ON CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS TO THE DARDS AND  
TO GREEK INFLUENCE ON INDIA.

## THE DARDS.

Herodotus (III. 102-105) is the first author who refers to the country of the Dards, placing it on the frontier of Kashmir and in the vicinity of Afghanistan. "Other Indians are those who reside on the frontiers of the town 'Kaspatyros' and the Paktyan country; they dwell to the north of the other Indians and live like the Baktrians; they are also the most warlike of the Indians and are sent for the gold," etc. Then follows the legend of the gold-digging ants (which has been shown to have been the name of a tribe of Tibetans by Schiern), and on which, as an important side-issue, consult Strabo, Arrian, Dio Chrysostomus, Flavius Philostratus the elder, Clemens Alexandrinus, Ælian, Harpokration, Themistius Euphrades, Heliodorus of Emesa, Joannes Tzetzes, the Pseudo-Kallisthenes and the scholiast to the Antigone of Sophocles\*—and among Romans, the poems of Propertius, the geography of Pomponius Mela, the natural history of the elder Pliny and the collections of Julius Solinus.† The Mahabharata also mentions the tribute of the ant-gold "paipilika" brought by the nations of the north to one of the Pandu sons, king Yudhisthira.

In another place Herodotus [IV. 13-27] again mentions the town of Kaspatyros and the Paktyan country. This is where he refers to the anxiety of Darius to ascertain the flow of the Indus into the sea. He accordingly sent Skylax with vessels. "They started from the town of *Κασπάτιρος* and the *Πακτυική χώρα* towards the east to the sea." I take this to be the point where the Indus river makes a sudden bend, and for the first time actually does lie between Kashmir and Pakhtu-land (for this, although long unknown, must be the country alluded to),‡ in other words, below the Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, and at Bunji, where the Indus becomes navigable.§ The Paktyes are also mentioned as one of the races that followed Xerxes in his invasion of Hellas (Herod. VII. 67-85). Like our own geographers till 1866, Herodotus thought that the Indus from that point flowed duly from north to south, and India being, according to his system of geography, the most easterly country, the flow of the Indus was accordingly described as being easterly. I, in 1866, and Hayward in 1870, described its flow from that point to be due west for a considerable distance (about one hundred miles). (The PAKTYES are, of course, the Afghans, called Patans, or more properly PAKHTUS, the very same Greek word). "Kaspatyros" is evidently a mis-spelling for "Kaspapyros," the form in which the name occurs in one of the most accurate codes of

\* Strabo II. I., XV. I.—Arrian de Exped. Alex. V. 4 Indica c. 5.—Dio-Chrysos. Orat. XXXV.—Philostrat. de vitâ Apollon. Tyan. V. I.—Clem. Alex. Paed. II. 12.—Ælian de Nat. An. XV. 14.—Harpokrat, s. v. *χρυσόχοειν*, Themist. Orat. XXVII.—Heliodor. X. 26.—Tzet. Chil. XII. 330-340.—Pseudo Kallisth. II. 29.—Schol. ad Sophocl. Antig., v. 1,025.

† Propert. Eleg. III. 13.—Pomp. Mel. III. 7.—Plin. H. N. XI. 36, XXXIII. 21.—Solin, c. 30.

‡ Indeed, there is no other country between Kaspatyros and the Paktyan country excepting Dardistan.

§ This is the Bunji of recent Chilâs fights (1893).



Herodotus which belonged to Archbishop Sancroft (the Codex Sancroftianus) and which is now preserved at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Stephanus Byzantianus (A. V.) also ascribes this spelling to Hekatoëus of Miletus.\*

Now Kaspapyros or Kaspapuros is evidently *Kashmir* or "*Kasyapapura*," the town of *Kasyapa*, the founder of Kashmir, and to the present day one may talk indifferently of the town of Kashmir, or of the country of *Kashmir*, when mentioning that name, so that there is no necessity to seek for the town of Srinagar when discussing the term Kaspатыrus, or, if corrected, Kaspapuros, of Herodotus.

Herodotus, although he thus mentions the people (of the Dards) as one neighbouring (πλησιοχώροι) on Kashmir and residing between Kashmir and Afghanistan, and also refers to the invasions which (from time immemorial it may be supposed, and certainly within our own times) this people have made against Tibet for the purpose of devastating the gold-fields of the so-called ants, does not use the name of "Dard" in the above quotations, but Strabo and the elder Pliny, who repeat the legend, mention the very name of that people as *Derdæ* or *Dardæ*, Vide Strabo XV., ἐν Δέρδαις ἔθνει μεγάλῳ τῶν προσεῶν καὶ ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν. Pliny, in his Natural History, XI. 36, refers to "*in regione Septentrionalium Indorum, qui Dardæ vocantur.*" Both Pliny and Strabo refer to Megasthenes as their authority in Chapter VI., 22. Pliny again speaks of "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ.*" The Dards have still settlements in Tibet where they are called Brokhpä (*vide* Dardistan, Part III., page 46, etc.). The Dards are the "Darada" of the Sanscrit writers. The "Darada" and the "Himavanta" were the regions to which Buddha sent his missionaries, and the Dards are finally the "Dards, an independent people which plundered Dras in the last year, has its home in the mountains three or four days' journey distant, and talks the *Pakhtu* or *DARADI* language. Those, whom they take prisoners in these raids, they sell as slaves" (as they do still). (Voyage par Mir Izzetulla in 1812 in Klaproth's Magasin Asiatique, II., 3-5.) (The above arrangement of quotations is due to Schiern.)†

#### INFLUENCE OF GREECE ON ASIA IN GENERAL AND INDIA IN PARTICULAR.

The most important contribution to this question, however, is Plutarch's *Speech* on Alexander's fortune and virtue (περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης καὶ ἀρετῆς), the keynote to which may be found in the passage which contains the assertion that he *Κατέσπειρε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλληνικοῖς τέλεσι*, but the whole speech refers to that marvellous influence.

That this influence was at any rate believed in, may be also gathered from a passage in Aelian, in which he speaks of the Indians and Persian kings singing Homer in their own tongues. I owe the communication of this passage to Sir Edward Fry, Q.C., which runs as follows: "Ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τῇ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιχωρίᾳ φωνῇ τὰ Ὀμήρου μεταγράψαντες ᾄδουσιν οὐ μόνον,

\* General A. Cunningham very kindly sent me the quotation last year. It runs as follows: *Κασπάπυρος πόλις Γανδαρική, Σκυθῶν ἀκτὴ.*

† Who refers to my "Results of a Tour in Dardistan, Kashmir, Little Tibet, Ladak, etc., in 1867-70," and other papers in his pamphlet on the origin of that legend.

ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς εἰ τι χρὴ πιστεῦναι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι.  
—Aeliani Variæ Historiæ, Lib. XII., Cap. 48. [I find from a note in my edition that Dion Chrysostom tells the same story of the Indians in his 53rd Oration.—E. F.]

I trust to be able to show, if permitted to do so, in a future note (1) that the Arian dialects of Dardistan are, at least, contemporaneous with Sanskrit, (2) that the Khajunâ is a remnant of a prehistoric language, (3) that certain sculptors followed on Alexander's invasion and taught the natives of India to execute what I first termed "Græco-Buddhistic" sculptures, a term which specifies a distinct period in history and in the history of Art.

G. W. LEITNER."

P.S. in 1893.—The above, which appeared in "the Calcutta Review" of January 1878, is reprinted with reference to Mr. J. W. McCrindle's recent work on "Ancient India: Its Invasion by Alexander the Great," in which he omits to draw attention to the importance of Plutarch's *Speech* on the civilizing results of Alexander's invasion, and makes no mention whatever of the traces which Greek art has left on the Buddhistic sculptures of the Panjab.

He only just mentions Plutarch's speech on page 13 of his otherwise excellent work, published by Messrs. Constable of 14 Parliament Street, London.\* As that speech, which is divided into two parts, is, however, of the utmost importance in showing what were believed to be in Plutarch's days the results of Alexander's mission, I think it necessary to quote some of the most prominent passages from it relating to the subject under inquiry. I also propose to show in a monogram, to be published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, on the græco-buddhistic sculptures, now at the Woking Museum, which I brought from beyond the Panjab frontier, that Alexander introduced not only Greek Art but also Greek mythology into India. I will specially refer to the "Pallas Athene," "the rape of Ganymede," and "the Centaur" in my collection, leaving such sculptures as "Olympian games," "Greek soldiers accompanying Buddhist processions," "the Buddhist Parthenon," [if not also Silanion's "Sappho with the lyre,"]—all executed by Indian artists—to tell their own tale as to the corroborations in sculpture of passages in ancient Greek and Roman writers relating to the genial assimilation of Eastern with Western culture which the Great Conqueror of the Two Continents, the "Zu'l-Qarnein" of the Arabs, endeavoured to bring about.

The following passages from Plutarch's speech may, I hope, be read with interest. The author endeavours to answer his question as to whether Alexander owed his success "to his fortune or to his virtue" by showing that he was almost solely indebted to his good qualities :

"The discipline of Alexander . . . oh marvellous philosophy, through which the Indians worship the Greek gods."

"When Alexander had recivilized Asia, they read Homer and the children of the Persians . . . sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles." "Socrates was condemned in Athens because he introduced foreign Gods . . . but, through Alexander, Bactria and the Caucasus wor-

\* We propose to review this book in our next issue.—Ed.

shipped the Greek Gods." "Few among us, as yet, read the laws of Plato, but myriads of men use, and have used, those of Alexander, the vanquished deeming themselves more fortunate than those who had escaped his arms, for the latter had no one who saved them from the miseries of life, whilst the conqueror had forced the conquered to live happily."

"Plato only wrote one form of Government and not a single man followed it because it was too severe, whereas Alexander founded more than 70 cities among barbarous nations and permeating Asia with Hellenic Institutions. . ." Plutarch makes the conquered say that if they had not been subdued "Egypt would not have had Alexandria nor India Bucephalia," that "Alexander made no distinction between Greek and Barbarian, but considered the virtuous only among either as Greek and the vicious as Barbarian" and that he by "intermarriages and the adaptation of customs and dresses sought to found that union which he considered himself as sent from heaven to bring about as the arbitrator and the reformer of the universe." "Thus do the wise unite Asia and Europe." "By the adoption of (Asiatic) dress, the minds were conciliated." Alexander desired that "One common justice should administer the Republic of the Universe."

"He disseminated Greece and diffused throughout the world justice and peace." Alexander himself announces to the Greeks, "Through me you will know them (the Indians) and they will know you, but I must yet strike coins and stamp the bronze of the barbarians with Greek impressions." The fulfilment of this statement is attested by the Bactrian coins. I submit that he who left his mark on metal did so also on sculpture, as I have endeavoured to show since 1870 when I first called my finds "*græco-buddhistic*," a term which has, at last, been adopted after much opposition, as descriptive of a period in History and in the history of Art and Religion.

[The above quotations are all from the 1st Part of Plutarch's oration; the second is reserved for the proposed monogram.]

G. W. LEITNER.

## THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND HIS EXC. THE LATE  
P. WASSA PASHA.)

(*Continued from Vol. IV., page 478.*)

### THE TROJAN WAR, THE MINE AND THEME OF THE TRAGEDIANS.

THE Trojan war and its sequels were the great, if not the only, source whence the Attic tragedians drew their inspirations: yet it is neither supposed, much less said, that they invented the incidents of which they treat. Where then did they find them? The pictures are those of events occurring after the Trojan siege,—the *pars et sequela* of that event; and the different principal parties engaged are disposed of, and even their descendants. The deaths of Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon and Klytæmnestra, the Iphigenia in Aulis and Tauris, Electra, the Troades, Andromache, Orestes, and others are all connected with the great historical event. Even where such have not been used, still older and purely mythical incidents are taken, whereof a record, in some shape or other, must have survived, and it is difficult to suppose in any other than a rhythmic form. All these were dramatized myths, or more or less mythic histories, the outline of which was well known to the people at large; and hence the excitement of curiosity and interest, when they were restored to life, in a dramatic form, by poets of acknowledged merit and reputation.

In collecting these stray poems, there are several tales of the revival of the Homeric poems. One is that Lycurgus brought them from Asia to Sparta, 884 B.C.; another that Solon (who died in 558 B.C.) caused the minstrels to recite them in due order; the last that they were collected by Pisistratus, who died 527 B.C. The two former may be safely rejected as most improbable;—the third remains.

Pisistratus appears to have assembled a commission of competent men, to collect as many of these heroic poems as could be found in any state of completeness, and to reduce them to writing, from the mouths of the reciters.

Those which alluded to the siege of Troy they collected, set apart, and subsequently pieced together, in such a manner as to form something in the shape of an epic. But it is necessary to go somewhat further back, and to trace the derivation of the several members of the great epic. It is elsewhere alleged that Antimachus, who died B.C. 348, reduced them to their present state.

#### THE ACHILLEID AND OTHER BARDIC POEMS.

Paley suggests, no doubt with truth, that there existed an Achilleid, a Diomedeid—an Ajaxeid, etc.,—the works of the appointed bards of these sceptre-bearing chiefs, and that these were pieced together by Pisistratus' commission, and finally revised by Antimachus. This theory is thoroughly borne out by the internal evidence of the Iliad itself. Judged by the strict rules of art, the Iliad is, in its structure, but an imperfect poem. It has no object to which the poem tends as a whole, and in which it ultimately culminates. It has, in fact, no culmination (*dénouement*) worthy of the name; for it ends in no great event. Had it concluded with the death of Hector, or been carried on to that of Achilles, it would have been in so far perfect; but it ends tamely in the burial of Hector, and in this respect resembles the Ajax of Sophocles, which it is not impossible that he intended to be an imitation of the Iliad.

The word Rhapsody, or the sewing together of odes, pointedly implies a compilation; and this title is borne out by the contents. These shew it to have been compounded of many panegyrics, some of which can be conjectured. The I., IX., XI., part XVI., part XVIII., XIX., XXI., XXII. appear to have been taken from an Achilleid;—II., IX., XI., part XVI., from an Agamemnoneid or Atreideid;—III.,

XVII. from a Menelaieid or Atreideid :—V., X., part XI., from a Diomeid;—VII., XV., Ajaxeid;—VII., X., part XI., from an Odysseid. The rest are uncertain, and might have been independent odes, yet fitting into the general plan laid down by Pisistratus' commissioners, and interwoven with it. It is remarkable that they did not continue the poem to the death of Achilles as the culminating point ; but it was probably thought undesirable to wind up an epic with the death of the principal hero.

### THE ILIAD.

The story of the Iliad occupies 48 to 50 days, in the 10th year of the siege, and is too well known to need detail.

Professor Geddes, in his article in the *Contemporary Review* (1877), points out several discrepancies in the Iliad, which incline him to adopt the view that it was made up of various materials. He differs, however, in thinking that Books I. to VII., and XXIII. and XXIV., formed a part of the supposed Achilleid, while the remaining 13 were portions of other heroic poems interwoven or inserted between these two points : his reason is that Achilles is referred to as the leading character in these. But on reference to the foregoing pages, this hardly seems correct, Achilles taking no part in Books II., III., IV., V., VI., or VII., while he reappears in Books IX., XI., XVI., and XVIII. The Professor, however, does not go the length of supposing other panegyric poems ; but remarks on the absence of the unity of the poems, though the Odyssey culminates in a great event. Like his predecessors, however, he maintains the Iliad to be the older poem. He appears to be incorrect also in asserting the 24th Book to be part of the Achilleid, and that the climax is reached in the 22nd Book with the death of Hector. His own arguments, however, though strong fail to persuade the Professor that the poem consists of isolated bardic songs, collated and strung together at a subsequent age : a view strongly supported by the *επιγραφαί*, according to which the action of the Iliad occupied 48 days :

Books I. to VI.	-	-	-	-	20 days.
„ V.	-	-	-	-	3 „
„ VIII. to X.	-	-	-	-	1 „
„ XI. to XVI.	-	-	-	-	1 „
„ XVII. to XXIII.	-	-	-	-	3 „
„ XXIV.	-	-	-	-	20 „

There are inconsistencies in the Poem itself which imply a compilation. For instance, while Odysseus is described as a man of undaunted courage, though cunning, full of expedient, and a persuasive arguer, yet in the encounter where Nestor is in peril by the failure of one of his horses, he is represented as disregarding the appeal for assistance and flying towards the camp. To pick out with certainty the diversities of style in a poem written not only in an archaic language, but of which the original form has not survived, would be impossible from the want of material ; but that such diversities exist cannot but strike any careful reader, as at least probable. The absence of a certain continuity is however the leading feature.

#### PROBABLE FATE OF THE OTHER BARDIC POEMS.

It may be asked why the other bardic poems, which must have existed to afford subject for the many plays of the tragedians, were not interwoven in a similar manner, or compiled into another epic. The answer is obvious :—the characters could not be brought together, nor the chronology made to fit, even by poetic license ; or the accounts were not suitable either *ex relatione* or *ex similitudine*. To account for the loss of such “odes” is sufficiently easy. Many were probably of inferior interest or merit, and survived only in those fragments which contained the best and salient points. Nor is it impossible that some survived, paraphrased in an Attic dress, by the three great tragedians. Should anyone be at the trouble of rendering certain portions of these tragedies into Homeric Greek and measure, the similarity would at once become obvious. In other words, the Tragedians have plagiarized them ; and to this plagiarism of well known poems and myths may in

some measure be referred the popularity of these dramatic pieces. Moreover the subject, and the manner of treating it, were as different from the manners of 400 B.C. at Athens, as those of this country now are from what prevailed in the early age of the Saxons. Had Bopp, or Brünck, or any other being analogous to a German professor existed in those days, these fragments would have been collected as such, and an essay made to supply conjecturally the *lacunæ*, and perhaps correct the author himself. Such, however, was not the view of the classical Greek collators. The public was their client ; and that client required a continuous story, comprising the main incidents with which it was already conversant,—the Bopp and Brünck business being relegated to the Tragedians.

#### WORK OF THE COLLATORS AND COMPILERS.

The task of the collators would have been comparatively easy had they found these disjointed pieces in the shape of a continuous poem, such as that subsequently composed by Virgil or other later original imitators, who adapted the substance of the myths, only paraphrasing or even translating certain stock passages and adapting them to a plot or framework of their own. But in the present case they had not only to collect but to collate, select and reject, using a wide and well considered discretion. The supposed Achilleid could, in any case, have formed but a small proportion of the 24 Books, and would moreover savour too much of the personal panegyric. But it formed a good nucleus for the epic constructed by the collators out of the material in their hands, which was so ample as to render it unnecessary to invent imaginary heroes who are not friends of the public. It is moreover remarkable that a serious, careful and capable historian like Herodotus refers to these poems, which had been collected about 100 years before he flourished, by no means as vague myth, but as authentic history, showing undeniably a certain state of things at a remote antecedent epoch.



## THE NATURE OF THE ODYSSEY OR ODYSSEID.

Those who maintain the single authorship of the *Iliad* assert with equal confidence that the *Odyssey* is not only of more modern date, but is by another hand; and indulge in poetic allegories about the midday and setting sun. But are they correct in their assumption? Of course repudiating a sole authorship which is unsustainable for the reason given above, that it would have required no collation, and would not have been intitled a Rhapsody, the *Odyssey* has great advantages as a poem over the *Iliad*. It is a continuous story; or to use a technical dramatic term, the unities are preserved, both in the subject and the hero, who is the main hinge about which every event turns. There is one sole object in view: his return to his native home—one sentiment or *αἶσθημα*,—the love of that home and its belongings, despite of all blandishments. It has a culminating event, the destruction of the suitors. The hero is the same, and maintains the same character throughout.

The *Iliad* shews him in camp, the *Odyssey* in domestic life. The *Iliad* occupies 48 to 50 days. The *Odyssey* 3,650 days. Both poems show local knowledge. The topographical accuracy of the *Iliad* has been repeatedly tested and proved by the late Professor Ulrichs in his treatise on that subject,\* and since he wrote placed beyond a doubt by that eminent scholar, the late Dr. Munro's discovery of an irrefragable fact, the hot and cold springs where the Trojan women washed their clothes in time of peace: volcanic springs do not burst forth in convenient places to supplement other proofs.†

The local descriptions of the *Odyssey* are rather geographical than topical—at least the former prevail;—and though recognizable but in few cases, as in the *Iliad*, they are sufficiently accurate to indicate a personal knowledge of

\* Professor N. Ulrichs' *Topography of Ilium*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*.

† This was written before Dr. Munro's letter was confirmed by Dr. Schliemann's more recent investigations and discoveries.—Ed.

real, rather than of mythical places. The greater part of this poem may be, not improbably, attributed to the same bard; for one hero alone is lauded. That it existed in anything like its present form, however, when taken in hand by the collators, cannot be affirmed; but it is certain that, as in the other case, they found to hand a great mass of legend attributed to Odysseus after the war than to any one hero during the war, and strung these together without sufficient geographical knowledge, and perhaps in ignorance of the non-existence of many places they found described in the fragments.

If the *Iliad* be older because sung by bards present at the events recorded, the matter could not have been older by more than 10 years. The inference therefore would be in favour of contemporaneousness. There is, however, more simplicity in the details of the *Odyssey* than of the *Iliad*, inducing some presumption of a higher antiquity or of a more simple bard.

#### HEROIC BARDS.

It is an undoubted fact that all these great heroes had their bards, like Highland and Welsh chiefs and all semi-barbarous tribes. Nay, their names are in some cases given. The office of bard, herald, priest, were in many instances combined, conferring on them a sacred and protected character. Talthybius was Agamemnon's herald. Phœnix stood in the same position to Achilles. Odysseus is represented as having augurs and bards in his house: Medon the bard and herald, and Phemius the bard whom he spares, and Leiodes the soothsayer whom he slays.

In Phaiacia, the modern Corfu, Alkinous requires the bard Demodochus to sing. The harp which hung on the peg over his head is put into the hands of the blind bard who sings the deeds of the heroes before Troy, and the loves of Mars and Venus. Such is his theme 10 years after the termination of that war, yet fresh in the memory of the Phaiacians, a theme which, by bards such as he, was perpetuated for hundreds of succeeding years.

These bards, ἀοιδοί, were no studied composers; they were inborn poets to whom the inspiration came with the occasion. They were improvisers, as is distinctly stated.\* Theirs was a status. In a word they were bards, but when their rhythmic and poetic utterances were transferred to the professional reciters, they lost the charm of originality which enchained the listeners. The expectation of novelty was wanting, and the audience knew what the next strophe would produce. There was no element of surprise to supply the want of a plot.

#### ORIGIN OF THE MYTH OF HOMER'S BLINDNESS.

The myth of the impersonate Homer, and the elaborate and conflicting stories of his blindness here stand confessed. The basis of that myth becomes clear and has its foundation in the blind Demodocus,† the impersonification of song, be it ode or lyric minstrelsy.

Epic was a later and Attic invention. Ode is the foundation of poetry. Epic is artificial and comparatively modern, and is at best an incorporation of odes so as to form a continuous story. There is no Greek Epic remaining, except the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The nearest approach to these are the Greek Tragedies. With the Romans it was otherwise. But here there is but one who has attempted the task of taking a theme, and sustaining a continuous and well-connected story without the help of individual odes.

That poem is the *Æneid*. Even then a Greek word is borrowed, with Greek incidents and customs, highly polished to meet the taste of the Augustan age; and if it be tame, it is no fault of the author, who, to hope for success, recognized the necessity of avoiding a shock to the public feeling of the Augustan age, in which the brutality of the *Iliad*, splendid in its savagery, would have produced no re-echo of feeling. Toned down to tameness, the *Æneid* has only emasculated virility compared with its prototypes.

\* *Odys.*, viii 45.

† *Odys.*, viii. 105, 255. Tiresias was also blind, 480.

The story of the *Odyssey* is of a different and domestic nature. It shows more of the social life, and contains more of the elements of romance. This poem was the foundation of the *Æneid*, into which were woven some of the scenes of the *Iliad*. To follow and compare the passages would be superfluous and foreign to the purpose, as they are well known to every scholar.

The story of the *Odyssey*, as well known as that of *Iliad*, needs as little to be here detailed.

#### THE BARDS OF THE ODYSSEY AND ILIAD.

The Ἐπιγραφαὶ of the *Odyssey* are not quite so indicative of compilation as those of the *Iliad*; still the signs of compilation are sufficiently evident. Thus the trace of a refrain is more or less patent throughout the whole poem. So too are certain contradictions. Hence though there are marks of more than one mind, yet the main body of the epic must be attributed to the same bard. Moreover many bards are incidentally mentioned in the course of the 24 books, Demodocus, Medon, Phemius, etc. Nor is there any reason to doubt that some of these were present at the events they sung, while others composed from the accounts given by the actors in the drama, or from the legends current regarding it among the people, which the bards rhythmatized.

The *Odyssey* is rather an imaginative poem, while the *Iliad* deals with facts. The invocation in the *Iliad* presumes that the reciter was not himself present at the events, but it by no means follows that other portions were not composed by eyewitnesses. The middle of the 2nd book appears to be the commencement of another poem, quite out of place where it stands in the story: this should logically have commenced with the muster-roll of the forces and ships. The first invocation was probably from the commencement of the *Achilleid*. The muster-roll of the army has no connection with the "wrath or sulks of Achilles," who is described as amusing himself, during his retirement,

with a *Φόρμιγξ*—some sort of stringed instrument—on which he had been instructed by Phoenix, his Bard, Herald, Cup-bearer and Sacrificial officer. Hence it follows as not impossible that Achilles may have been himself the composer of some of the Rhapsodies.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδὲ τι ἴδμεν

clearly meant men of the present age, of whom the poet was one. Or, more probably, this is an *ἐμπόνημα* of the collators. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the invocation is placed at the beginning.

The logical sequence of the *Iliad* would have been to have commenced the poem with the 484th line of B., Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι, to the end of that book as A., and placed the 1st A. as the 2nd book, B., Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ, to the 483rd line of B., ἐκπρεπέ' ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἔξοχον ἡρώεσσι, making 1093 lines in the 2nd book, and only 393 lines in the first A.

With respect to the traces of a refrain, it cannot be denied that these odes or songs were sung to the music of some stringed instrument; for Demodochus sings them to the company, accompanying himself on a *φόρμιγξ*. In like manner Phemius lays his *φόρμιγξ* on the ground when he supplicates Odysseus; Achilles also sings to his *φόρμιγξ*. In the *Odyssey* the refrain has been preserved (XXII., 257-274).

Τῶν ἄλλος μὲν σταθμὸν, εὖσταθῆος μεγάροιο  
Βέβληκεν, ἄλλος δὲ θύμην πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαν  
Ἄλλων δ' ἐν τοίχῳ μελίη πίεσε χαλκοβάρεα,

which may be rendered somewhat thus :

One struck the post of the solid house,  
And another the close-fitting door,  
While the ashen haft with its brazen point  
Of the third struck the wall and the floor.

There is a similar passage in the *Iliad*, Γ 68-88.

Ἄλλως μὲν κάθισον Τρῶας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
Αὐτὰρ ἐμ' ἐν μέσσω καὶ ἀρηϊφίλον Μενέλαον

Ξυμβάλετ' ἄμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι  
 Ὅππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται  
 κτήμαθ' ἑλών ἐπὶ πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω  
 Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότῃσι καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες.

Let the Trojans sit down and Achæans all  
 Menelaos and me, face to face,  
 For Helen adversely to fight and to fall :  
 Let the better man win in the race.  
 And he who shall conquer and win the fair dame,  
 With her dower and wealth to his hall,  
 Let him carry it off, having proved his good fame :  
 Let us swear it—be witnesses all.

There are many passages in both Epics which might be treated in the same manner, as evidence of the assertion that these bardic ballads had been forced into the comparatively modern conception of an Epic, with which intention they were no more composed than the so-called Ossianic ballads, or the modern Chevy Chase. The Ossianic ballads were spoilt by being forced into an Epic ; and may not the same be said also of the bardic ballads of the Iliad and the Odyssey ?

#### ILIAD AND ODYSSEY NOT THE WORK OF THE SAME POET.

In comparing the Iliad and Odyssey, it would seem that the same foregone conclusion is adopted—that both were the work of one and the same man—a theory which common observation must dismiss as entirely untenable. All bardic or lyric poems must necessarily bear a great resemblance, enhanced by the similarity of object ; the difficulty, therefore, of distinguishing them would be great. In fact, there was a typical style which the composers of such lyrics naturally adopted, though in later times this rigid conformity was abandoned when Pindar and Sappho assumed a versification of their own. As well might Moore or Byron be expected to write love-songs in long hexameters. The metre, as at present, must fit the subject, and when applied to an incongruous subject, as the Rolliad, it becomes what it was intended to be—mock-heroic, a caricature. This remark acquires additional force from the supposition that the

language in which the Homeric poems are at present clothed was not the original tongue in which they were conceived.

There is a hackneyed phrase of Longinus, not the more true for having been repeated during many centuries, that "the Iliad was like the sun at its meridian, the other poem like the setting sun." The expression may be poetic and taking without being true. The description of a battle is necessarily more forcible than that of a journey. The Iliad contains none of the latter, but the Odyssey contains some of the former, viz., the slaughter of the suitors; nor can it be alleged that the scene is deficient in force or virility.

#### EVIDENCE OF TRANSLATION FROM ANOTHER TONGUE.

The type of the Odyssey is, if anything, more archaic than that of the Iliad. Less polished in its composition and more cumbersome in expression, it bears stronger evidence of translation from another tongue. Many of the sentences are not according to the *αἰσθημα* of the language. It may, perhaps, be answered that it is archaic. But we do not know what the Greek language then was; and this is a strong argument that the present is not the original dress of the Rhapsodies, and that the adapter was one to whom, however familiar, it was yet not the maternal tongue.

The Odyssey has more the type of a semi-barbarous people than the Iliad, and is more simple in its diction and more exact in its repetitions. On the other hand, it contains fewer tropes and figures; and generally it has more narrative and less indication of different hands. Many of its characteristics are the same as those of the Romaic Greek in the mouth of the Shkypetar, where an idiomatic translation from his own mother tongue is usually evident by its clumsy involution.

The Greek of the Homeric poems is also in many respects peculiar, abounding in expressions and words found in no Attic or even Ionic author. This, too, argues a greater antiquity than has hitherto been ascribed to them.

ARCHAIC GREEK AND GAELIC.

A striking similarity existed some hundreds of years ago between the inhabitants of Scotland and the heroes of the Homeric poems. The tribal system prevailed; and the gentry or Doineusal of the various clans occupied themselves, almost exclusively, in war, and exercised the same absolute sway over their tribe or clan as the Homeric chiefs, settling differences among their people by their decisions, and disputes with other tribes by war. In Ireland, these contests often led to the almost total extinction of a tribe. Each chief, both in Ireland and Scotland, had his own bard—a Gaelic word naturalized in other languages—who occupied a position akin to that of the Homeric ἀοιδός.

THE WORD *Βασιλεύς*.

The Odyssey mentions many *βασίλεις* as inhabiting the territory subject to Odysseus. They were analogous to the immediate barons, established in the German Empire by Charles the Great, and in more recent times in the British Isles, whose modern representatives are the present country gentlemen, Lords of Manors, with their courts of Leet and Baron. It has been shown, in the first part of this Treatise, that the Albanian Chiefs, termed *Begs* or *Aghas*, occupied the same position, as descendants of the ancient Pelasgi—the true Homeric heroes—who, divested of the halo thrown round them by poetry, were confessedly a semi-barbarous though not quite uncultured people, with the same piratical tendencies as the Scandinavian Vikings.

THE TROJAN WAR, A PIRATICAL EXPEDITION.

Their expedition against Troy was piratical—to plunder the rich cities of Asia Minor. Nor is this object concealed: gold, silver, arms, and slaves were their spoil. Whether Helen ever existed, or was married to Menelaus, or was stolen from Sparta by Alexander or Paris, son of Priam, the myth itself well accords with and exemplifies the



customs of the Pelasgi. The rape of a woman, especially if married, was the most serious offence that could be perpetrated. It justified then, as it would now in Albania, retribution by blood (Ghiacks), furnishing the best excuse for plunder and pillage. The myth, therefore, which need not itself be historically true, furnishes a characteristic type of the manners and customs of the people and epoch.

#### THE ATTACK ON EGYPT, *temp.* RAMESES II.

The Trojan raid was not, however, the only piratical expedition undertaken by this people.

Odysseus, relating his fictitious adventures,\* represents himself as having taken part in an unsuccessful attack on Egypt. Two such attacks are recorded,† respectively about 1250, and somewhat later ; and Odysseus may have alluded to one of these, taking advantage of a well-known fact to give the colour of truth to a fictitious narrative.

It has already been remarked that although the Leleges who settled in Asia Minor were the same people as those who crossed into Thrace and settled on the European side, they had become, during a long period of separation, almost a distinct people. They would, therefore, have no hesitation in attacking, either in Europe or Asia, others who had branched off in remote ages from the same race as their own, while the Egyptians had no affinity at all with this race of Caucasian descent. It is not improbable that this raid had an influence in fixing the vulgar era of the Trojan War at 1184 B.C.

*(To be continued.)*

\* Od. xxii.

† Brugsch's Hist. Egypt, vol. ii., p. 111. *Revue Archéologique*, Sept. 1867 ; Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, p. 249.

# MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. IV., page 466).

## XXIII.

### THE PORUL ADIGĀRUM OF TÓLKĀPPIYAN.

BY A NATIVE.

[I here give three notes of Sir Walter Elliot on this subject, marked A, B, and C, the latter containing a translation of an interesting and very ancient fragment. The *Porul Adigārum* contains an account of the Tamil tribes of Southern India, probably as they existed about 1,000 years B.C. before their absorption into the great dynasties of the peninsula, Chola, Chera, and Pāndya.—R. S.]

#### A.—CATTLE-RAIDERS.

WHAT is vulgarly called by Tamil people the "cattle-catching fight," or "cow-fight," is found in an ancient Tamil work generally named *Porul Adigārum*, of which the cow-fights form only a small portion. The *Porul Adigārum* is the only vestige remaining (except some grammar treatises) of the ancient literature of Southern India containing facts relating to their country, caste, customs, habits, manners, and religion. *Porul*,\* primarily signifying "a thing," or "things," "a subject," or "subjects," comprehends three divisions, viz., *mutarporul*, "first or chief subjects,"† *Karupporul*, "peculiar properties,"‡ and *Uripporul*,§ "essentials" or "habits." These three together constitute a sort of repertory of ancient manners, each subject ushering in the next. The eight modes of warfare are dealt with, which had long before become obsolete and died out, and of which cow-plundering and cow-rescue are the introductory parts. Then the work dwells on social habits, especially with

\* Rottler (vol. ii. 440) does not give a clear explanation of these terms.

† Main subjects, as those relating to time and place, comprised under five kinds of soil, and six divisions of time.

‡ As customs relating to marriage and other social matters (Rottler, i. pt. 2, p. 34).

§ Or subjects of a domestic nature (Rottler, ii. 440).

reference to the eight sorts of marriage-contracts then in use. Intermingled with these are many curious incidents. The tribes mentioned are different castes of Maravars, Kuravars, Pánars, Kurumbars, Idaiyars, Eyinárs,\* Urārst Tóniyakkuvárs (Boatmen, or River-fishermen), and Pulaiyárs.† It is remarkable that the Paraiyas (Pariahs) are not mentioned by the most ancient writers.§ Mallars, the present Pallars, did exist. Védars and Villiyars also are occasionally mentioned. The work treats of their different avocations: chase, plunder, warfare, selling roots, destroying forests, etc. Their worship of trees, demons, and departed men and women is gathered therefrom,|| also their government by chiefs or patriarchs of families. From it we learn that they were subsequently connected or incorporated with the Cholas, Cheras, and Pandiyas; thus some of the other ruling and partly-civilized people were admitted to caste-privileges (they are the present Kallars, Pallis, Agambadiyas, etc.). Their ancient literature consisted only of war-chants, praises of kings, and love songs. They commemorated their great men by planting or setting up stones.¶ (W. E.)

#### B.—INTRODUCTION.

As *Kaluvial*, the custom of clandestine marriage, or rather of the ratification of a previous unsanctioned private union was, according to the 3rd Chapter of the 3rd Book of Tolkáppian, peculiar to a class of people called *Yāzhār Kúttam* (the congregation of harp-players), so was the practice of fighting in the matter of cows peculiar to that great body of mountain inhabitants subdivided into Karumbars, Maravars, Tudiarys, etc., as told in the 2nd Chapter of the same book; the manners of these ancient races are reduced

\* Traces of all the others remain, but the Eyinárs are altogether extinct.

† Dwellers in towns, civilized races.

‡ A very low caste still known in Malabar.

§ The Pánars are considered to be Pariahs.

|| This constitutes the worship of the bulk of the people to this day.—R. S.

¶ Such stones may be seen to this day in and near every village in the country, only all trace of any knowledge of their origin has disappeared.—R. S.

to a system in the *Porul Adigárum* of Tolkáppian. He, however, derived his *Porul Adigárum* from the more ancient work of the sage Agastya, and called after him *Agastyam*. These sages are said to have come from the north (or from Kailás), upon a mission for introducing and improving the Tamil language among the people of the south, and to have written many books, among which was the *Porul Adigárum*, containing rules and descriptions of the then existing manners and customs of the people. . . . Before his death or apotheosis, Agastaya ordered his 12 disciples to describe the subject of warfare, only on a more connected system; and their conjoint work is *Purapporul Panniru Pádálam*, i.e. the 12 chapters on Hindu warfare, the oldest work on the subject now extant.

#### C.—THE PORUL ADIGÁRUM.

The *Porul Adigárum* or *Ilakkannam*, is part of the celebrated work by Tolkappian, on grammar and several other subjects. It consists of 3 parts, or *Adigárums*; but other grammarians divide it into 5 qualities or *Ilakkannams*. The *Porul Adigárum* refers particularly to the third portion, subdivided into two parts: 1. *Agapporul*, or rules for composing amatory poems, with observations on agriculture, soils, and seasons, etc.; and 2. *Purapporul*, or rules for composing war-chants, with notices of warlike operations. The author's real name was Tiranadhumagni; but he is generally known as Tolkáppian, or a man from the village of Tolkappiyam.

The title *Porul Adigárum* is also given to the work of the 12 disciples of Agastya (of whom Tolkappian was one) entitled *Poroporul punniru pádálam*, being 12 chapters on the art of war. These were abridged by Eiyánár Idanár, a member of the third or last college (*Sangha*) of Madura, as the 12 disciples of Agastya were of the first. His work is called *Venba Malai*. These appear to be the only works now extant on the subject, and thus they contain the most ancient notices which we possess of early Hindu custom and polity.

I give a translation of the two first chapters or *Pádálams* of the work of Eryanár Idanár, who is described as “Eiyan Aridhan, the well-versed in the 12 kinds of warfare, governing the whole earth, of imperishable fame, lord of the *Vanavars*, the long armed, grasping the bended bow, who set forth clearly the science of *Porul* (war) in the *Venba malai* (name of the work) that it may be thoroughly understood by the people of the land.”

The introductory remarks treat of the practice of cattle-lifting, the first cause and origin of war, and are taken from a commentary on the *Porul Adigárum*. To this day a common proverb says, that the seizure of cows is the first cause of war. The *Pádálam* is divided into *turais*, of which the *Vetchi-pádálam* has 20. Each *turai* has 3 parts: 1. its name or title (*Kilavai*) ; 2. its explanation (*Sutram*\*) ; 3. an illustration or proof (*varaláru*) in amplification of the *Sutram*, generally a quotation from some standard work in *Venba* metre, which was that most approved by the *Sanghattár* (Collegians) of Madura. The last is often represented as spoken by different parties to the action, as by one or other of the belligerents, by the king or leader, by the spectators acting as a chorus, or by the author himself.

#### CHAPTER I.—VETCHI PÁDÁLAM.

The custom of *Vetchitturei* is most frequent in mountainous districts. The description of *Vetchi* comprises 20 subdivisions, each describing an incident of the expedition. This is the general signification of the term *Vetchi*. Its more recent and practical meaning is expressed in the second *Sutram*, thus: The king sends his warriors (*Munei-nár*) to seize the cows (of the enemy) and keep them for the State. The *Vetchi* expedition is carried out either by open force or by stratagem. The warriors go by night, and unexpectedly carry off the booty. When this robbery is known the next day, war is proclaimed, which if carried

\* *Sutram*, an amplification of the *Kilavi*, in the metre called *Agavul*, which always ends with the word *uraittandu*, literally “it is said,” and is rendered variously “notice,” “description,” “statement.”

out and completed belongs not to *Vetchitturei*, but to *Vangiturrei*—open warfare. *Vetchi* is a shrub, the flower of which, also called *Vetchi*, must be worn by the leader, his officers and his men, when out on a cattle raid : *turrei* signifies “way,” “manner” or “plan.” Therefore the 8 different kinds of fight refer to the different modes of action in which they are carried on. The term cows (*pasu*) includes all innocent or harmless creatures—Brahmins, women, sick people, unmarried youths and maidens, and children. Though *Vetchi* is a special kind of Hindu warfare, it may be considered the commencement of all the other 7 kinds of warfare, aggressive or defensive. The defence set up for it is curious : According to the Vedas, “the object of a king’s administration being the establishment or practice of virtue, a king intent on the practice of good deeds may, on just cause and in retaliation for evil deeds, deprive another of the indispensably necessary articles of cows, Brahmins, children, etc., for the same reasons for which Vishnu in every *Yuga* comes into the world—to avenge the innocent and punish the wicked. In the *Bhagavad-gita*, Vishnu declares : “I make my appearance in this world, *Yuga* after *Yuga*, solely to save the *Sādhus* (righteous), to destroy evil-doers, and to establish *Dharma* (virtue).”

If the act of the king, in carrying off the cows of the other, be unjust, naturally the latter immediately pursues the plunderers, to recover his animals. This is termed *Karandei*, from a shrub so named, the flowers of which the king, his officers and men must wear as signs of their determination to relinquish all other work, for the recovery of their lost property.\* Tolkappiyan following his Northern

\* It is very probable that the highly interesting bull-festivals still held constantly in the Madura country, the home of the Maravars and Kallars, form a relic of bygone raids. Certainly no such custom exists in any country in Southern India, with which I am acquainted. I have been present at some of them. A notice is sent round, and some hundreds of highly fed young bulls are collected and driven into a strongly walled enclosure, having a sort of lane formed by two strong stone walls running outward from the only entrance. The bulls are gaily decorated and have cloths tied between their horns. The plain near the village is crowded

(Sanskrit) teachers includes both seizing and recovery under the head of *Vetchi*, but his successors, from the difference of the actuating motives, divide it into 2 chapters : *Vetchi*, with 20 incidents, and *Karandei* with 14. These incidents are simply so many scenes, from the first action of offence till the victory is decided.

#### TRANSLATION OF THE VETCHI TURREL.

##### *Contents.*

There are 20 acts or incidents, viz. : 1. *Vetchi* ; 2. The noise or bustle of *Vetchi*, *i.e.* arrangements for the march and the din of preparation ; 3. The good omen—ascertaining the chance of success by omens ; 4. The march ; 5. The spying ; 6. Halting outside or lying in ambush ; 7. *Urkolai* ; 8. Seizing the prey, *i.e.* capturing and carrying off the cows ; 9. Fresh contest or rescue, resisting the enemy's endeavours to interrupt the retreat ; 10. Return homewards, by bye-ways, with the cows ; 11. Appearance of the army, *i.e.* return of the party to their own people ; 12. Collecting the spoils, or taking the plundered cattle into the town ; 13. Dividing the spoil ; 14. Eating and dancing—rejoicing after success ; 15. The giving of gifts from the spoil ; 16. Reward for information, honouring

with thousands of people assembled to see the fun and witness the prowess of their young men. The object is for a man to stop a bull and take off the cloth upon its horns, which then becomes his property. The lane leading from the enclosure is lined by the bolder spirits ; every point of vantage is thronged with spectators ; and at the appointed time, amid beating drums and deafening shouts, the gate of the enclosure is opened, and half a dozen bulls are driven out. They dash down the lane in frantic excitement, striking right and left with their horns, while the young braves strive to catch and hold them. Racing out into the plains, they dash half blindly among the crowds, people falling flat on the ground on their approach, when the incensed animals leap over their bodies. The more active and dangerous escape into the fields ; some stand quietly and are easily captured, once they are free of the terrible passage. This goes on for two or three hours, the bulls being let out in batches. It may be easily imagined that this amusement is not without its danger. Often men have been killed at these games. While I was present, one man was badly gored in the arm. But it is a bold, manly sport, requiring great pluck, activity and strength ; and it gave me great pleasure to witness it.—R. S.

those who brought the secret intelligence ; 17. The bird-gift, or present to those who interpreted the bird omens ; 18. The drummer's part ; 19. The *Kottavei Neli*—the honouring and treatment of *Kali*, the goddess of victory ; and 20, the intoxicated dance.

“ 1. The King gave order, saying, O chief, go, and seize all the cows, that our enemies perceiving their bodies covered by the arrows of our archers, like cloven billets [of wood] heaped up on the fire, may scream on the battle-field.\*

“ O maid, with large and black eyes ! deny me not the toddy which trembles [or splashes] in the overflowing jar ; for the cruel-eyed *Maravar*† king will not wait, the angry soldier will not pause for a moment. He has put on the war-anklet. We must see our enemies' cows in our yards by the morrow's sun.

“ 2. When the long-sighted Maravars stood, and their drums beat, and the men were adorned with the *Vetchi* flowers, ready to march through difficult tracks, the crows resting on the sheds of the beautiful bell-adorned cows in the adversary's territory, set up a low wailing [*i.e.*, they gave warning to the herdsmen of approaching calamity].

“ 3. When, in the evening, the army stood worshipping in the royal courtyard of the steel-defended little town, a

\* I omit, in each case, the *Kilavai* and *Sutram* (see p. 36) and give only the *Varalûru* as tending to simplicity. Thus in Incident 9, the original runs : *Kilavai*, Fresh Contest ; *Sutram*. The capture effected with so great slaughter is maintained with heavy loss. *Varalûru*. The enemy coming by another path, etc.

† *Maravar* is still the name of a powerful, possibly aboriginal tribe in Madura and Tinnevely, to which the *Rámnád*, *Swaganga*, *Uttrimalai* and many other Potigars or petty chiefs belong. The *Uttrimalai* chief is celebrated in Sungara Namasivaiyar's commentary on the “*Nannul*.” The *Maravars* have traditions of their former power and influence, and point out the sites of many of their ancient strongholds in the open country now usurped by the Villalers, Mudeliars and other Hindu races. The latter still are obliged (or till very lately were) to ask permission of the Maravars to begin their marriages, etc. The Maravars are also accustomed to meet in a great assembly or *kutam*, to discuss matters affecting the interests of the caste. Their funeral rites are peculiar, all their weapons, etc., being buried with them.



maiden cried out, 'Bring the toddy in a jar from the booth'; and then, 'O mighty-handed, never-retreating King! the word is Victory.'

"4. Fierce bowmen, resembling the emissaries of Death, directed their march towards the place where the cows stood. As they marched on, in their left hand holding their lances, vultures followed them to the tall bamboo-covered hills.

"5. Said one to the Chief: 'O Impetuous wearer of honey-dropping wreaths and of the great war-anklet! our spies have just arrived, in the darkness of midnight having entered the encampment of the enemy and learned well the state of the party, of the cows, and of the hill under which they stand tethered.'

"6. Cried the attacked ones, 'Alas! None can hence escape alive; for by the help of their spies they have surrounded our fastness with their strong men! They will attack us like the fire in the last day; and we shall all be destroyed, for we are so encompassed that we cannot escape!'

"7. Urged by their own valour, the death-dealing bowmen rushed on like hissing fire, and with ringing anklets entered the camp. They captured the fortress in 3 hours and three quarters, after dreadful slaughter.

"8. Like a host of tigers, the serried ranks of spearmen with blood-stained lances, have seized the cows from the heart of the town, whose clusters of bamboos rustle and sigh in the night wind.

"9. The enemy coming by another path, endeavoured to outflank their foes and rescue the surrounded cows. Alas! they fell! Quick in their flight like birds, the blood-stained arrows, shot from the cruel bows of the archers, alighted on the corpses.

"10. 'Let the kine under the shade of the lofty mountain, grazing slowly, proceed together,' said the bow-grasping and victorious anklet-wearer, although he saw the enemy in pursuit, like a mountain torrent.

" 11. The great herd of cows passes on, followed by the rejoicing drums of the successful hero. The oval-eyed women, sitting with their chins resting on their hands, felt their left eyes quiver,\* and rejoiced exceedingly.

" 12. The white-toothed women seeing their halls filled with bell-adorned cows, blessed themselves, saying, May the bee-attracting wreath,† with which I was wedded on my marriage-day, continue to flourish !

" 13. To the wielder of the shining sword, to the spy who sought out and brought information, to the augur who declared the auspicious omen, to the victorious Maravars who cut down those [whom the King] pointed out, the captured cows were divided.

" 14. When the soft-voiced damsels, gazing at them with beaming eyes, served out in large measure the clear palm-wine, the anger of the red-eyed Maravars was kindled against their enemies.

" 15. The riches gained by the red-eyed chiefs, raging with their well-bound bows in the front of the battle, were thrown carelessly in exchange for ardent liquor by drummers, trumpeters, messengers and singers.

" 16. Said one to the King, 'There are some who, regardless of death, went day and night into the hostile camp, to bring information. Surely, it is but right, O bearer of the shining-bladed lance ! to give to them in more abundant measure !'

" 17. 'There are those who interpreted the favourable bird-omen to us, when we were bent on capturing the

\* It is a belief among the Hindu women, even in modern days, that if the muscles of the outer corner of the right eye quiver involuntarily, some great evil will happen,—as that their husbands will die ; and that a similar evil to the wife is foretold by the like affection of the husband's left eye. The twitching of the left eye in a woman and of the right in a man is esteemed a favourable omen. Spasmodic movements of the muscle of the right hand foretell the loss of a brother—for a brother is considered like the right hand.

† In the Hindu marriage ceremony, the bridegroom and bride throw each a wreath of flowers over the other's necks. These are kept with great care and treasured up with the silk dresses or wedding garments sent with the *Tali* (necklace) on the day preceding the wedding.

enemy's cows, that we might march with confidence. To them give at once 4 large-uddered cows of the Kudanjuttoo breed. Do not delay !'

"18. Said the King to his chief drummer, 'His ancestors were good drummers to my ancestors, his father to my father, as now he is to me. Never have they failed in their hereditary duty to our family. Pour yet more of the clear sweet liquor to the old retainer.'

"19. When the King resolves on a cattle-raid and the destruction of a fortress, the goddess Kottavai\* with her lion-flag flying, her green parrot hovering over her, precedes him in her antelope-car, surrounded by demons.

"20. The anklet-wearing Maravar, beheld with favour by Hari [Vishnu], stands resplendent. The jewel-decked, lotus-eyed, moon-faced one, adorned with wreaths and perfumes, dances inspiredly before the god."

## CHAPTER II.—THE KARANDEI.

As already stated, this poem contains 14 incidents:—

1. *Karandei*, i.e. the pursuit;—2. The din of preparation for the pursuit;—3. The march through the jungle paths;—4. The fight;—5. Returning with wounds;—6. Loss in the fight;—7. The avenging youth;—8. The coolness of the young Chief;—9. The doings (*lit.* dancing) of the young Chief;—10. The warriors' funeral;—11. The Eulogy;—12. The neglect of the bird-omen;—13. The praises of the King;—14. The eulogy of his race.

"1. As, when in this sea-girt earth, a man would recover a life swallowed up by the god of Death, so the excited [Karumbar†] inhabitants, donning *Karandei* wreaths, rushed furiously after their cows stolen by the foe.

\* When the omen of this goddess of Victory is tried, a large and handsome brazen lamp is lighted with a lotus-fibred wick immersed in *ghee*. If the flame rises up straight and burns steadily for 2 or 3 minutes and then begins to flicker, so that the tip of the flame turns 3 times to the right of the inquirer, the result is considered favourable. See a reference to the ceremony in the IV Sargham, 25th Slokam of the Raghuvansam of Kalidas.

† Probably another aboriginal tribe.

“ 2. With their war-anklets on their left legs,\* seizing their cruel bows, grasping their swords in their hands, they presented an appearance as when the god of Death rose and bristled at the cries of their dying relatives.

“ 3. With the braying of loud conches, horns and other peacock-feather [ornamented] instruments, they hastened with serried ranks and glittering swords over the heated stones of the burning waste, following hard on the foot-prints of their cattle.

“ 4. Stung by fierce anger, their honour and reputation outraged, they rush like a host of lions, tigers, and war-elephants, to the front and fight with untameable fury.

“ 5. The leader, chosen by the King himself, when he had humbled the pride of the Maravars, came forth from the fight and stood, warm blood gushing from deep wounds in his body, as streams from a mountain-side.

“ 6. Is this a matter of wonder? The chief who pursued after the captured cows, and with matchless valour struck on all sides, with his sword, his valiant foe, at last himself fell prone to the earth, and was no more seen.

“ 7. Then into the fray sprang the noble youth,† over-throwing men like children, heaping up corpses, mocking the cattle-robbers, of whom some fought, some died, and some retreated: the graceful anklet-wearer never giving way one pace, stood fast.

“ 8. The youth annihilated his enemies! He never sheathed his sharp sword! He danced with redoubled activity on the battle-field before the anklet-wearers, while drums were beaten with ever-increasing rapidity.

“ 9. He tore open the breasts of the Maravars, dragged out their entrails with his sword, and hung them around

\* This is not expressed in the text; but the commentary states that the war-anklet was worn only on the left leg by distinguished warriors, but by the common men on both legs.

† This may refer either to the son of the fallen leader, or, as others think, to the son of the King or Chief, who allowed him to accompany the Commander of the party.

him, while drums sounded, and on all sides swords were brandished. He defied the enemy!

“ 10. And then he, the renowned of poets, the terror of the hostile band, drooped his head like a wounded tiger, and fell and died! O bards of ancient race, with fame-extolling lyres, born of the flower-wreathed race! are your eyes rocks, that they weep not?

“ 11. His soul spoke to the King—‘ O King! when the flood of the enemy poured in upon us, I stayed it with my sword! I alone did it! The others, O exulting anklet-wearing hero! were all day drinking the strained [pure toddy] liquor given by you.’

“ 12. Though the omen was ill and the bird foretold failure in the serried fight, the youth was not hindered! In reward of his prowess when he beat down his foes by the might of his hand, the invincible bow-wearers bestowed on that very day the honours of precedence, and the first distribution of the cooling leaf.\*

“ 13. How great is the happiness of that fragrant wreath-crowned [Chief] who rising from the shade of his ample canopy [or State umbrella] dashes into a just fight, a fight of vengeance, and gives up his life on his enemy’s sword-blade! It is plain as a fruit on the palm of the hand!

“ 14. His family were of ancient descent, sword-wearers. They stood as kings when the roaring waters retired from the deluged earth and the mountains were uncovered before the land appeared! Day after day, they suppressed wrong; and their fame is world-wide!”

*(To be continued.)*

\* The betel-leaf always given at feasts.

## THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE TO THE NATIONS OF THE WEST.\*

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THE future of Japan—her true welfare and safe progress—absorbs, as it should, the thought and energies of all her children. The right path to pursue for its attainment becomes, and is, the momentous enquiry which occupies the minds of her best and most responsible statesmen. One important step is, undoubtedly, to cultivate the closest possible intercourse with the foremost nations of the West, and to invite their powerful co-operation in an effort to consolidate the interests of both, by a more rapid and intimate interchange of ideas in political, literary, and scientific investigations, and, not least, in regard to the extension and improvement of commercial relations.

Perhaps, in the words of a Japanese proverb, "The blind man has no fear of the snake," I may incur your reproof for uttering truisms ; but too many of those mental inductions remain only as truisms in the retirement of philosophical speculation, and do not assume a practical form ; or, if exhibited in practice, they occasionally illustrate the law of induction in electricity, in which an electrified body induces in neighbouring substances a condition opposite to its own. Without, however, applying this invidious parallel to existing commercial relations between the East and the West, I wish to remark that it was owing to the great satisfaction I felt on learning that the hitherto neglected element of Commerce was made so prominent in the programme of this Congress, that I was nerved to appear here to express

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my warm approval of its introduction, and to record my earnest hope that it may receive from competent friends all the encouragement and assistance its vast importance demands. When I was informed of this, it was likewise intimated to me that essays on the subject would be received. I am no essayist. It is sufficient distinction for me to be privileged to read this humble paper before this Congress, my sole object being to express, as well as I may, not only my individual opinion, which of itself is of little value, but the aggregate opinion of the vast majority of my countrymen, that the commerce of the future will prove, even more than that of the past, one of the most powerful factors in the civilization of the world. For what is Commerce, when properly pursued, but the handmaid of Religion, in enlightening and humanizing the dark corners of the earth, and cultivating peace, goodwill, happiness and prosperity among all mankind?

It is also, to my mind, a good augury that this, the Ninth Session of this important Congress, which witnesses the valuable addition of the consideration of enlarged commercial views to its programme, is held in this great city, the commercial emporium of the world, and the centre of those civilizing agencies to which I have alluded.

Among so-called "Oriental" countries, Japan, geographically, is not only the most remote in position, but historically also was the latest opened to European intercourse. Hence it is the least considered in popular esteem on this side of the globe. This is not to be wondered at, since her language, her science, her religion, and, above all, her foreign trade, have attracted much less attention in Europe than those of India and China. But this state of things will now cease. The progress of steam, of locomotive and telegraphic communications, on the one hand, are bringing the opposite sides of the world daily into much closer union; and on the other, the national light or intelligence of the "Land of the Rising Sun" is spreading rapidly over the world. During the last nine or ten years the importance of

Japan has been gradually making itself felt in Europe and America by the aid of her exquisite arts, her progressive industry, and rapidly multiplying commerce. In the daily newspapers, in the periodical literature and in the catalogues of publications, the news items, the general articles, and other literature relating to Japan, are, though slowly, increasing in the frequency of their appearance, and also improving—by “improving” I mean, here, that all information concerning Japan appearing in books or newspapers is becoming less liable to error than before. Yet her claim to more general recognition in the West has hardly been acknowledged as it ought. It is useless, however, to refer to past events. The past is done with. But how can we neglect the future? Can that neglect be repeated with impunity? Especially at this momentous juncture, when that serious question of the relative commerce and prosperity of Japan and of the West respectively is before us, and which will be further adverted to.

Returning to the importance of foreign languages in commerce, I venture to remind you of the following fact. Some years ago, so great was the outcry in London against the ever-encroaching German clerks in the City offices, that the Chamber of Commerce was compelled to promptly investigate the causes of this complaint, and to seek a remedy. Among the reasons given here for the prevailing preference of German to English clerks was the superior equipment of the former in foreign languages; and the Chamber immediately took the requisite steps to stimulate English youth intended for a commercial career in the study of modern languages.

In Japan, also, it is well known that the small amount of foreign trade carried on by the natives is owing, mainly, to the want of acquaintance with foreign languages among the commercial community. These facts preclude the necessity for further comment on the subject.

The foregoing remarks apply only to European and American commercial cities and towns, where no restriction



to native employment exists, where foreigners have perfect freedom to establish and carry on all legitimate trade, and to engage in every kind of occupation in free competition with native populations. But the most extraordinary conditions and rules fetter both the native traders and foreign merchants in the transaction of their business in Japan. It is well known that, by virtue of the present old-fashioned treaties, the number of our ports for international commerce is limited to seven—only seven in that most favourable country in the East for trade and navigation. The restriction—a most injurious one—does not end there. Even in those treaty ports no foreign merchants can reside, or open any shops or premises for business, except within a certain small tract of land, about one or two miles in area, which is generally known as a “Concession.” Under this ominous covenant, foreigners and natives never reside together: their dwelling localities are distinct and separate. Moreover, no foreign merchant is allowed to put a foot beyond those ports for trading purposes, although the permission to do so is absolutely essential to the healthy and much-needed expansion of our trade with foreign countries. Thus all the foreign trade in Japan is, up to this moment, restricted to a very narrow channel—a channel, if I may so describe it, each bank of which is respectively occupied by Japanese and foreign merchants, and separated by the run of the treaty; the traffic being carried on between them by the troublesome and tedious means of what may be called “ferries” of small merchants, native and foreign; the ferrymen being the “bantos” of the former, and the “compradores” of the latter, speaking English or Japanese. Hence, foreign merchants in Japan are not under the same necessity to speak the native language, as we are here, in all business matters. In London, we cannot manage a single business transaction without a knowledge of English. Recently I met an Englishman in business who had just returned from Yokohama. To my surprise, he could not speak a single word of Japanese, although he stayed there, he said, more than five years. I

could not help asking him if he had found any inconvenience, while there, from his ignorance of the native language. He promptly replied, "No," explaining that he had seldom associated with Japanese, as he was a clerk in an English firm. The explanation was at first not quite clear to me, but a little consideration showed me that the separation between the foreign and native communities is, as I have said, so complete that he had no opportunity of associating with Japanese, either socially or in the way of business.

This might have been an exceptional instance in a single man's experience. But here is a far more formidable and significant circumstance, to which I venture to direct your attention and that of the public at large.

In the statement issued in December 1890, by the Committee of Foreign Residents in Yokohama, in connection with the treaty Revision—a vexed and intricate question—the following is their concluding expression :—

"The bait which is apparently being held out, and which to the uninitiated seems a tempting one, is the throwing open of the whole country to foreign residence and trade ; and no efforts are being spared by the Japanese and their partisans in this matter to impress on European Governments, as well as on merchants and Chambers of Commerce at home, the belief that a large and valuable internal trade, hitherto beyond the reach of foreign traders in the Treaty Ports, will at once become available to them, and that great results may be expected.

"Now in the opinion of the great majority of those who have been longest engaged in business in this country, there can be no greater fallacy than this ; and whatever hopes might be formed of seeing a material increase or expansion of the trade in foreign imports would certainly be doomed to disappointment.

"It is hardly to be supposed that foreign goods have not, in the course of the past thirty years, found their way to every part of the country, and it is precisely this work of

distribution to consumers in the interior that can be done more economically and to better purpose by the native merchants or middlemen, than by any foreign trader, were the country thrown open to-morrow unrestrictedly.

“Turning to the subject of Exports, it is hardly necessary to point out that there has been a steady and continuous growth in the volume and importance of the trade in them for many years past, and there seems no good reason to suppose that the opening of the country would effect any beneficial change in the conditions under which business has been conducted in the past.”

Without introducing a political element into this purely commercial question, but assuming, for a moment, the foregoing statement and argument to be tenable, is it not evident that the first effect of this dictum of the Yokohama Committee would be to undermine the efforts of this Congress to promote the study of Oriental languages? For what is the declared object of that self-constituted body of exclusionists? Nothing short of closing the whole Empire of the Mikado to the enterprise of foreign merchants, with the single exception of the contracted area exploited by themselves which I have described! If the ruinous Treaties which actually exist be perpetuated, as selfishly claimed by the Yokohama Committee of Foreign Residents, what motive would remain for your generous exertions—what reasons, except of an official or pedantic nature, for the study of international languages, so far as Japanese interests are concerned? The problem of the development of Japan would still remain in native hands—that problem which so profoundly agitates the native mind from one extremity of the Empire to the other.

Through the obstructive operation of the present Treaties all healthy progress in Japan is arrested. The natural, the worthy ambition of her rising generation, to participate in the intellectual activities and advantages of the external world; the almost inexhaustible mineral and various wealth of her fertile soil; her exquisite arts, her ingenious and

valuable industries ; in a word, the endless material resources, and the mental and moral faculties of a gifted nation, bursting to be free, are to be condemned to "rust in us unused," by the suicidal action of these most pernicious Treaties, and at the dictation of a Committee of Foreign Residents in Yokohama ! This condition is unendurable. It will, and must, end.

Of the benefits of foreign elements in national prosperity, may I be allowed to quote, very briefly, that eminent authority, Professor Leone Levi ? In his famous work, "The History of British Commerce," he says, in the chapter on "Commercial Law Reformers" :—

"For the promotion of commerce we cannot open our doors too wide to the merchants of all countries. It would be an interesting inquiry to ascertain how many of those industries which now thrive so prosperously in this country were originally introduced by foreigners. We owe banking to the Lombards, the silk industry to the French and Italians, the sugar refinery to the Germans. And it is the same with other countries. France is largely indebted to the Italians, Holland to the French, and America to English, Irish and German immigrants. We almost imagine that without the foreign element engrafted upon it a country would soon lose its energy and suffer in its best interests."

In truth, England herself is the best of all examples for Japan. Her commercial policy is the freest in the world. Hence the vast preponderance of her commercial influence and prosperity. Why should Japan be debarred from the beneficial action of the law of nature so successfully utilized by Great Britain ? Were the entire dominion of the Mikado open to its operation, as it soon must and will be, there are forty millions of inhabitants (exceeding those of the United Kingdom) waiting to exchange the rich produce of their soil, the varied productions of their art, their skill, and their ingenious industries, with those of every part of the civilized world. There are 148,000 square miles of

territory (also exceeding that of the British Islands) likewise waiting for the application of new and improved methods in agricultural, manufacturing, and mining operations. And even still more urgently is experienced assistance required in the important enterprises of harbour and railway improvement and extension ; in water-works, sanitary reforms, shipbuilding, submarine cables, etc., and though last, not least, in the investigation of our literature, arts, and sciences, by the highest cultured minds of other nations, in each of those varied departments of thought and intelligence. Here is a field replete with every incitement to enterprising genius and talent of every kind, and rich in promise of reward and of advantage to civilization. The key to these treasures, and to the means for their utilization, is language. No appreciable research can be effected, no adequate diffusion of their benefits can take place, without the aid of the Japanese language. Success can only be obtained by the task you have undertaken, to foster and stimulate the study of it by every means in your power, especially in the commercial centres of Europe and America.

Japan, moreover, is so happily situated between the three great continents of Asia, America, and Australia, as to justify the opinion, generally entertained, that, with all her natural capabilities, human and material, the "Land of the Rising Sun" may become the centre of civilization in the East, as Great Britain is in the West.

One remark I should wish to be allowed to make in conclusion.

In the introductory part of this paper, I ventured the observation, as the real conviction of my own mind, that "Commerce, properly conducted, is the handmaid of Religion." I little imagined, at the moment of penning this observation, that I was but echoing the sentiment of one of the most eminent of English poets—I mean the Rev. Dr. Young, the author of "Night Thoughts"—of whom the late lamented John Bright remarked in one of his public

speeches; after quoting from him a memorable passage, that he (Dr. Young) was "too little read in these days." The poem to which I am now referring is named "Imperium Pelagi." It is, if I may so describe it, an Apotheosis of Commerce: a poem, in short, so eloquent and suggestive that I venture to recommend its perusal and particular study to all those of my countrymen who may not already have had the pleasure to read it. One or two detached quotations will exhibit the peculiar genius of this illustrious poet:

"Is 'merchant' an inglorious name?" he asks.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Accomplished merchants are accomplished men."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Trade monarchs crowns, and art imports,

With bounty feeds, with laurel courts ;

Trade gives fair virtue fairer still to shine ;

Enacts those guards of gain, the Laws ;

Exalts even Freedom's glorious cause—

Trade, warned by Tyre, O ! make religion thine !

"You lend each other mutual aid :

Why is Heaven's smile in wealth conveyed ?

Not to place vice, but virtues, in our power.

Pleasure declined is luxury,

Boundless in time and in degree ;

Pleasure enjoyed, the tumult of an hour.

"Merchant ! religion is the care

To grow as rich—as angels are ;

To know false coin from true ; to sweep the main ;

The mighty stake secure, beyond

The strongest tie of field or fund ;

Commerce gives gold, religion makes it gain.

"Join, then, religion to thy store,

Or India's mines will make thee poor.

Greater than Tyre, O bear a nobler mind,

Sea-sovereign isle ! Proud War decline,

Trade patronize : what glory thine,

Ardent to bless, who couldst subdue, mankind."

## SEA-VOYAGES BY HINDUS.

BY THE SUB-EDITOR, *A.Q.R.*

FOR intensity of feeling, extent of interest and importance of results, few, if any, questions among Hindus, equal that which, after agitating for some years the Hindu mind, is now, we trust, in a fair way to a solution. It is.—*Whether Hindus may lawfully cross the ocean and live in foreign countries.*

Lately a strong representative Committee has been formed in Calcutta, after a public meeting of leading Hindus, to investigate and report upon the matter. The initiative has been taken by men well known as much for profound learning and enlightened views, as for faithful adherence to their ancestral religion and for the exact observance of its precepts. Among them we may name the Maharajas Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore and Sir Narendra Krishna, and Pundit Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna.

A special literature is fast springing up on this subject, several specimens of which are now before us. As we cannot, in this issue, afford the space requisite for their detailed treatment, or for the full discussion of a question, that we were the first to start, we are compelled to confine ourselves now to a close summary, which, by placing before our readers the salient points of the controversy, may enable them to see its bearings, aims, and future prospects. The question subdivides itself into the following six points :

I.—*Are sea-voyages forbidden by the Hindu religion ?*

No texts have yet been adduced, from the Vedas or the early sacred books, clearly and directly declaring such voyages to be either lawful or unlawful. Both sides, however, urge indirect utterances in favour of their views.

The advocates of liberty quote passages from the sacred books proving that in former times Hindus went to sea, and that, far from any condemnation, we find directions actually given regarding such voyages. History also is quoted profusely to show that Hindus travelled formerly to

many distant countries. Their opponents have, however, an easy answer. Circumstances indicate that the voyages mentioned and not condemned were those on rivers in boats or on sea by coasting vessels,—that most of the countries mentioned can be, and probably then were, reached by land,—that the others could be reached without actually losing sight of land for even a day,—that such sea-voyages afforded facilities for practising the Hindu religion, which might be impossible in longer voyages.

Having carefully balanced opinions and authorities on both sides, we are forced to conclude that sea-voyages, *per se*, are nowhere forbidden by the Hindu books,—that as all ancient voyages were coasting voyages, modern sea-voyages (days out of sight of land) were not at all contemplated by Hindu teachers, and hence could not be condemned. Hence this part of the controversy may be closed by stating that as far as the mere fact of voyaging by water is concerned, Hindus are left by their religion as free to traverse the ocean in a ship as to go on a river by boat.

## II.—*Can Hindus observe the precepts of their religion on a long voyage ?*

Here we must distinguish the observances of caste from those of daily religious practice. Undoubtedly a man who is sincerely desirous of avoiding any breach of his caste-laws and who has the means of paying for any additional accommodation which his strictness may require, can carry out all his caste observances on board ship. We may quote a case in point. A high-caste Brahmin writes to the Superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company :—

LETTER PUBLISHED IN THE "TIMES OF INDIA."

1st June, 1891.

I have no hesitation in testifying to and recording the kind treatment that I and my two Hindoo servants, one a high caste Brahmin and the other a waiter (Gujjir) and two Mahomedan friends have experienced from the hands of Captain P. Harris and the other officers of the s.s. *Pekin*.

The necessity of recording these few lines arises out of and will be found from the fact that I am a high-caste Brahmin (Coolin), undertook a journey to England and the Continent for some object, and I was under the im-



pression that it was excessively difficult, nay, rather almost impossible, for a Brahmin of my class to preserve his caste and religion while on board the steamer. I was therefore very anxious about the arrangement to be made by the officers of the P. and O. Co., as I was determined to keep my caste really and in the true sense of the word, and not merely nominally, as some might imagine. Consequently this affords a sufficient plea for the record of my opinion, which I do with greatest pleasure especially that it may undeceive most of my countrymen and induce them to take a trip to Europe to know what is worth knowing, in a country and amongst a people hardly possible for me to describe, without the slightest risk of danger to caste or religion.

The Commander of the ship (s.s. *Pekin*) Captain P. Harris is an excellent goodhearted fellow. He gave us a very accommodating place for our kitchen-stove and cooking purpose; a canvas screen hung at the front kept the place quite secluded; the Captain allowed no one to interfere with, or come near, our kitchen (chowka). The chief officer, Mr. Cowie, was very kind and friendly to us, and had always permitted my servants to draw water from the tank. Mr. Anderson, my old friend on s.s. *Massilia* and about whose kindness I have already recorded my opinion in my former letter to Mr. Kendall at the Company's head office in Leadenhall Street, London, had made it his care to see us comfortable: he paid every attention he possibly could to our demands; he gave a standing order to his subordinates to supply my servants with all kinds of raw vegetables, milk, rice, (chau-ul) flour, fruits etc. that is, all that we required for our purpose; while Mr. Harpourt, the second saloon steward, always displayed his friendly, courteous, and kind behaviour towards us, and especially accommodating in his manner and dealing. There is not the least doubt that all these gentlemen interested themselves, nay, made it a point, to see that nothing was left amiss to complete and perfect the arrangement whereby a high-caste Hindoo, or an orthodox Mahomedan, may keep his caste and religion while on board the steamer and under their charge.\*

In conclusion, I cannot refrain myself from adding that Dr. Morris, the medical officer in charge of the s.s. *Pekin*, is a very good-natured and kind-hearted young gentleman that I ever came across on board a steamer. . . . All these only reflect credit on the selection and good arrangement of the P. and O. Company, and any high-caste Brahmin, or any orthodox Mahomedan gentleman travelling by the P. and O. steamer would, I hope, expect to find equally good and kind treatment from the hands of the officers of other steamers of the Company if they are as good and kind as those to whom I have already alluded.

(sd.) P. C. Roy.

For himself and his whole party.

S.S. *Pekin*, May 31st, 1891.

This practically settles the question of caste observances, which is a matter mainly of will, means, and forethought.

\* These arrangements, which entailed no extra cost beyond the ordinary fare, were made by Mr. Kendall, the Managing Director of the P. and O., in consultation with Dr. Leitner, and were fully and faithfully carried out by the officers concerned.

But coming to daily religious rites, the opponents of sea-voyages can quote the sacred Books on two points. It is distinctly forbidden to eat in a ship,—and to recite the Vedas in a ship, a part of the daily *Sandhya*. It is also expressly prohibited to void excrements in water. From this it would seem that *long* sea-voyages cannot be performed without breaking through these three positive prescriptions, which can, however, be discharged in short coasting and river voyages, at the time of the daily and nightly halts.

The advocates of long sea-voyages have not yet directly tackled this difficulty, which, were it insurmountable, would quite prove that no Hindu may lawfully undertake a sea-voyage in which he cannot land at least once a day. Leaving the technical reply to the Pandits, we can here only suggest a solution, from an outsider's point of view. Such long voyages were things utterly unknown to the ancients who, if we except the Phœnicians, did little beyond coasting trade. Hence whatever they said about voyages applies only to those then in vogue—on rivers, and near the coasts; not on the high sea. The three ordinances, therefore, only meant that, *being near land*, the passengers should alight for their meals, for their prayers, and for the offices of nature. The last, so as not to defile what would be used by others lower down stream—an excellent and thoughtful hygienic measure; the second, because prayer should be said in peace, quiet, and recollection; and the first, because a small vessel (and only such were anciently used) would not allow of the space necessary for ensuring avoidance of contact. Now in large vessels these points lose all their force. There is ample space to ensure seclusion in cooking and eating meals, and for securing privacy and quietness for the daily devotions; while the sanitary arrangements on board allow the maintenance of cleanliness, and the ocean can be as little defiled as mother-earth.

Hence it follows that a Hindu may continue to practice all his daily religious and other duties on board modern ships during a long voyage by sea, even as he can during

journeys on land, or during voyages by water where he could land from time to time.

III.—*Is residence in Non-Hindu (Mleccha) countries forbidden by the Hindu religion?*

Here, too, the plain letter of authorities seems, at first sight, to forbid living in such countries; for penances are prescribed for so doing. It appears, however, that this was for something more than mere residence. It included living after the *manner of the Mlecchas*, and having unrestricted social intercourse with them. Actual intermixture of races and creeds compels Hindus, except in retired country-places, to mix with Mlecchas as much in India itself, as if they resided in Europe. Hence, in the absence of any positive command against leaving Hindustan or residing elsewhere, we may conclude that at least in this Kaliyuga,—when India is Hindu-sthan no longer,—it is not, *per se*, prohibited to live in a Non-Hindu country, provided the Hindu lives as his religion prescribes. The mere fact of living among Mlecchas is not in itself sinful.

IV.—*Can Hindu precepts be practised in Mleccha Countries?*

This, too, seems to be merely a question of will and means. Doubtless the struggle to live as a Hindu should, and to practise his religious and social duties in such countries, requires greater strength of will, energy of character, and submission to more inconveniences, than in India. But where these characteristics are present and means are plentiful, such observance is not impossible. By judicious selection of a residence and a careful choice of tradesmen, a Hindu can avoid any infraction of his duties.

But it is by no means easy to find such places and tradesmen. The ordinary European House in a town or city and the ordinary tradesman do not meet the desired purpose. In boarding houses and hotels, caste observance is all but impossible. In sightseeing or travelling from town to town, we fail to see how such observance can

be ordinarily maintained. In the land of "nutmegs made of wood" it is simply out of the question.\*

That SPECIAL arrangements are needed to enable Hindus to live as such in (say) England, needs no demonstration: all Hindus will admit it. No doubt, too, such special arrangements cannot be made in a day; and caste may easily be broken and religious observances be neglected of necessity, while one is seeking for or providing such arrangements. Hence the necessity of securing such arrangements beforehand. It should therefore be more generally known that such facilities actually exist at present in England, at the Oriental Institute, Woking, in the English county of Surrey, only 23 miles from London, which can be reached in 35 minutes by numerous daily trains.

Established by one whose long residence in India and profound knowledge of its religions had peculiarly qualified him for the work, this Institute provides every facility for Hindu observances. He has pointed out since 1876 the possibility and desirability of Hindus keeping caste in England, and the establishment and organization of the Institute in a suitable locale, on virgin soil and near running water, have been the work of years. There are series of rooms in separate houses, the set for each resident being self-contained and furnished with its own appliances, so that scores of students can live, each according to his religious or caste observances. From covered wells in the grounds, there is abundance of water untouched by leather. Fruits and vegetables of all kinds; flour, lentils and pulses; and especially butter and milk, free from all suspicion of admixture with animal fats, are to be had as required. Once at the Institute, living is almost as cheap as in India, whilst the cost of arrangements on board the steamers differs according to the requirements for the passengers of the 1st and 2nd classes respectively.

\* We have failed to receive exact particulars as to the arrangements on board the steamer alleged to have been chartered by orthodox Hindus for Chicago, but we are convinced that there are none at Chicago itself for the preservation of caste.

In no case, however, does it exceed the ordinary fare on the P. & O. steamers. Even servants of good caste, who go as deck passengers, are carefully attended to. Some years ago, on board a Rubattino steamer, a small tent was put up for such a passenger in the service of the Principal of the Institute. Dry fruits were given him, when the passenger's own supply had been exhausted, and two of the side coal-bunks on deck were screened off and placed at his disposal. These having an iron flooring, were technically, according to Madras Pandits, no part of the vessel, and, therefore, free from contamination as regards cooking and washing. Indian earth also covered the iron floor, and gharras of water, taken from India, and renewed at the ports of landing, stood in one of the compartments. At Genoa he was met by an agent who put him in the way of providing himself with milk from a cow and with fruits and pulse, and a similar process was renewed at Milan and Paris, and so on till he was met in London and taken to the Institute.\* It is, however, clear that all such arrangements must be made beforehand in consultation with the Principal of the Institute and the Agent of the Steamship Company. Suffice it to say that, as regards the P. & O., there is every desire to facilitate the conveyance of caste-passengers without loss of caste, except such as they may wilfully incur themselves, when out of the reach of their orthodox co-religionists, and, therefore, no passengers are admitted at the Institute, unless provided with a declaration of the Captain of the steamer, explaining the manner in which they kept their caste on board, whilst under his charge.

We may conclude, therefore, that, while caste and religious practices may be observed with difficulty by a resolute man, with care and great expense, these observances become easy and inexpensive in an establishment like this Institute, which has been specially prepared for the purpose.

\* Of course, those who travel to London by sea all the way from Bombay have not the same difficulties as Hindu travellers *viâ* the Continent.

V.—*Is the opposition of modern custom and opinion equal to a prohibition?*

A well-known legal maxim declares that custom, when ancient and reasonable, has the force of law. That modern custom and opinion in India are opposed to travelling beyond the Ocean (*Kāla Pāni*) is certain. The advocates of liberty prove from History that Hindus, till lately, were great travellers. This, however, only shows that many *did* travel: it leaves untouched the question, what was thought of them by those they left at home? But leaving aside the antiquity of the custom, we ask is it reasonable?

It may have been reasonable when India, self-contained so far as production is concerned, held if not quite a monopoly, at least a high position, in civilization, which dispensed her from going beyond her own confines for the full and complete education of her sons. But now things are different. While various causes stopped the advance of India, other nations have made vast progress and have passed her in culture and (modern) civilization. The head of the great *Naga* no longer rests beneath the *kili* of *Prithiraj* at Delhi. The stranger rules—neither unkindly nor unjustly—over India, and India's sons must travel to other countries, in order to return with accumulated knowledge for teaching their fellow country-men. It is no longer useless to go abroad; it is, on the contrary, unreasonable to insist now on what may formerly have been good, but at present prevents much good. Hence we have no hesitation in saying that the modern opposition of public opinion and custom is decidedly unreasonable; and as such can carry no weight as a prohibition. It cannot make a long sea voyage sinful, though it may, and does, subject those who undertake one, from even the best of motives, to unpleasant criticism and many hardships, socially. At the same time, it should be remembered that Hindu caste-tribunals often deal leniently, as regards expiation, with those who have travelled to Mleccha countries under the order of a superior or for the sole sake of science, and who can further prove that they have successfully done their

utmost to preserve their caste when residing away from the sacred soil of Aryasvata.

VI.—*How is this opposition to be overcome?*

This practical part of the question is, we take it, the special duty of the Committee which has been appointed in Calcutta. Without pretending to dictate to them what they are doubtless competent to treat well, we venture to make some suggestions, to be carried out in succession :

1. A council of Pundits from the north, south, east, west, and centre of India, should be assembled at Benares, to settle the lawfulness or unlawfulness *per se* of long sea-voyages, and of residence in foreign countries. These are questions, for Pundits observant of their social and religious duties and learned in the sacred books. They should be deputed for this purpose, from among men who to these qualifications add that of an acquaintance with European manners and customs and the present state of modern civilization. Among them we would specially like to see men like Babu Janaki Nath Bhattacharya, who spoke with equal modesty, frankness, and common sense at the Calcutta meeting. As he rightly urged, it is religion alone, and not mere expediency, utility, or the alleged flexibility of Hinduism, that must decide this question: flexibility in religious matters often means want of reality, and is no compliment. We are sure that such an assembly would solve any doubt still lingering regarding the absolute lawfulness of such voyages and residence; and this authoritative decision would end the theoretical part of the controversy.

2. This Convocation should also settle the practical part of the question by drawing up a series of rules to be observed, (*a*) on board ship where there are Hindus exclusively, (*b*) where there are Hindus travelling with others, and (*c*) during residence in foreign countries. It should give the distinction between the essential, the grave, and the minor observances; and settle the penances requisite for readmission to full rights, when these observances have been accidentally broken through. We quite agree that no good Hindu will deliberately violate them.

3. The decisions of this Council of Pundits should then be promulgated at public meetings and at lectures given for the purpose in public assemblies (as at Hurdwar, Benares, etc.). They should also be published repeatedly in the native papers, so that the public at large may know that mere travel and residence abroad is no sin, and that travellers do not necessarily cease to be good Hindus.

4. To prevent imposture, however, by those who, having taken the liberty to live as Mlecchas in foreign countries, or during voyages, wish to pose as observant Hindus, arrangements should be made, in places like London, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Cirencester, Paris, Berlin, etc., for regular Certificates, to be given by responsible persons, testifying that caste and religious observances have been duly maintained by the bearer : this at present is only done at the Oriental Institute at Woking.

5. It is not impossible that a monthly or bi-monthly steamer could be chartered between Bombay and London and London and Bombay, for exclusive use by Hindus. This might be the beginning of a regular line of steamers devoted exclusively to the conveyance of Hindus.

6. Pending this desirable consummation, the committee should make definite arrangements with some line of steamers, say the P. & O. S. N. Co., and publish such arrangements for the information of intending Hindu travellers.

Having tried to put, as fairly as we could, the case regarding Sea voyages by Hindus, we cordially express our hope that the day may soon arrive, when members of that religion may be able to travel and live everywhere, in the due observance of their laws and customs, without incurring any penalties and privations for what we think is sufficiently proved, neither to be forbidden by their sacred books, nor to be incompatible with their social or religious duties, the exact performance of which can, under definite rules, be secured, if not with ease, certainly with but little trouble, by those who rightly prefer religion to mere worldly advantage.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, REPORTS, ETC.

## EARL GREY ON UGANDA AND "PHILO-AFRICANUS."

WE have received the following letter from the veteran statesman, Earl Grey, K.G. :—

I duly received your letter of the 19th with a copy of the article on Uganda reprinted from the *Asiatic Review*, but I am only now able to offer to you some desultory remarks on it after having read it with the attention it deserves. I do not dispute that there is too much ground for the author's condemnation of much that has been done in Uganda since the operations of the British East Africa Company were extended to that country, but I think he is unjust in imputing blame for the acts he condemns to the East Africa Company, to Captain Lugard, and to the missionaries. The censure of the latter I consider to be especially unjust after their long years of zealous and devoted labour in striving to extend the blessings of Christianity and civilization to the inhabitants of Uganda. Till within a comparatively short time their labours had been as successful as could reasonably be expected considering the character and circumstances of the population that had to be dealt with, and they had not been disturbed by such contentions as have since occurred between hostile parties in the population arrayed against each other by their professing to be adherents of different churches. These deplorable contentions with the bad passions they have roused, and the bloodshed they have occasioned, cannot therefore be said to have been caused by the missionaries, but may with far more reason be regarded as only a part of the evil consequences which have followed from the action of the British Government in Africa.

In letters I lately addressed to the editor of the *Times* I have endeavoured to show that the want of a due regard for justice towards the population of Africa, and also of foresight in taking timely and judicious measures for improving their condition, and at the same time guarding British interests, has been long displayed in the policy of our Government under successive administrations. A late and striking example of these faults in our policy is afforded by the agreements entered into during Lord Salisbury's administration for dividing a great part of the African Continent into "spheres of influence" assigned to certain European nations, and there seems to be little room for doubting that the mistake committed in entering into these agreements has been the main cause of the sad events in Uganda which have called forth the remarks of "Philo-Africanus." It is clear from the information on the subject given by the correspondence and other papers that have been published, that the East Africa Company did not desire to extend its operations to Uganda. On the contrary, this was so manifestly contrary to its interest as a commercial company that it never would have thought of engaging in so costly and hazardous an undertaking had it not been pressed upon it by the Government. It is also clear that the Government of the day was anxious that British authority should

be promptly established in this valuable territory which had been declared to be within its "sphere of influence," because otherwise any advantage it could claim under that declaration would lapse, and some other nation might assume the authority England had neglected to take for itself. Such was the manner in which the East Africa Company was led to take up the position it did in Uganda; and though I think it made a mistake in doing so, for that mistake and its consequences the Government of the day rather than the Company ought to be held mainly responsible. I need not state what all these consequences were; it is enough to remind you that the conclusion of treaties with native rulers investing the officers of the East African Company with a large share of political power naturally excited much jealousy of English interference and influence both in French residents in Uganda, whether they were missionaries or engaged in secular occupations, and also in many of the native inhabitants of the country. Hence arose bitter animosities between parties calling themselves Catholics or Protestants, though differences in their religious opinions seem to have had much less to do with the quarrels of the native parties and the civil war which ensued than selfish interests and passions. These results of the measures of the East Africa Company in Uganda were most lamentable, but I have seen no evidence that they were produced by any unjustifiable acts of the Company or of those employed in its service; the only fault of the Company, as I have already remarked, was its having undertaken at the instance of the Government a task which it was not possible for it to perform with success.

With regard to Captain Lugard, a fair comparison of the different accounts given of his conduct shows, in my opinion, that instead of deserving the severe censure pronounced upon him by "*Philo-Africanus*," he is entitled to high praise for the sound judgment and the fairness with which he acted in a situation of great difficulty. It is true that in the hostilities in which he was engaged many of his opponents were killed; but he was practically forced into these hostilities to defend himself, those acting under him in the service of the Company, and the large number of the native population who had a right to look to him for protection in consequence of what had previously happened. The war was also carried on with as little severity as any war can be: and when he had established his authority, he used it to enforce upon the contending parties a settlement of their quarrels which was generally accepted as fair to them all, and which has hitherto at least been the means of putting a stop to further bloodshed.

I hope that "*Philo-Africanus*" on more carefully considering the history of their transactions will feel it right to withdraw his unmeasured condemnation of Captain Lugard and also of the missionaries. As to the latter, Bishop Tucker's letter to Sir Gerald Portal, of the 21st of September, which was published in this country before the end of October, shows that the missionaries were unwillingly drawn into taking a part in the public affairs of Uganda from which they had previously kept studiously aloof by the need of their supporting the officer who virtually represented the British Government. The English Mission, as the Bishop observes, naturally supported the English resident in the exercise of the powers entrusted to him by the English Government through the Company.

I must add some words on the views this article seems to imply that "Philo-Africanus" entertains as to what ought to be the conduct of the British Government with regard to Uganda and to Africa generally, in the actual state of affairs. I cordially concur with him in condemning the extravagant projects for establishing British authority over a large part of that continent, which have been put forward in letters to the newspapers and in other ways. I think both justice to British taxpayers and a consideration of what would be of real benefit to the African population forbid the adoption of these schemes by our Government. Among those which ought to be rejected I include the project, which has obtained a large measure of support, for the construction of a railway from Mombasa to the great lakes. I do not doubt that the time will come when such a railway will have to be made (though not by money furnished by the British Government), but for the present such a work would be altogether premature, since Mr. Joseph Thomson has clearly shown in the *Fortnightly Review* for December that upon it "there would be but the most trifling traffic utterly out of proportion to the expense of construction, of up-keep, and of working."

My cordial concurrence with "Philo-Africanus" in condemning this and all costly and hazardous measures with the view of creating a great British Empire in Africa does not, however, imply that I agree also in the opinion I fear he entertains that the nation would be justified in suddenly withdrawing from Uganda the British assistance by which an end was put to the civil war, and its renewal is now prevented. This would, in my opinion, be a dereliction of the performance of a duty clearly imposed upon the nation by what has been already done, and I consider it to be equally a national duty to use the great power and influence, to which England has been raised by Providence, for the improvement of the African population. In my letters to the *Times* I have pointed out the means by which I am convinced that England might gradually establish peace and order in a large part of the African continent without imposing upon this country any serious expense or dangerous responsibility, and, what is of great importance, without exciting the jealousy of other nations. If security for the persons and property of missionaries and traders of all nations and of all denominations of Christians were thus provided for, their exertions would accomplish all that is needed for the benefit of the African population. I shall be glad if you can bring under the consideration of "Philo-Africanus" the remarks I have now made on his article, for though I differ widely from a large part of it, there is also much in it in which I concur.

I am, faithfully yours,

GREY.

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REPLY TO "PHILO-AFRICANUS" BY THE IMPERIAL  
BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

*To the Editor of the IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.*

Sir,—My directors desire to acknowledge your courtesy in sending them a copy of the article of "Philo-Africanus" published in your *Review* for the current quarter.

It is of course the privilege of the individual Briton, be his motives or his idiosyncrasies what they may, to call in question the policy of her Majesty's advisers, and regardless of pledges or consequences to advocate the reversal by ministers in power of the acts of their predecessors; but where "the honour of Great Britain" is concerned strict observance of the eternal equities and an impartial consideration of facts are indispensable elements of a righteous judgment. "The fall of Khartoum" and "the defeat of Majuba Hill" must rather serve as beacons to their authors and promoters without distinction of party, than as guides to action in dealing with Uganda. "The continuity of moral policy" hardly consists in repeating disgraceful experiments, nor could it be justified, in the sense suggested, by false analogies to cover the reckless depreciation of the concert of United Europe for the civilization of Africa.

The tone adopted by "Philo-Africanus" in treating of "the slave trade and slavery" is a typical instance of his spirit. Relying upon the dicta of self-asserting partisans "Philo-Africanus" ignores the evidence of facts attested by the responsible representatives of different nationalities, and their conclusions as to the best means of suppressing an evil common, in varied forms, to all the spheres of influence. Of these means the railway, in the estimation of Mr. Joseph Thomson, an independent witness, with the courage of his opinions, holds the first place (*vide the Contemporary Review* for December, 1892). If his summary of its efficacy were not conclusive, in exposing the fallacy of "Philo-Africanus'" views, their further authoritative refutation is to be found in the Parliamentary Blue-book, Africa, No. 2 of 1892. Its official documents are recommended to "Philo-Africanus," as at any rate justifying "the prominent place given to this great curse (slavery and the slave trade) both in the discussions of this autumn, and in the debate of House of Commons last session."

In respect to the "opening of new markets" I must again refer to Mr. Joseph Thomson's article for a fair and unbiased exposition of the prospects of trade, present and future, in the British East African sphere. In dwelling upon the absence of any means of transport except slave labour "with no well-established trade route," and in limiting the commerce of the country to the importation of "liquor, gunpowder, and fire-arms," prosecuted with every detail of atrocity, "Philo-Africanus" omits to advise his readers that the condition of things he contemplates is not only out of date, but one which the construction of a railway is destined to counteract, one, also, as certified by the title-deeds of the Company's tenure and by the agreements and conventions regulating its administration, which the Company has been especially constituted to supersede.

The status of slavery is definitively abolished in the territory assigned by the Charter. In the territory of the concession the self-redemption of slaves is persistently encouraged, and despite the unavoidable recognition of vested interests the "institution" is doomed to expire within a measurable time. With a view to its immediate extinction the adoption of the Indian Code has been advocated by the Company.

All the British sphere of influence has, by express desire of the Company, been placed in the zone of total prohibition of the importation of alcoholic

liquors under Article 91 of the Brussels Act, and its restrictions 'as to the importation of fire-arms and gunpowder are being rigidly applied.

As to the treatment of natives, the strict accounts required from all the Company's employés refute the imputations of "Philo-Africanus," when contrasting the "accounts of Henry Stanley and Carl Peters" with the "honour due to the ex-Missionary Stokes, who neither flogs nor murders, and pays his porters their wages as agreed upon." In repudiating his gratuitous insinuations of cruel and dishonest conduct towards its porters on the part of the Company, I may remark, in passing, that the individual, in these respects cited as a model, is in fact the arch-trader in arms and ammunition, indispensables to the slave-raider, his last consignment through German territory into Uganda being a matter of public notoriety and the subject of official representations.

As to colonization, the Company has never insisted upon the suitability of the British sphere of influence in East Africa for European settlers. The Directors have left the public to form their own judgment upon the published reports of its employés, and notably that of Mr. Hopley, geologist, at p. 129 of the Parliamentary Blue-book, Africa, No. 4, having reference to a considerable tract of high-lying country in the vicinity of Mount Kenia. His opinions, by the way, have been reinforced by Bishop Tucker (in the *Times* of 24th January last). What the Company has advanced with justifiable iteration, without asserting or denying the suitability of selected tracts for European colonization as maintained "by everybody who knows the country," is that the unoccupied fertile lands which abound in the sphere of British influence are peculiarly adapted in every particular to settlements of the surplus population of British India, and this the more so if not for the reason that, on the unqualified testimony of "another writer," "Philo-Africanus" describes them as being "entirely void of all inhabitants."

The homily of "Philo-Africanus" on the "annexation of this large country to the British dominions *with the consent of the people*" relates to the law of Nature which from time immemorial has been universally operative. If in the case of Great Britain the process of expansion rests exceptionally upon 'the volcano of public sentimentality,' and be conducive to "periodical paroxysms of madness," there is at least comfort in the reflection that annexation in the special case by concert and consent has been hedged by laws and conditions directed especially to secure the happiness and well-being of the peoples concerned by at once repressing the cruelties of filibustering adventurers and by checking the aspirations to martyrdom of rival creeds, propagated amongst them.

The attitude of rival sects during the recent troubles in Uganda, and the action of Captain Lugard with regard to them being still, as it were, *sub judice*, should properly be left to the judgment of the controlling authorities.

It is worthy of note that in pre-judging the case by endorsing the comments of the Rev. Edward Conybeare, "Philo-Africanus" withholds the explanations of the Rev. Dr. Collins on whose misreported statements the former gentleman had relied. Those explanations are at p. 324 of Captain

Lugard's reply to the French charges, published under the authority of the Foreign Office, and contain the following passage: "Captains Lugard and Williams were both more than justified in everything they did, and acted throughout in a most humane manner." As regards events, however, of anterior date, the following extracts from the response given to another pretentious critic may serve to enlighten "Philo-Africanus":

"The Church Missionary Society are, in no way, responsible for the policy of her Majesty's Government, and for the consequent advance of the Company to Uganda; their representatives had already been established there many years, leaning on the hand of God and not on the arms of the flesh. But the records of the Society, the letters of Bishop Tucker, and the reports of Captain Lugard, attest the change which now supervened in the conditions of their work, a change that, whether or not in the abstract advantageous to all concerned, involved the subservience of all ecclesiastical agencies to British Administrative control, as the result of the dislocation of existing relations between the rival sects, Protestant, Catholic, and Mahommedan, and between these sects and the native Chiefs. For a right judgment of the new régime it is necessary to recall the state of things in Uganda prior to the advent of the Company, owing to the religious rivalries by which the country was torn and distracted. The events recorded\* . . . are conclusive evidence of a dominant authority to save the country from ruin and its inhabitants from extermination. Compare in this connection the condition of the State of Uganda when visited by Speke and Grant in May, 1862, and when entered by Lugard in December, 1890. As well might it be argued that the introduction of Missionary enterprise in a field open to the intolerance of antagonistic creeds and subject to no governing or moderating influence, is an evil in itself, certain, as the event has proved, "in a country inhabited by a people in a low state of culture to produce intermittent anarchy and bloodshed."

"It is therefore an abuse of language to represent the C. M. S. as desiring or soliciting the intervention of her Majesty's Government, or to attribute to the Company's action other motives than those of which their Charter is the exponent, and the obligations created by International Agreements are the sufficient justification. It was from the consequences of the Company's intervention if withdrawn that the C. M. S. are understood to claim protection, nor have they been more urgent in appreciating the advantages of settled rule to avert those consequences than the Roman Catholic Missionaries themselves, through their spokesman Monseigneur Hirth, or than the Mahommedans in their official engagements with Captain Lugard.

"Just as the presence of these religious bodies was no factor in determining the requirements of Imperial policy, so now is their presence entitled only to official consideration in the general interests as the means of checking their aspirations to martyrdom by flying at each other's throats.

"The Protestant Mission was established at Uganda and the Lake Districts at the special invitation of King Mtesa in June, 1877. The field

\* The Two Kings of Uganda, by R. P. Ashe. Life of A. M. Mackay, by his sister. The Religious War in Uganda, *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1892, by G. S. Mackenzie.

was invaded by the Roman Catholic Missionaries without invitation in 1879; it has been proved beyond doubt or question that while the former under the direction and auspices of the C. M. S. devoted themselves exclusively to their missionary labours, the latter directed their efforts without intermission to acquire political predominance, and were the direct occasion of the conflicts which have supervened upon the expulsion of the Mahommedans. Their conduct is faithfully depicted on undisputable evidence in the works above cited; it is brought to light in Captain Lugard's reports, and is corroborated by Father Achte's declaration as extracted from the *Hamburger General Anzeiger*, 8th June, 1892, as follows: 'The fight with the Mussulmans was hardly over before it became needful to begin another and far more arduous battle with the Protestants. It seemed to us to be the most opportune time to make an energetic forward movement towards the extension of Catholicism and stirring up the dogmatic zeal of the Catholic Chiefs. I shall inspire the Catholic army with courage.'

"... Not only did the Roman Catholic Missionaries seek the intervention of the French Republican Government to enable them to import arms and ammunition into the country, but they surreptitiously introduced a very considerable quantity—in addition to much that was intercepted—for distribution to their partisan converts.

"The key-note of the Company's Administration has been the exercise of the strictest impartiality in the treatment of all classes. . . . Acting on this principle Captain Lugard has succeeded in establishing a *modus vivendi* governed by an appellate jurisdiction vested in the Company's agents, which all parties have formally bound themselves to respect, including the Mahommedan and Pagan parties.

"No one disputes that the Roman Catholic Missionaries had precisely the same rights as the Protestants, and are entitled to the same protection, the only proviso being that the former, like the latter, shall scrupulously abstain from veiled political partisanship. Equally must it not be disputed, however, that their Mahommedan fellow-subjects are entitled to the same rights and the same protection."

Leaving to "Philo-Africanus" the consolations of an "easy conscience" derived among other things from his desire to minimise or attenuate the "awful consequences to the Waganda of the British nation abandoning the country" by likening them to the struggles between Picts and Scots, between Norsemen and British, and between Normans and English; it will suffice to call attention to one more glaring inconsistency of this astute and impartial writer in formulating his impeachment respecting the "Maintenance of sacred treaties." The whole dissertation on this head must be read in order to be appreciated for its simple naïveté.

After denouncing the treaties concluded by Captain Lugard as forcibly imposed by a filibusterer who "claims to bind the British taxpayer for ever by his erring judgment," "Philo-Africanus" straightway says that Captain Lugard was "the agent duly accredited with the full knowledge and consent of the Crown," and that "these treaties were as duly submitted to the Foreign Office, to Lord Salisbury, and to Lord Rosebery, and after

revision, some details as to words being checked, were by them accepted and approved!"

The fact is not disputed. It is simply used with the patriotic object of invoking the "foreign European Press" to note "the divine right" asserted by the British nation "to lay hold of anything that comes to hand," to wit, territory legitimately accruing to it on the delimitation of spheres of influence, which in the words attributed to Lord Salisbury, "had been imposed on native populations by rival European nations."

It is to these nations, *participes criminis*, that Great Britain is held up to execration. "The Uganda lamb," it is pointed out, "has never injured the British wolf. The Scotch fought the English for their mountains; the Irish are crying out for national independence" (p. 5). Great Britain's action is attributed to "the earth greed of the comfortable English middle classes," who, "instead of attending to the sorrows and wants of their own poorer classes in their great cities, are desirous to control the filthy opium-smoking appetites of the Chinese, to enforce the re-marriage of Hindu widows, to compel the Chinese women to have their feet free from ligaments; and lastly to anticipate possible civil war in Uganda, they would let loose the dogs of war! The honour of England is represented by Maxim guns to cut down the African converts of French Roman Catholics" (p. 6), and much more in the like incoherent strain, ending in the reflection that "the British have shed no Mahomedan or Pagan, only Roman Catholic blood in these spheres, while the Germans have shot and hung the natives pretty freely" (p. 19), that "Captain Lugard is to be thanked for one thing; he is the only Englishman who has said a word in favour of the French Missionaries, the citizens of a friendly State," albeit, "with the French Missionary difficulties are experienced, which are not felt with other nationalities, certainly not with British Roman Catholics" (p. 23), and "in India, British, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, German, Roman Catholics never give any trouble; the French Missionary has always 'La France' on his brain" (p. 28), to wit, when "Mr. Carl Peters, the German adventurer, *with the help of the French Priests*" (p. 19), tried to supplant the English in Uganda. Of course therefore "it comes with a bad grace from the Government of a Republic which has ejected English Missionaries from the Loyalty Islands and threatens to do the same in Algeria and Tunisie" (p. 25); nevertheless, by the story told by "the French Missionaries with large amplifications the hatred of the people of France against 'Les Anglais' is roused: this is most lamentable." "I am not blaming Captain Lugard; he certainly does not value black life much;" "the incident shows that he did not possess the least elementary knowledge of ruling native races; the people killed were nominal Christians though of a different Church, and this renders the incident more deplorable."

"Philo-Africanus" may condemn the policy of a party in the State, to which he is opposed, and sneer at the "British insularity and superciliousness," which "wishes to have its own way east and west and to get rid of all other nations." He exemplifies this triumphant taunt by the futile attempt "of English domination after centuries of effort to extinguish the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland," and similar taunts abound.



To quote another instance distinguished by complete disregard of cause and effect as well as contempt of analogy, "Philo-Africanus" classifies the shame of withdrawing from "a country occupied for less than two years by three European officers" with the crime of invading Afghanistan, "twice occupied" and "twice abandoned." In the one case permanent occupation was the avowed object, while, on the other, we are told that the Government was "hounded on by treaties forced on their rulers under the influence of the bugbear of Russian intrigue, a new opening for commerce, a blessing to a few oppressed people oppressed by Mahomedans"—this queer concatenation of motives, regardless of grammar, being pivoted on a bugbear whose inherent vitality has since been amply realized.

Such illustrations may serve to edify and amuse the uninitiated. Abuse of subordinate instruments whose only crime consists in having done their duty, efficiently and successfully, in furthering the National policy, is no argument for or against that policy. It is grievous to find bare assertion based upon garbled extracts from anonymous and irresponsible communications to the Press preferred for this purpose to the evidence of official documents, and to the reports of British officers whose honour and veracity are thus gratuitously impugned.

Speaking of Soudanese *troops* "Philo-Africanus" compares these trained soldiers to "the Red Indians in the war with our Colonies in America last century," and ignoring the discipline to which they have proved to be amenable under British officers in Egypt, further conceals the fact that Captain Lugard's declared object in engaging the men "left behind by Emin Pasha" was to subject them to the same discipline and to rescue them from the savagery characteristic of the surrounding tribes, to which their abandonment must inevitably have exposed them. Do Captain Lugard's proceedings in this particular justify the vile insinuations of "Philo-Africanus" and his informant?

You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

27th February, 1893.

ERNEST L. BENTLEY,

Acting Secretary of the Imperial British East Africa Company.

#### LORD HOBHOUSE ON THE JURY SYSTEM.\*

There are three main aspects of the Jury-system, according to its effects. We may look at it as an instrument for doing justice between one litigant and another. That is its direct object. Or we may look at its indirect effects: first as regards the minds of the Jurors themselves: secondly as regards its influence on the Laws of the country. It is in the first of these aspects that the Jury-system is most praised, and most blamed; praised because it is said that Juries stand between the strong and the weak, and

\* Lord Hobhouse has favoured us, at our request, with the substance of the important remarks on the principles of the Jury system which he made at a Meeting of the East India Association, held under his presidency at the Westminster Town Hall on the 2nd March, 1893, to hear a Lecture by Mr. Justice J. Jardine, of the Bombay High Court, on "The History of Trial by Jury in England and India."

save the weak from oppression : blamed as being a clumsy machine, uncertain, blundering, leading to illogical and absurd decisions. Each of those views has much to be said for it, and against. I cannot discuss them now. I quit this part of the subject, merely saying that, whichever way one decides the question whether or no a Jury is the best instrument for meting out precise Justice, that is not the most important aspect of the Jury-system.

Considerably more important, I think, is its effect on the Jurors, and through them on the community at large. Every man who is called upon to exercise a responsible function, especially if he does it in public, is a stronger man for it, and more fit to exercise another. And considering the numbers of persons who year by year take part as Jurors in the administration of the Law, though we cannot gauge the effect of the process, it is impossible to doubt but that it must have a considerable effect in educating the nation, and in giving them self-reliance for dealing with public affairs. I agree with Mr. Justice Jardine in thinking that the Jury-system has played a substantial part in making us a self-governing nation—I agree : but with a proviso against putting the claim too high. I think the result is more due to the various Local Governments, which, for matters not judicial but administrative, both ecclesiastical and civil, worked for centuries in great vigour and reputation over all parts of the kingdom ; which, becoming unsuitable and not being reformed, decayed away, and which we are now trying to revive in new forms. Through them our forefathers learned, in their Parishes, their Manors, their Hundreds, their Counties, and their Dioceses, to manage public affairs on the smaller local scale, so that when the time came they were able to manage them on the greater national scale. For the result Juries must have credit, but not the largest portion of credit.

Far the most important effect of the system, is, in my judgment, its influence upon the Law. Juries keep Law sweet, keep it practical ; acting constantly like the force of gravitation which enables us to walk upon the earth instead of flying off into space. It is surely most important to the coherence and strength of a nation that its Laws should be in harmony with the thoughts and feelings of its people. Now, Lawgivers may be the wisest of mankind ; but the Laws evolved out of their minds are apt to be too hard, too much over the heads of the masses, or apart from their feelings, or beyond the ideas of the day. If such Laws are enforced by rigid machinery, convulsions are apt to ensue ; and if there is force enough to repress them, apathy and atrophy will set in. Now, Juries are always making innumerable decisions, each one perhaps very small, but constant, ubiquitous, so as to produce a great effect on the whole : and their constant tendency is to fit the actual working of the Law to the ordinary standards of mankind, and so to bring back a superfine and transcendent Law to earth again, and to make it fit for human nature's daily food.

The Lecturer has referred to the Law about Suicides ; a barbarous Law, I believe of theological birth, by which unhappy creatures who had found life unbearable were pursued with refined malice beyond the brink of the grave. Juries did much to take the sting out of that Law.

Take the Laws of which many were passed in the eighteenth century, when the propertied classes were omnipotent in the Legislature, under the notion that theft could be stamped out if only punishments were made savage enough. It was found that Juries strongly objected to take part in killing a fellow-creature, often one of the same class with themselves, and one whose temptations they could understand, because he had stolen a sheep or some trifle from a shop or from the person. They would constantly acquit in the very teeth of the evidence, and their conduct led to the introduction of more humane Laws, or at least supplied the most cogent arguments to the advocates for such Laws. They showed that milder Laws might be more efficient, and so they have proved in fact.

I remember being told when I was a young man by a friend who was then an old one, of a certain assize held at a time when bankers thought it necessary to protect themselves by hanging those who uttered forged notes. I have not verified the story, but repeat what I heard. A number of persons, between 20 and 30, were tried for their lives for forging or uttering £1 notes. The Jury acquitted them all. The Judge was supposed to have shown countenance to the Jury's doings. After the day's business, the Solicitor of the Bank of England went to the Judge, and represented to him the great danger of such refusals to enforce the Law. And the Judge—I think it was said to be Baron Thompson—answered that he was an old man and liked to sleep of nights, and so doubtless did the Jury; but that people could not do it who had been dipping their hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures because they had committed some paltry depredation. The story is picturesque; and, whether true or not, it illustrates the feelings and actions of Juries which were a main agent in bringing about better Laws.

I remember also hearing complaints in my earlier life how difficult it was to get convictions in poaching cases. What did that mean? It meant that the Game Laws, the descendants of the odious Forest Laws, were severe out of all proportion to the offence, and that the Juries were resolved to hamper their action.

Take again prosecutions for libels or words alleged to be seditious. At times the minds of Rulers are affected by panic fears, as was the case in the great storm of the French Revolution, and they think, doubtless quite sincerely, that free criticisms and utterances of discontent aimed at themselves, are very dangerous to the State, and ought to be dealt with as treasonable and punished with death. Offences were then charged as capital which we should now look upon with much quieter minds. But the obstinate sense of the Juries refused to confound words with actions or discontent with rebellion. Very strong Judges failed to get verdicts of condemnation in cases of the class I am referring to. And consequently more serious discontents were avoided, our Law became more reasonable, and our society more firmly knit together.

I will not seek for further examples. Every day the Law is administered by Juries in cases of trespass, assault, compensation for all kinds of injuries, in a way which if rough is sensible, and is such as to satisfy the bulk of mankind that Justice is done to them by their equals as well as human

imperfections allow. I do not think that Judges could do such work, or that people at large would ever be so satisfied with them as they are with Juries.

This then is, as I think, the greatest merit of the Jury-system ; that by its constant quiet operation it keeps our Law sweet and wholesome, and in touch with the sympathies of average men and women ; and that so our nation escapes convulsions and gains in tranquillity and strength.

I have spoken from English experience, and with England in my mind. But I cannot help thinking that the indirect benefits of the Jury-system must be as largely available for India. Possibly more so for the reason that in India the distance between the Ruler and the Ruled, between the Lawgiver and those who are to obey the Law, is greater than it is in England. I suppose that even an Indian Juror feels more of a man when he has exercised his public function : and if he does so, then to that extent, infinitesimal in each case, Society is strengthened. Likewise I should think that the conduct of Indian Juries would point out the weak spots in our Laws. It seems certain, for instance, that in order to get convictions the police in India sometimes use hideous cruelty and oppression. Now, Jurors whose brothers or sisters may have suffered from such practices, or who maybe have suffered in their own persons, are likely to have much keener noses for scenting out a police-made case, than the Judge who only knows of such dark things by report. I cannot help thinking that if Indian Jurors are not despised, and are not hectored when the Judge disagrees with them : if their proceedings are watched, and attention is paid to the cases in which they are reluctant to give verdicts according to the evidence, they may by degrees help the Government of India in that point where it is weakest. Its weakest point, I have always thought, is inability to learn the feelings and thoughts of its silent multitudes. The wisest officials seemed to me to be those who sought most sedulously for points of contact with the people ; and one such point must, I conceive, be the Jury. I do not enter into the now pending controversy ; nor do I presume to utter a confident opinion on the application to India even of the more general considerations I have been discussing. But I feel a strong bias in the direction of applying them, and a strong wish that they should be found to apply ; and I am very glad to hear favourable opinions from Sir Raymond West and Dr. Leitner : and to find that Mr. Justice Jardine agrees with them himself, and has been able to point to a large body of opinion, both judicial and official, in India, to the same effect. With that expression of satisfaction, I will bring my remarks to an end.

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#### LETTER FROM MOROCCO.

We presume that our readers are aware that the important member of the Shereefian family, who has sent us the valuable article, which we publish elsewhere, regarding the true causes of "the Marocco difficulty," is commended to our attention by his British parentage on the mother's side. His eldest half-brother, Mulái Al Arbi, who resides at Wazan, has been recognised by the French as Grand Shereef in succession to his father. A base-

less report had been spread that he was in some way connected with the capture of Hamám, the leader of the late Anghera revolt, merely because he happened to have spent a few days in the Anghera district, where he had gone to return the visit of Kanga, the Khalifa of Anghera. Our Tangier correspondent writes as follows regarding Hamám's capture :

"He was betrayed by the Wadrasis where he was in hiding, and was yesterday, February 24, ignominiously hurried through the town of Tangier to the Kasbah, his hands tied behind his back, seated upon a donkey—his head covered to conceal his face, and thus avoid the danger of a rescue, and followed by a triumphant rabble armed with guns and staves—a sorry, but almost inevitable, conclusion to his courageous opposition to the extortions practised by the Sultan's authorities, for thus ends in betrayal and hopeless imprisonment every protest."

Speaking of the late Anghera revolt, certain French papers plainly accuse us of having fomented it with a view of causing disturbances that would justify our interference, or, at all events, act as an indirect pressure in support of the late mission of Sir C. Euan-Smith. Mr. Bonsal, the American Journalist, in his Volume on Morocco, published by Messrs. Allan and Co., hints that the expensive rifles with which the poverty-stricken Angherites were supplied, were of British manufacture. At any rate, neither the state of health nor the attainments of Sir C. Euan-Smith inspired much hope among his best friends as to the success of his delicate mission. Nor, in the subsequent difficulty, was it either wise or just on our part to cause the Foreign Minister at Tangier to be censured by the Sultan for carrying out his orders. A more simple and honest man never existed in Morocco than Syad Torres, nor a better friend to England, and to have wantonly punished him was, indeed, a mistake which might have seriously impeded the efforts of Sir J. West Ridgeway. We are, however, convinced that Lord Rosebery is sincerely anxious to avoid another "Morocco incident," and that all he requires is to secure some sort of apparent satisfaction for the flag which may please the British public. The real situation of Morocco can only be affected by a European War or by some disaster to the Sultan's forces, and neither event would benefit the interests of England in Morocco.

We understand that the English Mission under Sir West Ridgeway is to start for Fez almost immediately. We believe there will be nothing more than an exchange of the usual hollow compliments, but this will suffice to enable Lord Rosebery to claim a triumph. We must add, however, that Sir West Ridgeway has produced a very good impression at Tangier, and that he is evidently animated by excellent intentions. His efforts especially to assist Tangier in securing something in the shape of a Municipal Government deserve every commendation, as does also his support of the proposal to tax foreign property holders. It is most unjust that the whole fiscal burthen should be thrown upon native landlords and house-owners only. All ought to be assessed in proportion to the value of their property without regard to nationality.

## AN EXCHANGE OPERATION ROUND THE WORLD.

We have much pleasure in publishing the following interesting statement regarding the vicissitudes of a sum of £500 in travelling by exchange from England to India and thence to China and America, whence it returns to England, after an absence of 80 days, only diminished by about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for banking commission, postage, etc., in four countries. The statement has been drawn up by Mr. P. B. Baker, the able Manager of the Delhi and London Bank:

On 1st July, 1892, remit £500 to Calcutta @  $1/3\frac{9}{16}$ ; reach Calcutta on 23 July.

On 23 July remit Rs. 7710·13·6 to Hong Kong at Rs. 224 per \$100—in \$3442·34, arriving in Hong Kong 10th August.

10 August remit from Hong Kong \$3442·34 to New York at \$100 silver per \$67·75 gold, arriving in New York 10 September.

10 September remit \$2332·15 gold to London at ex. \$4·88 $\frac{1}{4}$  per £1, arriving in London 19th September.

*Question:* What sum will be received in London, and taking interest @ 5 % from 1 July to 19 September, what profit or loss will be made on the transaction?

£500 @  $1/3\frac{9}{16}$  = Rs. 7710·844 at Calcutta.

Rs. 7710·844 @ 224 for \$100 = \$3442·34 at Hong Kong.

\$3442·34 @ 100 for 67·75 = \$2332·15 gold at New York.

\$2332·15 @ 4·88 $\frac{1}{4}$  = £477 12s. 6d.

			£	s.	d.
			500	0	0
Interest, 80 days @ 5 %	...		5	9	7
			505	9	7
Return to London	...	...	477	12	6
Loss	...	...	£27	17	1

## THE SIKH KHALSA COLLEGE.

A correspondent from the Punjab gives us some interesting information regarding the Khalsa College, the affairs of which, after long factious opposition, are now at length in a fair way of settlement.

The movement was begun in 1890, by the Khalsa Diwan, a powerful Sikh Association, and it aims at providing a denominational College, with affiliated schools, for the Sikhs. A site has been chosen,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Umritsur, on the Lahore road, and the foundation stone was laid by His Honour the Lt.-Governor on the 5th March, 1892. Among the donors are the Chiefs of Patiala (Rs. 150,000), of Nabha (Rs. 105,000),—of Langru (Rs. 75,000)—of Kapurthala (Rs. 122,000). A lakh of Rupees has already been raised for the Building, which is designed by Bhai Ram Singh. Gujuranwalla and Ferozepore are to have affiliated schools. The educational scheme comprises a High, a Middle, an Upper Primary and a Lower Primary Department. In the High and Middle Departments, the students will be able to choose between classical and modern subjects, the

latter including Sanskrit and Persian. The Technical and industrial departments will be duly attended to; and as might have been expected, the study of Gurmukhi and of the Granth are to form a special feature.

The education imparted will follow the general system of the Punjab educational Department; and Boarding-houses for students will be established in connection with the College and Schools. We have been favoured with copies of the draft rules forming the constitution of the College, and of the Boarding-houses; and we have found them carefully drawn up and very appropriate for the purpose intended. The opposition to the establishment of the Khalsa College has lasted for two years, and seems to us to have been as unreasonable as it was fortunately unsuccessful. The Patrons are the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, and the Chiefs of Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, and Kapurthalla. The President of the College Council is the Hon. W. H. Rattigan, Lit.D., and the Vice-President, Mahamahopadyaya Malozul 'Ulma-ul Fazila Sirdar Sir Attar Singh, K.C.I.E., Chief of Bhadaur, both elected for life. Special members of the Council are, the Manager of the Golden Temple at Umritsur (ex officio), and five Europeans:—Genl. S. Black, Messrs. J. Sime, M. Macauliffe, E. Nicholl and J. Campbell Oman. Bhai Jowahar Singh, Kapur, Granthi, is the Secretary of the College Council. Bhai Gurmukh Singh, one of the main promoters of the movement, is the General Secretary. The system of religious instruction laid down seems excellent. We heartily wish "Success and Prosperity to the new Khalsa College!"

#### ROMANIZED URDU FOR THE BLIND.

The scholarly Mrs. F. A. P. Shirreff writes to us as follows:

"It has been suggested to me that you might very kindly help to clear up some points connected with the adaptation of the Braille Code for the Blind to Urdú. I was asked to make this adaptation two years ago, with the suggestion that as far as possible the English code should be followed. I therefore took Roman Urdu as a guide, only adding at first a sign for "zhe" (a dotted j) and afterwards "se" or "the," "he" and "swád," it being my impression (confirmed by friends), that Muhammadans, at any rate those who knew Arabic, so pronounced these letters.

"If it would not trouble you too much, could you very kindly tell me if you would consider this a sufficiently representative alphabet? A á b c h d d e f g 'ain gain h *kh* i í j j. (zhe) k l m n *n* o p q r r s sh t t u ú w y z.

"'Ain' having a separate character I have made 'ghain' a dotted 'ain' instead of dotted g as in Roman, and I had thought of representing the nasal sound by a dot after the vowel, instead of by a dotted *n*.

"If it would be better to follow the Perso-Arabic alphabet it could be easily done, the grouping of the Braille characters lends itself to this arrangement, but it would be much more complicated for use by the blind.

"A gentleman in Southern India has lately elaborated an adaptation of the Braille code to all the various languages and dialects of India. He has not made it correspond to the English code at all, and from what I have

seen, it looks to me as if practical utility had been lost sight of for the sake of philological interest, but very likely I am wrong.

"Is it not more likely to benefit the future blind Urdú reader, that the same sign should represent the same sound in English and Urdú, than that Urdú should correspond to all the other Indian dialects, and not to English, which again, I believe, corresponds as closely as possible with Latin, Greek and French, if not German.

"Those who advocate keeping to the Roman Urdú in adapting Braille urge that it is necessary that as many as possible of the aspirated consonants should be represented, as they are more useful than the different s, z, etc., sounds. The number of available signs in Braille is 63. I had wished to settle an alphabet for present use, leaving the aspirated consonants, compounds, and abbreviated words to follow after it had been tested, but others wish to adapt the whole code with contractions and all at once.

"There has been much discussion and the whole matter is at a standstill. The Blind Association are anxious to get the opinions of experts."

[After long experience of "Roman-Urdu" by the Educational Departments of India, in Eastern Law Courts and in Oriental publications generally, most unbiassed persons have come to the conclusion that the "Roman Urdu" system is utterly unsuitable, except to those who are already acquainted with the indigenous native spelling of the words and who, therefore, do not require it. The apparent ease of the "Roman-Urdu" is deceptive and only leads to eventual difficulties and confusion. We would most certainly urge your adoption of the Perso-Arabic Alphabet in your admirable purpose.—ED.]

#### REGISTERED LETTERS AND POSTAL REFORMS.

We have drawn the attention of Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., whose proposal regarding *an Imperial Penny Postage* is probably at present the only practical feature in "Imperial Federation" which Colonials of all shades of opinion seem likely to accept, to the great defects of our system of registering letters. It would scarcely be believed that there is no guarantee of their arrival except the *ipse dixit* of the Post Office. Such arrival must be taken for granted in the case also of unregistered letters. In a recent instance, after waiting for many weeks to know whether a registered letter to Ireland had arrived, we received the assurance of the Postmaster-General that it had done so, but we did not get the postal receipt, which the addressee to whom the letter had been delivered, has to sign. Why, then, pay twopence extra for registration, if, even in the case of an inquiry, the postal receipt of the recipient cannot be shown to the sender? "They do these things better in France," but in the Home of the "penny post" we are far behind that country in postal facilities. Of this, we will only give the instance of registered letters. For years, before its partial and inefficient adoption in this country, the system of "prepaying the acknowledgment of a registered letter" has prevailed in France, so that *e.g.* the sender of a cheque by letter can oblige its recipient to acknowledge the receipt of the cover supposed to contain it, and this receipt is at once returned by the Post Office to the sender, because of the prepay-



ment of an additional fee. In England this fee is 2½d. for foreign letters and—*mirabile dictu*—also for English letters so sent, though the postage in this country is only one penny and the return of a receipted form might well be treated as a post-card and be similarly only charged one halfpenny. Half the Post Offices in London, and nearly all the Offices in the country, do not know of the system of prepaying the acknowledgment of registered letters; when they do, they used to hunt for a *French* form of the "*Avis de réception*," and now, actually, they refuse to give one a receipt at all for the extra fee paid by the sender, beyond, perhaps in some cases of great courtesy, adding the letters "A. R.," which stand for "*Avis de réception*," on the ordinary receipt given for a registered letter. But such a receipt, as we have shown, is practically useless, for, in the instance with which we have commenced this paragraph, weeks of inquiry only resulted in the unsupported assurance from the Postmaster-General that the registered letter had been duly delivered.

For years also has the postage to India from France been half of what it has been from England, so that large Firms have found it less expensive to pay the travelling expenses of a Clerk to France to post a large number of letters, etc., there, than to do so direct from England. In many other respects also are the Postal and Telegraph facilities of England behind those of other countries, for here the principal object of the Departments in question seems to make money, whilst elsewhere they are mainly a State function. The education, dignity and emoluments of the Postal employés must be raised, so as to proceed *pari passu* with the increased responsibilities towards, and requirements of, the public. In the Middle Ages, these hardworking and patient public servants would have been an honoured guild; the future should constitute them into a profession in aid of the ever-growing demands of facilities for "communication." The enormous income of the Post Office now mainly goes to make up for the deficiencies in other sources of the Revenue; but a portion should certainly be devoted to giving higher pay and education to its employés. Otherwise, all complaints, Committees and questions in Parliament will not inspire these useful functionaries with a constant desire to learn and to benefit the public, without doing which they will always be "behind the Age."—ED.

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Dr. Max Nordau writes as follows :

In connexion with Mr. Charles Godfréy Leland's interesting paper on "Salagrama" Stones, I beg to point out the fact, that in the purse of many French people, both male and female, even belonging to the higher classes, you may find, among gold and silver, a modest "*sou*" with a hole through it. Value is attached to this piece of money, its loss causing regret, and sometimes even alarm, because it is supposed to "bring luck" to its possessor. Now, evidently, the pierced coin is a disguised Salagrama. This is a curious instance of survival, the cultivated mind of civilized contemporaries having preserved a dim reminiscence of the once general primæval superstition which credited with some secret power a stone with a hole in it.

Paris, January 1, 1893.

M. NORDAU.

We have received the following remarks on the attempt made by a portion of the English and Anglo-Indian Press to misrepresent our relations with Afghanistan. These chiefly refer to the allegations made in the *Standard* of February 23, 1892, most of which are baseless :

#### TURNING THE TABLES ON THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN.

It is the Simla Political Department, not the Amir, that has "pushed forward" in regions where we had no sort of right or duty—an utterly revolutionary proceeding—of which the treatment of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the absorption of his resources and troops were the means. As to the absurd warning not to "blind ourselves" about the intentions of the Amir, it is Sir Mortimer Durand, Lord Roberts, and a clique in the India Office, with Lord Salisbury, who have "blinded" the British public ; so that the present Government came in "*blindfolded*" to begin with, and are helpless, unless some independent man will open their eyes in the House itself.

The "encroachment" is from *our* side, *not* the Amir's. This is the exact truth ; it is our (secret) Political Department that has "interfered" in the Amir's territories, and in those of the tribes who owe him allegiance : it is we (the Simla coterie) who have exasperated Abdur-Rahman "almost beyond endurance." This *ghastly situation* has been persistently worked up to, for months and years past, by the Political Department, backed by the India Office here, and partly by Lord Salisbury's Cabinet. The Amir avoided the interview with Lord Roberts, *knowing* that the British Envoy was going to Jelalabad *on purpose* to bully him. *It was our* aggression in Chitral—our inexcusable folly in taking the part of a *murdering usurper*, that brought confusion there, not the Amir.

You will have seen the "India Office" circular for tenders for *Mule-Carts* : it is almost tantamount to an avowal of a settled project for a huge Trans-Himalayan campaign, early in 1894. *Absit omen.*

#### THE ILLEGALITY OF THE PRESENT TRANS-FRONTIER OPERATIONS.

There is one very grave consideration arising out of the various military operations and political "combinations," carried on beyond the Frontiers of India during the last few years through the Political Department of the Government of India—for which branch of executive action, be it noted, the Viceroy is directly and personally responsible. This is, that these proceedings of the Executive Authorities are entirely illegal and in flagrant violation of the Statute of 1858. Those operations, far away from British territory, at Gilgit, Hunza-Nagyr, and Chilás ; on the borders of Kafirstán ; in Bajour in alliance with the brigand chief Umra Khan ; as well as beyond the boundaries in the Kurram and Khost valleys and beyond the Zhab ravines—all come under this statutory, but contemptuously despised, interdict. The evidence of these transgressions of our frontiers and of the Statute are scattered through the Anglo-Indian press, as also in the demi-official telegrams and communicated articles that have appeared in the English press during the last year or two.

It is impossible, however, to obtain any categorical list of these illegal

transactions without some peremptory demand from Parliament to the Indian authorities and the Indian Office to draw up and present such lists. On constitutional grounds, it needs no argument to show that any "obstruction" and every needful exercise of the forms of either House of Parliament would not only be justified, but ought also to be used in order to obtain authoritative evidence of these breaches of the Law. In vital matters of State, such as this, a word to the wise is sufficient.

Therefore, we only need here to quote the text of Section 56 of "the Act for the better Government of India," Cap. cvi., 1858: it runs thus—

"Except for preventing or repelling *actual Invasion* of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, or under other *sudden* and *urgent Necessity*, the Revenues of India shall not, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the Expenses of any Military Operation carried on *beyond* the external Frontiers of such Possessions by Her Majesty's Forces charged upon such Revenues."

The capitals are in the text: the italics are ours, to anticipate the gross sophisms by which it may be sought to excuse those military operations. Section 55 provides that "any order sent to India directing the actual commencement of hostilities . . . shall be communicated to both Houses of Parliament within three months of the sending of such order." This, also, has been grossly violated.

ANGLO-INDIAN.

#### THE FIRST DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON BRITISH "ECONOMY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INDIAN TREASURY."

We have much pleasure in giving a full verbatim Report of the first Debate that took place in the House of Lords on Monday, the 13th February, 1893, on "Economy at the expense of the Indian Treasury," which was introduced by Lord Stanley of Alderley's remarks respecting Lord Kimberley's double appointment:

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Lord President whether he had applied to the Treasury for the salary belonging to his office; and he also asked the noble Lord, as Secretary of State for India, whether as guardian of the interests of the Indian taxpayers he had remonstrated against the salary of the Lord President being provided out of Indian taxes. He said that shortly after Mr. Gladstone formed his Government his principal organ—or perhaps it would be more correct to say his chief supporter in the London Press, perhaps almost his only supporter among the principal London newspapers, *The Daily News*—made on August 17th last the following announcement:

"Economists will observe that the double appointment given to Lord Kimberley (Secretary of State for India and Lord President of the Council) saves the country from payment of the salary attached in the ordinary course of things to the functions of President of the Council."

This was a most unblushing avowal of shabby economy—an arrangement which was discreditable to the country and to the First Lord of the

Treasury who has made it. It was part of the too prevalent system of bribing voters with other people's money. On the following day, the 18th August, a letter appeared in *The Daily News* from Mr. S. Digby, in which he wrote :

"Will you permit me to respectfully suggest for Mr. Gladstone's consideration that his Lordship should draw part of his salary from the English Exchequer and part from the Indian—£2,000 from the former and £3,000 from the latter? A saving to the Indian Government of even £2,000 per annum is not to be despised in these hard times when the rupee is down to rs. 2½d. It is sometimes forgotten in England, though never in India, that the entire cost of the India Office, £227,985 (. . . 1891-92), is a charge on Indian Revenues. . . . The emoluments of the Secretary of State, Under Secretaries, Members of the Council, etc., amount for the last year to £134,070. Some of us who are not adherents of the National Congress fail to see why, in regard at all events to the official Parliamentary representatives, India should be treated differently from the colonies."

To avoid any misapprehension or suspicion of hostility to his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India, he would hasten to say that for his part he thought the best solution of this untoward circumstance would be that his noble Friend should receive the salaries of both the offices which he held. for the following reasons : that the duties of both offices were very onerous. With Mr. Acland in the Education Office and little or no restraint exercised over Her Majesty's School Inspectors, the Lord President would have a good deal to do. He would have to answer questions from the right rev. Bench, except the Bishop of Sodor and Man, who was alone independent of the Education Office. But with a falling rupee, Upper Burma unpacified, and Lieutenant Governors to restrain, a great deal of extra work would fall upon the Secretary of State for India. Though this would not relieve the Indian Treasury, yet it would remove the feeling of indignation that had been aroused in India by the economy practised by a rich country at the expense of a poor one ; and it was well known that there were none of Her Majesty's Ministers in office or out of it more hardworking than the Secretary of State for India. But if this might not be, he must ask his noble Friend the question of which he had given notice ; and should it be the case that the Secretary of State for India had not yet remonstrated or had failed in his remonstrances, he must ask him to renew them and to refuse to allow the President of the Council to be provided for out of Indian revenue. He had not invented the theory that the Secretary of State was the guardian or protector of the Indian taxpayer. It was one that had been laid down by the late Lord Halifax, and more than once by the Duke of Argyll in a few words which he would read. Lord Halifax said, quoting from *Hansard*, on March 14th, 1876 :

"The circumstances of India make it impossible that an independent local Legislature should be established in India, but the same principle of government is no less applicable to India than to the colonies. The colonies are able to protect themselves through their own Legislatures ; and as the people of India have not a domestic Legislature to protect them, I have always held it to be the duty of the Secretary of State for India to protect their interests against any pressure in this country from English interests."

He remembered hearing the Duke of Argyll say that the Secretary of State had to carry on an incessant struggle with the Horse Guards and

other Departments to prevent encroachments on the Indian Treasury; and that the Secretary of State was the sole guardian of the Indian taxpayer. He had not been able to find this passage in *Hansard*, but he had found another which would do as well. The Duke of Argyll said on July 28th, 1870, in connection with the Indian Financial Statement:

"He might remind the House that the Act of Parliament specially provided that the Indian Revenue should be expended for the purposes of India alone, and any expenditure on the British Army not strictly connected with Indian purposes would be at variance with the Act, adverse to the policy of Parliament, and at variance also with their duty to the people of India."

Under these circumstances, he did not think that the Secretary of State had any choice but to insist, with the First Lord of the Treasury, that he should provide for the Lord President out of the British Exchequer, otherwise the alternative would be that his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India would reproach himself for not having kept up to the standard laid down by Lord Halifax and the Duke of Argyll. It was very probable that the attention of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India had not before been drawn to this matter, and very natural that he should not read *The Daily News*, since he would probably pay more attention to those papers which attacked Her Majesty's Government. It was also natural that his noble Friend should have thought that this was a case similar to that of former Prime Ministers also holding the seals of the Foreign Office; but there was this difference: that both those offices were provided for out of the English Exchequer. *The Daily News* had taken credit for what was a shabby economy, and the Press of India had cried out against the injustice. He would read only one short extract from *The Times of India*, an English paper published at Bombay, and leaning more to the Civil Service than to the people of India. That paper on September 16th, 1892, said:

"If it be true, as alleged, that the whole of Lord Kimberley's salary is to be borne by the Indian Government, despite the fact that he holds a second office also, there is certainly ground for complaint, though the relief would no doubt be slight enough. The pay of the President of the Council is £2,000; but although the two offices are combined in Lord Kimberley's case, the double office does not carry extra salary, so that it would only be just if a moiety of two-fifths of Lord Kimberley's pay were borne by the Home Government. But the whole question is one that will need looking into in the near future."

He would, in conclusion, move formally for any Papers on the subject.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY): My Lords, I will first answer the Motion of my noble Friend. I am sorry to say there are no Papers on this subject. The only paper I am aware of dealing with the matter is the one my noble Friend referred to in *The Daily News*; and I am bound to say, though he may think it very extraordinary, I do read *The Daily News*, and I read the letter he has referred to. And now, my Lords, I must say I am exceedingly obliged to my noble Friend for the kind way in which he has taken up my case, because, as I understand, what he would consider the best arrangement is that my salary should be augmented by £2,000 a year. How that would benefit the Indian revenues he did not explain, because I

do not see that adding some £2,000 to the £5,000 paid by the Indian Treasury would tend to relieve the Indian taxpayer. But having put that as the best way of dealing with the matter, my noble Friend made quite another suggestion : that the salary should be divided into two parts, and he was good enough to furnish an estimate of what my services are worth as Lord President. It appears that, comparing the business which falls upon the Secretary of State for India, who is to some extent responsible for the government of that Great Empire, with the business of the President of the Council, he considers that the proportions are as three-fifths to two-fifths. Well, I think that is rather an inadequate estimate of the work which falls upon the Secretary of State for India, and the responsibility which that office entails as compared with my duties as President. If I had to make an appraisal of the proportions, I confess I should be puzzled how to do so. But my noble Friend apparently forgets that the President is also a Cabinet Minister, and a considerable portion of his salary is given him on that account. It is quite clear I cannot do double duty as a Cabinet Minister, and I cannot, therefore, claim any particular portion of the President's salary allotted to him as a Cabinet Minister. My noble Friend, perhaps, takes the view that the Indian Government should, as it were, lease me to the Imperial Government, which should pay so much a week to the Government of India for the amount of work which I may perform in my other capacity. Certainly I was rather alarmed at what my noble Friend said as to those duties, and I hope it does not emanate from any confidential information he has received ; that is, that I might have to furnish answers night after night to the Members of the right rev. Bench except the Bishop of Sodor and Man. If I had to estimate the amount to be paid to me for that responsible work I should be inclined to put it somewhat high. But, my Lords, the real point is this : What does the Indian taxpayer lose by this arrangement ? If it is the case—and I admit this argument might be used—that the duties I have to perform as President of the Council would prevent to that extent my discharging the duties of Secretary of State for India, then I fully admit that the Indian taxpayer would have a right to complain. But if I succeeded in adequately discharging the duties of Secretary of State for India, in what respect can the Indian taxpayer be injured ? The salary of £5,000, I may tell my noble Friend, is fixed by Act of Parliament, and it is my duty to perform all the business the Secretary of State for India has to perform to the best of my ability. Though I should be far better pleased personally, I can assure my noble Friend, if I had not additional work to perform, yet I believe I can discharge my duties as Secretary of State for India, and even answer those Members of the right rev. Bench who may address questions to me. I have the advantage of having as my colleague Mr. Acland, who is a Member of the Cabinet ; and though that fact does not relieve me from responsibility as President of the Council, anybody who knows what the work is will recognise that it does lighten my work. My Lords, I must say that I think a great deal of unnecessary bother has been made about really a very small matter. The whole question is only as to £2,000 ; and though I am most anxious that no pains should be spared

to guard the Indian Treasury against unfair demands upon it, there is nothing here which, in my opinion, calls for interference on my part.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he was disappointed with the answer the noble Earl had made to the question, which was rather in the form of a conundrum—one felt uncertain whether it was a single question put to two Ministers or two questions addressed to one. As Secretary of State for India the noble Lord had answered the question, but his answer might be attributed to his having spoken in the third capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer of the English Government. It could not be believed for a single moment that the noble Earl, as Secretary of State for India, would desire that the English Government and English taxpayers should, by this arrangement for his filling two offices, make a clear profit of £2,000 a year, and that the Indian Government and taxpayers should lose that sum by the arrangement.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: How do they lose it?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, they really lost it because it was quite clear the Indian Government should not pay whatever salary was attached to the other of the two offices, the duties of which the noble Earl had to perform. Looking at the question from the Indian taxpayer's point of view, which his noble Friend had overlooked, they might tell him, "Year by year the salary of the Secretary of State for India is increasing; it is not at all a fixed sum, because that salary is not paid in rupees of an even standard, but in sovereigns, and we Indian taxpayers have to pay more rupees to furnish it;" and the same thing, of course, applied to the whole expenses of the Government. The sum, it was true, was not large; but this was a matter of justice and equity, and the question was whether there was a disposition to deal with the Indian taxpayer and the Indian revenues in, he would not say a liberal, but a just spirit. This was another instance in which the French proverb might be applied, "That those who are absent always get the worst of it." Complaints were continually being made as to the manner in which questions connected with Indian finances were dealt with by the English Government notwithstanding the constant remonstrances of the Indian Government and of the Governor General in Council, that they were determined with a view to English and not to Indian interests; and this was another instance of the manner in which these questions were treated. He would not have thought it necessary to address their Lordships on this subject were it not that at the present time the Indian revenues were in a condition of great and serious embarrassment, not to say an alarming condition, in consequence of the fall in the exchange and the difficulty of meeting the gold debt in this country; and one of the great burdens of the Indian Government was the payment of the whole expenses of the India Office and of the Secretary of State's salary in this country. He would ask the Marquess of Ripon, who had filled the office of Viceroy of India, and was now Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether the colonies paid his salary; and, if not, the reason why the Indian taxpayer should pay that of the Secretary of State for India? And, also, the further question whether the colonies paid the £80,000 or £100,000 a year expenses of

the Colonial Office? Or whether they made any contribution in either case? He asked the Lord President and Secretary for India who paid the expenses of the India Office, and the reason why the British taxpayer and British Government paid the whole of the expenses of the Colonial Office if the Indian taxpayer had to pay the entire cost of the India Office? He would not go further into this very important question of the distribution of the expenses of the Home Government now paid by the revenues of India; but with regard to the question of the expenses of the Army touched upon by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley of Alderley), his noble Friend the Marquess of Ripon knew very well that Government after Government, in India, and Viceroys and Members of their Councils had represented to the English Government the inequitable nature of the charges paid out of the Indian revenues for the home administration of the Indian Army. The noble Marquess had himself made that representation as strongly as every other Viceroy of India. In this time of grave difficulty, if not danger, to Indian finances—danger and difficulty not in any way depending upon the general condition of the finances of India, but entirely upon the fall in the value of the rupee—these heavy burdens became of immense importance, and he would ask whether Her Majesty's Government had considered whether any, and what, relief could be given to the Indian revenues by a determined effort on their part to reduce the home expenses which were now borne out of them? Although this question was a small one, it created considerable interest in India, which was always watching to see whether Indian claims were dealt with equitably by the Government of this country. He was bound to say the noble Earl's answer had not satisfied him that this matter had been treated equitably. Like others, no doubt, who had been under the harrow of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might say, "Sufferance has been the badge of all our tribe," when they had had to deal with even the smallest charge upon the English taxpayer, and he would not, therefore, quarrel with his noble Friend who, doubtless, had done his best. Still he was sorry he had failed, and hoped Her Majesty's Government would consider not only this small charge, but the far larger question of the reduction of the home charges of the Government of India now paid from Indian revenues.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (THE MARQUESS OF RIPON): My Lords, my noble Friend who has just sat down has wandered considerably from the minor point raised by the question of my noble Friend opposite (Lord Stanley of Alderley). He has raised a question of great magnitude, which I think it would be exceedingly inconvenient to attempt to discuss upon an occasion of this kind. That question, I admit with him, is one requiring great consideration, especially at the present time; but I can assure him it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government to do everything they can to reduce any expenditure which now presses upon India. My noble Friend knows very well, in regard to the loss in consequence of the depreciation in value of the rupee, that a Committee is sitting upon that subject to see whether, by any Government measures or by legislation, it can be dealt with.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I should like to ask the noble Marquess whether the question of home charges is referred to the Committee?



THE MARQUESS OF RIPON : Certainly not. I entirely admit that, like my noble Friend, when I was in India I used to grumble at these home charges, and desire that they should be reduced. My noble Friend knows that is no new question. He talked about the increased salary of my noble Friend the Lord President, but that, I think, is not a fair way of putting the question. No doubt India has to transmit more money for the home charges at the present time than she did when the rupee was at 2s., but that does not mean that the home charges have really increased in amount, but only that—to the great loss and injury, I admit, of India—she has now to transmit larger sums to meet them. My noble Friend the Secretary of State is as well aware of these difficulties as anybody, and they occupy, I am sure, a large share of his attention. I quite admit they are difficulties of a serious kind. My noble Friend, Lord Northbrook, used strong language with respect to the present state of the finances of India which I hope is not altogether justified to the full extent to which he went ; but no one can doubt that this heavy drain on the revenues of India ought to be relieved as far as possible ; and there is just ground, I think, for giving to India every consideration in respect of the home charges. But really, my Lords, when we consider large questions of this kind, is there any connection between them and the exceedingly minute point raised by the noble Lord opposite? I cannot admit for a moment that the taxpayer of India loses, because my noble Friend does not draw £2,000 a year from the English Revenue in respect of the other office he fills. In accordance with custom and practice in these cases, he does not draw salary for the two offices. He draws salary as Secretary of State for India, and I am sure it will not be disputed that he gives to the duties of that office the fullest attention which the people of India can require. My noble Friend speaks of the arrangement which has been made in respect of the colonies. No doubt it is quite true that the whole expense of the Colonial Office is borne by the English taxpayer and not by contributions from the colonies ; but my noble Friend knows very well that that has been the practice time out of mind, whereas the practice with regard to India has always been precisely the opposite. There has been no change whatever introduced into that practice of late years, and I confess I should think it very inadvisable that we should embark at this moment without notice upon so large and serious a question as the discussion of the present condition of Indian finance or the mode in which the difficulties of that finance should be relieved.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY : My Lords, I do not think the matter is quite so small as my noble Friend represents. Of course, £2,000 a year is not a matter of great importance either to the English or Indian Exchequer, but it does represent a new departure of principle. The noble Lord appealed with great emphasis to the existing practice, but this is an absolutely new departure from any practice which has existed before. It is entirely a new departure. The question is, whether you have a right to use an officer paid by the Indian Treasury to do English work ? That is the question. It has not been an unknown practice in other countries or in other ages. Appointments used to be made in the Middle Ages *in commendam*, as when the Pope appointed persons to good fat English

Abbeys. That is exactly a precedent for the proceeding which has been adopted by the noble Lord opposite. Now, I want him to consider, supposing he was dealing with some community less distant and less patient than the Indian, how such an arrangement would be criticised. Supposing, for instance, the Governorship of the Isle of Man were given in the same way to some Minister whose salary it was desired to clear off the English Estimates, or that he was made Chairman of the London County Council. Supposing, again, the Home Secretary were to have no salary at all, but should always be Chairman of the London County Council. I think this practice will necessarily grow, and I venture to commend that consideration to the noble Lord in reference to the payment of salaries to Members of the Indian Council. I think there are four Under Secretaries in the House of Commons, and I do not see why they should not all be appointed Secretaries to the Indian Council.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: They could not sit in Parliament.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Of course, that is a trifle which would have to be altered. But all those are ways of saving the English Estimates, which no doubt might seem very smart and very ingenious to the persons who arrange the figures at the English Treasury, but would not be so satisfactory on the other side of the water. You must not measure a financial injury by the number of thousand pounds involved. If people feel that their money is being taken from them, it matters very little whether it figures as thousands or tens of thousands. I regret the arrangement very much. I cannot see any reason for it. I am sure the services which the noble Lord renders are amply worth £2,000 additional a year, and it would entirely solve the question if he had an English as well as an Indian salary.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, one point had been forgotten. The noble Earl had stated to the House that a division of the salary paid into two-fifths and three-fifths would not be in proportion to the duties he performed in his two offices. No doubt the duties of Secretary of State for India were far more important than those of Lord President of the Council, but that did not comprise the whole question. Wear and tear had to be considered; and however robust the noble Earl might be, it was by no means the same thing to him, after being occupied in reading long Indian Despatches, to be exposed night after night to be baited with questions in his other capacity in this House. The Lord President had already been up three times to the Secretary of State's one, and that was likely to continue. On this occasion the noble Earl's reply might be regarded as a joint affair, but he would keep an account of the noble Earl's appearances in both capacities in case no alteration were made.

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We have received the following Note on the above Debate from Mr. W. Martin Wood:

NOTE ON THE HOME CHARGES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Thus the subject was left at the time—but not to sleep. Up to that date not only many peers, but most who come under the category of “the

average M.P.”—to say nothing of the general public—were utterly ignorant of this, one of the most prominent facts in the financial economy of our British Empire, namely, that not only does India pay the whole of the public expenditure within (and, of late years, *beyond*) its borders, including the enormous cost of that large portion of the British Army stationed in that peninsula, but also every charge defrayed here that can possibly be debited to Indian account. Hence every right-minded citizen lies under great obligation to Lord Stanley for having, by a “little fire,” kindled curiosity into one of the greatest matters that concern the British Empire. In many directions we have seen evidence of the wholesome effect of this ray of light shot into a dark place; and what is of high practical moment, is the motion of Lord Northbrook to raise the broad question of the equitable incidence of the Home Charges of the Government of India. The exact wording of the motion is—“To call attention to the Home Charges of the Government of India in relation to the condition of the finances of India; and to move for papers.”

Now, by way of showing how leaden are the feet of those who should bring financial equity to bear on the relations between India and her all-powerful master England, we will quote a sentence or two written nearly *forty* years ago by probably the first Anglo-Indian who drew public attention to this subject, the late Sir George Wingate, then Major Wingate, R.E. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Land Revenue system, and perhaps the most clear-sighted economist who ever dealt with the Indian problem: this is what he said at that period regarding the Home Charges—then a mere bagatelle of three millions or so, as compared with the sixteen millions of to-day:

Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. In the former case the taxes collected from the population at large are paid away to the portion of the population engaged in the service of Government, through whose expenditure they are again returned to the industrious classes. . . . But the case is wholly different when the taxes [or revenues including that from the land] are not spent in the country from which they are raised. . . . As regards its effects on national productions the whole amount might as well be thrown into the sea as transferred to another country; for no portion of it will return from the latter to the taxed country in any shape whatever. Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from India. . . . Let the reader picture to himself what the present condition of India would have been had the eighty or ninety millions of Indian taxes [or revenues] transferred to this country [the United Kingdom] in the present century been spent in India upon reproductive public works, calculated to augment the producing powers of that country. . . .

Since 1859, when the above was published, another 350 millions sterling have been thus drawn from India and expended here to the national gain of the United Kingdom. We ask those who approach this subject in the fresh light that has been thrown upon it by the incident in the House of Peers we have described above, to “picture to themselves” what this enormous withdrawal of revenue from India means in the economic sense

as stated by Wingate. It will suffice for a first lesson. Details can be gone into later on.

Here are two propositions to serve as texts for investigation—(a) as remarked by a certain political leader (at Ealing on March 8), in reference to an infinitely smaller subject, “the richer partner may well bring its resources to the help of the poorer partner”: (b) the time has come, is indeed long overdue, when the British Treasury should, and must take some appreciable share in sustaining the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom—every shilling of which has hitherto been borne by India alone.

W. MARTIN WOOD.

We have received the following copy of “A Bill to Provide for the simultaneous holding in India and the United Kingdom of the First Examinations for Appointments to the Civil Services of India,” which has been prepared by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., and his English Colleagues in Parliament, Messrs. Schwann, Caine and Birkmyre :

“WHEREAS it is just and expedient that all competitive examinations for Civil appointments in India, heretofore held in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland only, should for the future be simultaneously held in India also :

“Be it therefore enacted by the Queen’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

“1. All examinations heretofore held in England for the selection of candidates for any branch of the Civil Services in India shall henceforth be held also simultaneously at one or more appropriate centres in India, the examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners :

“Provided always, that nothing in this Act shall preclude Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India in Council from framing from time to time and enforcing such rules as to the subsequent training of the successful candidates, whether in England or India, prior to their actual admission to the Service, as may to him seem fitting.

“2. This Act may be cited as the Civil Services Examinations (India) Act, 1893.”

The Memorandum which accompanies the Bill is very much on the lines of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji’s article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1892.

#### PAPERS OF THE TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS (LISBON, 1892).

Since we noticed in our last number (p. 231) the first set of 10 papers then printed and issued by the Organizing Committee of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, we have received the second set of 10 more papers, which we now have the pleasure of describing. A list of the two sets, forming 20 pamphlets of varying thickness, will be found in our advertisements (p. v.).

1. Professor G. Vasconcellos-Abreu has published (in French and

Portuguese on alternate pages) a full report of his speech in June, 1892, justifying the Geographical Society of Lisbon in their acceptance of the duty of organizing the Tenth Congress at Lisbon, which, though its actual meeting was prevented by the cholera scare, is considered as held, in consequence of the number and importance of the papers which had already been received, and which are now being issued by the Committee. The learned professor's close reasoning in favour of the Statutes of Paris (1873), and his statement of several important facts regarding the schism among Orientalists, render it a very interesting paper.

2. Senhor F. Assis Clemente's paper, entitled *Le Droit Vatoua*, gives a most interesting and only too short account of the laws and legal processes of what he calls a savage tribe, but which has certainly attained to an uncommon amount of common-sense in the management of their legal matters—to a greater amount of it, in fact, than many civilized states.

3. Professor J. Leite de Vasconcellos gives a short paper on the various religions which have, at various times, prevailed in Portugal, and which he divides into Prehistoric, Proto-Historic, and Lusso-Roman. On the first he has nothing to say; on the second little, partly guessed and partly verified by monumental and other records. The third he considers a mixture of the gods of the second period with those of the Romans and other peoples. As a short conclusion, he says that Christianity next followed; and after claiming the Spaniard St. Damasus as a Portuguese, pretends to find in some Christian practices a savour of ancient paganism.

4. Senhor Candido de Figueiredo's paper on Penalties in the Code of Manu, first traces the antiquity of that code to the thirteenth century B.C.; and then proceeds to furnish details of the crimes, judges, processes, and punishments ordained by that code. The code, as is well known, discloses a high degree of civilization already attained, a perfect gradation of society formed, and a regular system of jurisprudence in practice.

5. The gruesome paper (noticed in our last issue) on "Man as a Medicine," translated by Senhor Demetrio Cinatti, Portuguese Consul at Canton, from Dr. MacGowan, is now followed by a more horrible and blood-curdling description, from the same source, of one of the many ways in which Chinese ingenuity and science have been prostituted for purposes of gain, to the infliction of the most revolting cruelties. It tells of an application of the principle of transplanting the skin to the exchange of a human being's own skin for that of some animal, say a dog, and the subsequent change of the human being into the semblance of that animal, by the addition of other atrocious cruelties.

6. Professor G. Vasconcellos-Abreu, in a lengthy paper which, with its preface and index, may rather be called a book, presents some erudite commentaries on certain passages from Camoens' "*Lusiad*." Those dealing with Oriental geography and mythology, and at first sight rather legendary or imaginary, are shown by the learned Sanskrit Professor of Lisbon to be very exact and truthful, and to coincide with what we have since learned on the subjects. The conquest of Ceylon and its conversion to Buddhism are specially treated; and there is an excellent illustration reproduced from the Ajanta caves.

7. "The Village Communities of Goa" is the title of a paper by C. R. da Costa, in which, after a short historical sketch of the well-known indestructible village system of India, he proceeds to quote from Maine, and then details the state of affairs connected with the system which the Portuguese found established at Goa and sanctioned with their approbation, in September, 1526. Over the village council he finds the Provincial Council, which was formed of one deputy from each village community. These two assemblies he compares to the local and national Legislations in the United States, but points out essential differences. He makes good use of Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*, but persistently speaks of him as Mr. Sumner Maine. His details of village arrangements and composition are good and interesting, if not new.

8. Professor A. K. Fabricius treats with much erudition the question as to what the Norsemen (Norwegians) knew regarding Spain. He recounts three voyages to Spain at three distinct times, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first by St. Olaf, somewhat legendary, brings him to the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula; the second by Sigurd, the son of Magnus, makes him visit (and fight in) Spain and the Balearic Islands *en route* to Sicily and the Holy Land; and the third is the more peaceful journey of Christina, daughter of Hako IV., to be married to a brother of Alfonso X.: she was accompanied by Bishop P. de Hamar, A. Nicolassön, and a suite of 120 persons.

9. The same learned Professor contributes a similar paper on the first Norman invasion of Muhammadan Spain, in 844, when the barbarous marauders took Seville and ineffectually tried to burn down its mosque; but were eventually repelled with much slaughter by Abdurrhahman II. The various accounts left by three Arabic authors, and by several Spaniards who followed them, are given and commented upon with much critical judgment.

10. The Secretary of the Tenth Congress, Senhor Luciano Cordeiro, contributes another Bibliographical sketch of his series of Portuguese Discoverers and Discoveries, of which one—that on Diogo Cão—was noticed in our last number. This one is on Diogo d'Azambujo; it is quite a volume in itself—85 pages. It traces the parentage and life of its subject, his voyages and government on the north-west coast of Africa, his acts there, his retirement, and his descendants. The remainder of the *brochure* contains a number of documents illustrating the family and life of Diogo.

We have received the continuation of Pandit Gopalacharlu's valuable article on "Sea Voyages by Hindus," which we propose to deal with in connection with the masterly treatment of the same subject by the learned Principal of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, Pandit Maheshchandra Nyaratna, in a paper sent to the Lisbon Oriental Congress of 1892.

As we are going to Press we have received an interesting account from Mr. R. G. Haliburton, Q.C., of further discoveries regarding the existence of a Dwarf race not only in Morocco, but, nearer home, in the Pyrenees near Barcelona and elsewhere in Spain. We hope to be able to publish this account in our next issue.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—In Parliament, we note the absolute silence, in the Speech from the Throne, on India and its severe Monetary crisis, though ministers did not fail to whine over the depression of trade. An important Indian debate in the Lords will be found *in extenso* elsewhere. In the Commons, questions have been asked regarding the Russian incursion into the Pamirs, on which negotiations are proceeding, with little chance of speedy termination;—the Burmo-Chinese frontier delimitation, which is now being negotiated in London;—the Indian Currency Commission report, which is not yet presented;—and Trial by Jury in Bengal, which has been referred to a Commission for an immediately expected Report. The Indian budget has been presented to-day (23rd March) at Calcutta, showing a deficit for 1892-93 of Rx. 1,081,900, and estimating another deficit of Rx. 1,595,100 for the coming year, to meet which a loan of Rx. 3,000,000 will, probably, be raised. It is also believed that the Secretary of State will draw bills for £18,700,000 during next year, and that he will raise a loan of £1,300,000 to discharge Railway Debentures.

The Indian Government itself has till the present taken no action whatever in the Currency question, the deferring of which costs India £12,000 a week loss on the Home Charges alone, and about five times that amount on her trade transactions. While an important deputation of Civil servants and gentlemen of all classes has waited on Lord Lansdowne to urge action in the matter, Lord Roberts has addressed him specially on its effects upon the Army. This most important matter being neglected, the Legislative Council is engaged with many Bills, not calling for special mention here. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria is travelling and has been received with the traditional welcome of India; also the Duke of Braganza. The winter

rains have been neither plentiful nor general ; and Madras, already in distress, especially in the Tinnevely, Tanjore, Carnatic, Madura and Central districts, had relief works already begun, but the outlook is now better, as some rain has fallen. Other districts that have felt the want of rain and consequent strain are Lahore, Sialkot and Umballa in the Punjab ; Dera Ghazi Khan is reported to be in distress ; and in Chingleput fortnightly reports are called for ; the harvest has been poor and fodder is becoming exhausted.

The Bombay command, vacated by the resignation of Sir George Greaves, is given to Lt.-General Sir John Hudson, K.C.B., whose service includes the Persian, Mutiny, Abyssinian, Afghan and Egyptian wars. Some Maxim guns, of the same calibre as the Martini-Henry, have been received for field Service. Lord Roberts is to have a statue in Calcutta. Rs. 300,000 are sanctioned for grass farms in the Punjab ; and for Dairy farms at Meerut, Lucknow, Umballa, Cawnpore, Quettah and Peshawur Rs. 4,000 each, and Rs. 2,000 at Campbellpur. Rs. 550,000 are sanctioned for erecting accommodation at Fiddin, Fort White, Falon and Haka in Burma.

The prosperity of India is shown in the return of Savings Banks, which last year numbered 6,442, with a deposit of Rs. 88,850,000, bearing interest Rs. 3,000,000 ; the increase in depositors being 55,000, and in deposits Rs. 820,000. The Indo-European Telegraph Service has been separated from the Indian Telegraph Department, as proposed by the Viceroy and sanctioned by the Secretary of State. In India nearly 100 new Telegraph offices were opened.

The present convention with Italy for the conveyance of the Indian Mails has been extended for 5 more years.

The 8th Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Calcutta, under the Presidency of W. C. Bannerji of Calcutta, when speeches were made and business discussed and resolutions passed of the usual kind. The Resolution regarding the exchange question was of a rather retrograde nature. A hospital was opened at Lucknow.



Among works of public utility, the Indus is being re-surveyed from the Punjab borders to the sea, owing to many changes in its bed. Karachi harbour has been deepened for vessels up to 25 feet in the S. W. Monsoon, and 27 ft. in the fine season, still leaving 2 ft. of water under the ships in the latter, and 4 ft. in the former, cases. A Railway line was opened between Bangalore and Doddballapur, and 24 miles of the Godra-Rutlam line. Lord Lansdowne has sanctioned, with a free grant of land, 2 French Railway lines from British territory to French ports on the E. Coast of India, which will seriously injure the prosperity of Cuddalore and Negapatam; while to make matters worse for the Madras Presidency, he has stopped the works on the Godavery Bridge (East Coast Ry.) in spite of the urgent appeal of the Governor of Madras in Council.

Waterworks are being actively taken up. The Imperial irrigation grant for 1893-94 is Rs. 7,500,000; *à propos* of which Sir T. McIlwraith of Brisbane has been travelling in India to study the irrigation system, and apply it, if possible, to the wants of Australia. Seven irrigation parties are at work on tanks in the districts of Madura, Tinnevely, Salem, North Arcot, Chingleput, Kistna and Vizagapatam.

Sanction has been given to various Railway grants up to the total of Rs. 393,500,000.

The Portuguese Goa Government paid Rs. 600,000 to meet the interest on the Mirmagao Railway. From the Bombay Presidency, a Mahar sentenced to death for a murder, at Sattara, successively appealed to the Governor, the Viceroy, and finally to her Majesty under sect. 401 of the Criminal procedure. It was the first appeal of the kind, and the Empress of India graciously commuted the sentence to life-imprisonment, as a special act of mercy. In Kathiawar a gang of 12 dacoits was destroyed, but with the sad loss of Lt. Gordon and 4 sepoys. In the Central Provinces, 7 posts have been opened to the Provincial Civil Service: 1 head of District, 2 Small Cause Court judges, 1 Registrar, 1 Settlement officer, and 2 Assistant Commis-

sioners. At Madras, a native scholar will probably succeed Prof. Gustav Oppert in the Sanskrit chair. In Bengal, the Lt.-Governor's regulations regarding trial by jury have been severely criticised by both Europeans and natives; the question has been referred to a Commission, with Mr. Justice Prinsep as President. The Bengal Municipalities Bill, with its more objectionable clauses omitted, has been postponed for consideration by the re-organized Council. For the practical application of the late Indian Councils' Act, Government has published some details at last. The principle of election is restricted to the presentation of candidates, the final nomination resting with Government. Bengal is given as the model on which all the others will be founded. It will have the maximum number of 20 additional members (10 officials); the Calcutta Corporation, other Corporations and District boards, and Associations of merchants will propose 6 members, the University Senate 1 member, and 3 other members will be nominated by the Lt.-Governor so as to secure the fair representation of all classes;—one member to represent landowners. The Viceroy's Council will be reorganized for work on return to Calcutta next season, on similar lines. Four Provincial Councils will send representatives; Commerce and the Bar will have one each. Other details are not yet out. Sir C. Crossthwaite has been touring in the N.W. Provinces, and has held an important durbar at Jhansi. Trout are again being cultivated in the Doon. Lord Roberts made his final tour in the Punjab, and with the Commander-in-Chief of Nepal as his guest, was present at the Muridki Camp of Exercise. The discovery of thefts of rifles from the Ferozpur Arsenal, and the finding of 5,000 Martini-Henry's (presumably stolen) at Sealkote, recalls a parallel case at Agra in 1865. An important find of Roman coins is reported from Pakli (Punjab). The division of the Civil Service into Imperial and Provincial is being applied to the Educational Department of the Punjab, where also no less than 8 municipalities have had to be closed.

From the Native States, we have to record the coming of the Maharaja of Kapurthala to England, and the visits paid to the Governor-General by the Maharajas of Mysore and Gwalior and the Zamorin of Cochin;—the suspension for inefficiency of the Thakur of Malia;—and the formation, by the Rao of Kutch, of a camel-corps of 200 for the Imperial Defence forces. We have to congratulate the Maharaja Thakur of Bhaonagar on the auspicious double marriage of his son and daughter. The Nawab of Dacca has given Rs. 6,000 for Boarding houses for students of the Calcutta Medresseh; and the Dewan of Dumraon Rs. 75,000 to be spent in works of public utility. Such private gifts in 1891 amounted to Rs. 275,000; in 1890, to 350,000; and in 1889, to Rs. 650,000. Mysore and Baroda are both energetically pushing on Education. The Gaekwar has opened 300 new schools. Several financial changes have been made in Hyderabad, with a reduction of salaries, personal assistants and under-secretaries. V. Subraman Pillay, late first judge of the Appeal Court, has been made Dewan of Cochin. The Secretary of State declined to interfere with the sentence of death on Major Ramchunder of Ulwar, for the murder of Kunj Behari Lall.

Bulandkhel was occupied by a brigade; and the Kurram Valley affairs still await permanent settlement. Umra Khan of Jandol has been fighting the Nawagis, but has been repulsed in his encroachments on Chitrál, where Nizam-ul-Mulk maintains himself as Mihtar, and where Dr. Robertson has arrived, after much delay, as Resident. Severe fighting, with great comparative loss on both sides, has occurred at Chilás, which we notice elsewhere.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN has sent a very friendly letter, but has not yet been able to see his way to a meeting. He has been seriously ill; but now is again well. He has continued his occupation of Asmar, and has a new post in Chaman. The Press Reports regarding him are fully disposed by an ex-Frontier Official elsewhere in this issue. Colonel Yate has been appointed Commissioner to

meet a Russian officer for the demarcation of the Affghan and Russian limits on the River Kushk.

Rs. 16,000 have been sanctioned for the extension of tramways in the Andaman Island.

It has been decided that the Administration of the Lushai Hills—exclusive of Chitagong and Arakan—is to pass to Assam. The Lushais are gradually being pacified and disarmed. A Public meeting was held at Rangoon protesting against the present judicial system, under which judges sometimes hear appeals against their own decisions in the lower courts; a resolution was passed advocating the establishment of a High Court.

Good coal has been discovered near Mandalay. An attack by the Kachins has developed into quite a little frontier war, which is scarcely yet concluded. The Kachins, Chins, Siyins and Nwangals had all joined in the trouble, but they are gradually being brought into subjection. There was a good deal of fighting, and among our losses we note the death of Captain Morton. Further extension of our frontiers has been prohibited east of the Irrawadi. General Dormer has visited Burma in an official tour. The Chief Commissioner has gone to meet the Viceroy, regarding the assessment of land, which, being high, is causing much dissatisfaction.

In JAPAN, the dead-lock between the House of Representatives and the Government has for the time being been ended by some concessions on the Budget; but the situation is still critical. A revision of the treaties is demanded, with regard to consular jurisdiction. The Emperor had to intervene between the Opposition and the Ministry, and to solve one of the difficulties granted £60,000 out of his privy purse towards the naval estimates, and ordered a reduction of official salaries 10% for the same object. A charge of \$2 is to be made in future on passports to British subjects. A great fire at Osaka has destroyed 275 houses with a loss of 125 lives; 30,000 spindles were burnt down. Among the votes passed

by the Diet was one for \$16,000,000 for the navy, to be spread over 7 years. A re-assessment was passed which will diminish the revenue by \$3,750,000; this will be met by new duties, especially on tobacco.

In CHINA, the Emperor, in receiving the new British Minister, alluded most cordially to his former residence in that country. An incipient riot at Nankin, occasioned by the operation of fitting a glass eye to a boy, was checked by the officials and the arrival of a gunboat. Another riot occurred at Ichang, owing to a grave having been disturbed in digging for foundations. A terrible outrage, at a feast, is reported from Karuli, in the Shin-hing district, where a band of robbers set fire to the sheds, burning or suffocating 1,400 women and children, and plundering to the extent of many thousands of taels. Two great breaches have occurred in the banks of the Yellow River, causing great loss. Prince Biasemsky having travelled during 18 months in China and Tonquin has passed through Siam and Burma, and reached Manipur. Chinese negotiations continue for the withdrawal of Russians from the Chinese Pamirs.

The Amir of BOKHARA and the Khan of KHIVA have visited St. Petersburg and been received with much honour and many presents; the conditions on which they return to their governments are yet unknown. In PERSIA 30 versts of Railway are reported to be complete from Teheran to Kum; but the project is said to be near abandonment. A British Meteorological Observatory has been established at MUSCAT. From TURKEY we learn that the Railway section from Polatto to Angora was opened on the 31st December; and that its extension, Eskisher to Konieh, has been granted to the German Syndicate of Herr Kaulla. The Tithes which guarantee the interest of the Railway extension will be collected by the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt. The Government has also granted to Edhim Bey, for 30 years, the irrigation of the Jaffa plain, for £3,000 a year, which sum will be spent in charity and in helping other public works.

IN EGYPT the mixed tribunal at Alexandria dismissed the suit questioning the right of the Company to allow Petroleum in bulk to pass through the Canal. Two attacks of Dervishes were repulsed at Wadi Halfa. The municipal concessions mentioned in our last Summary were, like other good proposals, blocked by France and Russia. The serious illness of Mustapha Fahmi Pasha, from which we are glad to say he is quite recovered, was made the occasion for the summary dismissal of the ministry, and the appointment of Anti-English ministers. Under pressure from England, a satisfactory modification was made in the new ministry, while, to obviate evil consequences from the excited state of public feeling, the British garrison was re-inforced. The Egyptian Army, of 11,000 men, is thus distributed: 5,200 at the Upper Nile, 2,100 at Suakim, 3,900 at Cairo and Alexandria. Of the 3,300 British troops,  $\frac{2}{3}$  were at Cairo; there was only 1 squadron of cavalry, and no artillery. The Khedive has made a generous present of mummies to the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome and St. Petersburg. The returns for 1892 give the revenue at £10,623,000, expenditure at £9,835,000, leaving a surplus of £788,000, or £224,000 over the estimate. The receipts from Railways and all indirect taxes show an increase. The taxes remitted in 3 years amount to £700,000 and the corvée, now abolished, represents £750,000 more. At the request of the British Minister, Riáz Pasha has warned the most violent of the native newspapers, whose tone was calculated to do harm.

The French Government, to promote the colonization of ALGIERS, offers to convey French fishermen to their African possessions, and to house them there, free.

Sir Joseph West Ridgeway has replaced Sir C. Euan-Smith in MOROCCO. The accidental death, in a riot, of a British subject—a native of Gibraltar—led to a combined protest of the foreign representatives at Tangiers, with the result that the Sultan paid £1,000 as compensation, and

censured his minister. Another mission to Fez is on the point of starting. 'Hmam has been captured. The Angerites demand the removal of the present Basha. There were contradictory reports of fighting in Wazan, the Shereef of which was said to have appealed to France, and on visiting the Sultan to have been censured for so doing. Troops are being concentrated at Wazan.

Returns from the Oil Rivers' Protectorate give Imports at £748,423 (of which £580,177 were British, Dutch and German, each £80,000), and Exports at £780,139, being chiefly Palm oil, India rubber, ebony and ivory, which are said to be only "a little out of the inexhaustible products of the locality." The customs returns, however, show a strange state of advancing civilization. Rum and gin from Germany and Holland were £57,907; guns and powder, from England and Holland, were £10,000. Thus out of £87,696, fully £67,907 were for direct instruments of destruction. Add £17,440 for tobacco; and there are left, for all the rest, only £2,329. Belgium, England, France, Germany and Portugal seem to be the only countries responsible for the great quantities of arms and ammunition entering Africa, and steps should be taken to suppress this particular trade, without which that of the slaves cannot be maintained. The Egbas, at one time refusing both treaty and a resident, have concluded a treaty in January; the governor is to judge all disputes.

The French have found Dahomey a hard nut to crack. The 9,000,000 frcs. already spent have had to be supplemented with other 5 millions. In the expedition itself, out of 75 officers, 24 were killed and 17 wounded. Many desertions are reported among the French troops. Behanzin however is at large, and in force, northward. The expedition is said to have violated the graves of several Dahomey Kings, in the hope of finding treasures. Some Germans were arrested for the sale of arms; but as they seemed to have deserved their fate, the incident was amicably closed between France and Germany.

The CONGO State has begun to import Chinese labour to its west coast. One of its officers has penetrated to Wadalai and Lado, which are said to be out of the Congo State range and in that of British influence: he was expected to be attacked by the Mahdi. Captain Ponthier who had commanded his vanguard, after staying 3 months at Brussels has returned, it is said, with important instructions. Commandant Dhanis, on the Lomani, had inflicted a severe defeat on the Arabs commanded by Tippu Tib's son. Mr. Jacques had been reinforced, viâ the Zambezi and Shere, and combined action with Arab chiefs was expected to be taken against Rumaliza to avenge the late massacres. A delimitation had been agreed with France, the boundary being fixed by the Mbomu and its tributary the Schink which comes from the Behr and Ghazal territory and falls into the Mbomu near Bungassa. Telegraphic communication has been opened between Germany and the CAMEROONS.

The CAPE COLONY returns for the half year show a revenue of nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions, being an increase of £125,000. There has been a marked increase all last year in fruit exportations to England. The imports for the whole year were £9,500,000, and the exports, including gold, nearly £12,000,000. £1,225,000 were rebated for transit customs, chiefly for the Transvaal. The South African Mint Conference closed its sittings, but its results are still secret. Railway communication was opened with Praetoria with the new year. The NATAL report for '91, '92 gives the revenue at £1,392,455, an increase of £73,686; the expenditure was £1,280,965,—a decrease of £112,931. The Responsible Government party had secured a majority of two; but the closeness of the contest and the manner of its close show that the parties for and against it are equally balanced. The Governor is in London arranging details at the Colonial Office. The future of Swaziland has been the subject of questions in the House, but nothing seems yet decided regarding it.



In the TRANSVAAL, President Kruger was re-elected by a large majority, but owing to some irregularities in the voting, the matter is not yet settled. The country had suffered much from floods. The Anglo-Portuguese delimitation in Manicaland, having been found impossible *in situ*, is progressing towards a solution in Europe, by the two Cabinets : the Biera Railway is progressing, 27 miles towards the goldfields being finished in February.

At ZANZIBAR, Mr. Rennell Rodd acts for Sir Gerald Portal. An arrangement has been made that the British Consular courts should try all cases in which British subjects are complainants or defendants, or both—a Kazi appointed by the Sultan acting as assessor. The sudden death of the Sultan was followed by the installation of Hamid Bin Thwain, grandson of Thwain, fourth brother of Sultan Sayad Burgash : the last two Sultans were the 2nd and 3rd brothers of Sayad Burgash ; an attempt by one of the princes to seize the palace being frustrated by the prompt landing of a party of British Bluejackets.

The Sultan of Unanyembe has placed himself under German protection. The Germans have had some severe fighting with Sikki, who fell in action. The Indian Government have sanctioned the employment in Central Africa of 1 officer, 1 Hospital attendant, and 100 Sikhs. Dr. Baumann reports explorations beyond Tanganyika, where he was received with great rejoicings, being taken for the last king, returned from the moon. Akenyaru and Mwarengo are rivers, not lakes. Precipitous wooded hills, called by the natives the Mountains of the Moon, form the watershed between the basins of the Rufizi and Kagera. As the Kagera is the chief feeder of the Victoria Nyanza, it is the real source of the Nile. Sir Gerald Portal is gone as Commissioner to Uganda with a staff and 250 Zanzibar soldiers. An outbreak of Somalis near Kismeya was suppressed by a party landed from the *Widgeon*. Captain Hohnel of the Austrian Navy and the Italian Captain Fer-randi are exploring E. Africa in Ethiopian regions, whence

another discovery is reported of dwarf tribes. Mr. Astor Chandler and party are exploring the Makenzie river (Tana), correcting previous observations: they have failed to find some places mentioned by Dr. Carl Peters.

The steamer meant for Lake Tanganyika has had to be launched on Lake Nyassa, the smaller steamer for which was sent back as two were not needed. Dr. Carl Peters unfortunately had his leg broken (at Cairo) by a kick from a horse. Baron von Soden on his retirement from East Africa was decorated with the cross of the "Red Eagle."

A return shows that AUSTRALIA contributes only £35,000 a year towards the prime cost of 5 cruisers and 2 torpedo boats, and £91,000 a year for the maintenance of 3 cruisers and 1 torpedo boat. The import of wines to Great Britain during 1892 was 461,007 gallons, an increase of 79,276 gallons over that of 1891. The Earl of Jersey, for private reasons, has resigned the Governorship of N. S. Wales, and has been succeeded by Mr. R. W. Duff, M.P. for Banffshire. In Victoria, the revenue for 8 months, £4,842,000, has decreased £330,000 chiefly in customs. A loan of £1,000,000 is floated in Australia, while £300,000 of 5% are to be "converted" in London. A vote of want of confidence having been passed, Mr. Shiels resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Patterson, who announced a deficit of £1,800,000, to be met by economy, increase of taxation, and imposition of taxes on what was still free from duties. Mr. Madden, Q.C., has replaced Chief Justice Higginbotham. The directors of the Mercantile Bank of Australia were prosecuted for a false balance-sheet, and found guilty. The Chamber of Commerce has passed a vote that as Federation is both a difficult and remote question, it is better practically to try for a Customs' Union. 500 tons of butter, valued at £35,000, have been exported. In S. Australia, the revenue for the half year amounted to £500,000, showing a decrease of £130,000, the receipts from Public works falling £100,000. There is a deficit of £220,000 for the half year; and a 3% loan of £1,182,400 is being

floated. At Lake Frome, five borings at depths of 1,500 ft. all gave salt water: four more borings are being tried. In New South Wales the quarterly return gave £1,508,000, an increase of £460,000. The heavy financial deficit—£402,000, for this and £56,000 for last quarter—necessitated the withdrawal of the Estimates for reconsideration. Sir Henry Parkes' vote of censure was rejected by a majority of 3 votes. Another vote of censure on Mr. Reid's financial policy was defeated by 68 to 61 votes. Sir E. Solomons, the Government leader in the Upper House, has retired. Sir G. Dibbs has objected to the officer nominated by the War Office to command in Australia, impertinently saying he wants a younger man. While retaining the Premiership, he has resigned his seat for Murrumbidgee owing to pecuniary difficulties. In Queensland there have been extensive and heavy floods, inundating over 400,000 square miles, and causing great loss and distress. Relief funds were started in England, Canada, etc. The half year's revenue, £1,953,000 shows an increase of £65,000, while the expenditure £1,723,600 has decreased by £44,300: the improvement is mainly due to economy and land sales. The customs return was given at £638,891, an increase of £79,226. The first ruby has been found in Queensland, a good specimen, valued at £75. The Griffith ministry has resigned, and the Hon. Muir Nelson is forming a new one. West Australia shows prosperity. The revenue for the quarter ending 31st December was £150,000—an increase on that quarter the year before, of £20,000, while for the entire year it was £540,000,—an increase of £46,000. The expenditure was £350,000. The budget showed a credit balance of £100,000; and public works were to be undertaken.

Sir R. G. C. Hamilton, K.C.M.G., has been succeeded by Viscount Gormanston in the government of TASMANIA. The past year has not been one of prosperity to the colony, the revenue only £790,000, showing a

decrease of £94,000. On Maria Island, quite near, an inexhaustible carboniferous limestone deposit has been discovered, which makes into excellent Portland cement almost without any admixture or manipulation. The Fifth session of the Federal Council of Australia was opened at Hobart Town on the 26th of January; Sir S. Griffith, from Queensland, was elected President; only Victoria, Queensland, W. Australia and Tasmania were represented; and the meeting was not of much importance.

From NEW ZEALAND is announced the discovery of new goldfields in Otago, and what in the long run will probably be even better for the colony, a successful attempt to acclimatize lobsters. A similar attempt is being made with salmon. There has been a greater influx of emigrants than usual; and the receipts for the financial year, amounting to £2,940,000, show an increase of £80,000, leaving a clear surplus of £168,000, for the 11 months the Customs exceeded the estimate by £56,000. A destructive fire at Hastings, near Napier, caused a damage of £50,000.

In CANADA, the returns for the last fiscal year give the following results: Revenue \$36,340,000; Expenditure \$36,190,000; surplus \$150,000. The Exports stood at \$113,963,000. Those to the United Kingdom were \$65,000,000, to the United States \$41,000,000, the latter declining \$8,175,000, while the former increased by \$15,750,000. There was, however, a decrease in the Revenue of \$1,650,000, in the customs of \$3,000,000, on the Railways of \$500,000; but the Excise increased by \$1,000,000. The national debt was \$295,000,000 (an increase of \$5,000,000) with an annual interest of \$10,000,000. The Dominion still smarts at the restriction on cattle; and while it authoritatively declares that there is no Pleuropneumonia there, an influential meeting at Glasgow has backed up Canada's demand for the withdrawal of the order in Council. Among other returns we find that the 3,600 dozens of eggs exported to Great Britain in 1890 had in 1892 increased to 3,987,655 dozens: the increase in cheese being 22,000,000 lb., and in butter 4,000,236 lb.

The 1st consignment of Turkeys for Christmas (only one of many such) last exceeded \$50,000. The Budget Statement made in the middle of February, declared good prospects and a substantial surplus. Free trade was declared to be an impossibility as neither the revenue nor the Industries of Canada could stand the strain. The Government, however, favoured preferential trade with the British Empire; and though opposed to unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, would accept any fair measure offered by them: we note that the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce have recorded a protest against any "Imperial Federation" modification of absolute Free Trade. The Franco-Canadian Steamship Co. offer a line of fast steamers between Rouen and Halifax, but the proposed new treaty with France is not yet concluded. Canada has removed the preferential canal tolls, which had given offence to the States; and these have, on remonstrance, removed the quarantine they had placed on Canadian cattle coming to Chicago. Severe weather had caused several blocks on the Pacific Railway, while many trains had been delayed. The NOVA SCOTIA Premier announced the purchase by a Boston Syndicate for 99 years of the Cape Breton Coal mines and said he preferred American to British Capital. The proposal passed both Houses; but good coal has been announced in other places near, which practically discounts the value of the acquisition. A return of shipping for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island shows an alarming decrease from 1884. Nova Scotia, 1884: vessels, 3,019; 1892, 2,740; decrease, 279. New Brunswick, 1884: vessels, 1,096; 1892, 946; decrease, 50. Prince Edward's Island, 1884: vessels, 243; 1892, 196; decrease, 47. This total decrease of 376 vessels made a decrease of 142,000 in the tonnage.

The Behring's Sea Arbitration continues to drag on. In January the two counter-cases were put in and two meetings of the Arbitrators took place at Paris on the 23rd February and the 23rd March. The United States demands are the declaration (1) that Russia had

exclusive rights, which (2) England recognised; and which (3) were passed on to the U. States by the cession of Alaska in 1867; that (4) the "Pacific" in the treaty of 1825 does not include the Behring's Sea; and (5) that all the past acts of the United States are justifiable and justified. They ask that England should be mulcted in compensation; and that even if they have not proprietary rights in the seal herds, an International obligation be imposed on England to prevent Pelagic sealing.

The NEWFOUNDLAND Ministry have split on the subject of last year's delegation, and Sir W. Whiteway the Premier has been placed in a minority. The operation of the Bait Act has just been suspended, and French, American and Canadian vessels can now purchase bait at Newfoundland ports on paying the license fee.

In the WEST INDIES, the Governor, Sir H. Blake, is relieved at his own request of the Presidency of the Jamaica Legislative Council, to the delight of both himself and people: Dr. Phillips is now President. The coffee crop is one of the best for many years. The import duties exceeded the estimate by £4,662. To a credit in hand of £243,987 was added the Revenue of 1891-92 = £590,611. The expenditure (including £28,998 for sinking funds and £600 for redemption of debts) was £639,864, leaving a credit to carry over of £194,734. The imports were £1,759,890—being 49% from the United Kingdom (decrease), 37·2 from the United States, 10·4 from Canada (great increase), and 3·4 from other countries. Exports were £1,722,096, being 32·7% to the United Kingdom, 50·9 to the United States, 3·5 to Canada, and 12·9 to other countries. In the Bahama Contempt of Court Case, the Privy Council decide that the Queen having the power to remit punitive sentences of "contempt of Court," has delegated it to the Governor, in the words of his commission. British Guiana export of Gold in 1892 was 121,358 oz. = £436,142.

*Obituary.*—We record with regret the death, during this quarter of H. H. Sir Ranjit Singhji; Raja of Rutlam; the infant Prince of Mysore, Devāraj Wadayar; J. R. Taylor,

C.B.,† the author of the present system of tabulation of wounds; the Hon. George Higginbotham, of Victoria; Genl. W. B. Price, R.A.;\* Genl. W. Reid Martin;\* A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G. of Ceylon; at Jerusalem the Chief Rabbi Raphael Meir Phansiel; Genl. Francis Young;\* Gen. H. F. Kennedy;† Pundit Dharm Narain, C.I.E.; Genl. Conrad Hamilton;\*† Genl. W. C. Anderson,† C.S.I. of the Bombay Legislative Council; Sir J. P. Grant, successively Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. P. and of Bengal, during the mutiny, and Governor of Jamaica; Dr. Gottfried von Wagner, of the Tokio University; Sir P. B. Maxwell, of the Straits Settlements; Prof. Gustave Volkmar of Zurich; Col. Marmaduke Ramsay;\* Col. T. W. Martin;\* H. F. Blandford, F.R.S., Indian Meteorological Dept.; Prince Charles Alexander Edward Theodore of Abyssinia; Dr. David Cassel, a well-known writer on Hebrew literature; Sir James M'Culloch, K.C.M.G., of Victoria; Sir Augustus Fitzgerald, late Bengal Artillery; Sir Thomas Baker, K.C.B., who served in the Crimean, Mutiny, New Zealand, Ashanti, Afghan and Burma campaigns; Genl. S. J. A. Whitehall, who served in the 1st Afghan and Persian wars, and in the Mutiny; Thakur Haribal Amratram, late Prime minister of Radhanpur; Pestonji Hormuzji Cama, founder of the Cama Hospital, Bombay; Gen. George Burn who died at the age of 90, after 42 years of Indian service, including the China war; Kaid Bushta Bin Baghdadi, Basha of Fez; Genl. G. B. Mainwaring, the great authority on the Lepcha language; M. Crozet, the explorer of Massi; Ex-chief Kreli, of the Gulchas of Transkei; R. E. Minchin, Director of the Zoological gardens at Adelaide; Genl. A. L. Steele, Madras Army, who served in China; Gen. A. A. H. Gordon of the Hong Kong Police, who served in the Ashanti and Afghan Wars; Genl. Sir Henry Bates, K.C.B., who served in the first Sikh War;—Col. R. C. Cross;\* Col. Hewitt Barnard, C.M.G.; Judge Kelly of Prince Edward Island.

23rd March, 1893.

\* Served in the Mutiny.

† Served in the Second Punjab War.

‡ Served in the Burma War.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Letters from a Mahratta Camp*, by J. D. BROUGHTON. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1892; 6s.) This forms the fourth volume of Constable's new Oriental Miscellany. The letters (32 in number, making 262 pages) extend from December 1808 to February, 1810, and give a plain, unvarnished, and therefore all the more agreeable account of the manners and customs of the then Maharaja Scindhia, his armies, and their contemporaries. Court intrigues and debauches, native feasts and customs, military manœuvres and insubordination, grinding tyranny and cruel devastation, bloody deeds and amusing incidents, descriptions of places and character sketches,—and, distinctly towering over all, the chronic state of abject impecuniosity, of camp-followers, soldiers, officers, chiefs,—and especially of Scindhia himself, the cause of that of all the others,—are told in a narrative, clear and simple, familiar and full. The book is most interesting and instructive, as a true picture of the times of Maharatta ascendancy in Rajputana, and it will be appreciated by all who love to read of the East and its ways. We single out descriptions of *Dharna* at p. 31,—of an *Akhara* or Pancratium at p. 162,—of a camp tumult and murder at p. 167. To mention all the strangely characteristic and telling incidents would be to indicate every third page. We recommend the book heartily to our readers. The map, the 10 illustrations quaint and life-like, and the general get-up of the book are very creditable to its enterprising publishers. It would have been an improvement had Mr. Broughton's quaint spelling of Indian words been corrected: it is vexing to find such things as *Muha Raj* for Maharaja perpetuated without any need. The innate interest of these letters needed no introduction; least of all so insipid and colourless a one as Sir M. E. Grant-Duff has most unnecessarily given to it.

2. *Grammar of the Hindi Languages*, by S. H. KELLOGG, D.D. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1893; 21s.) We welcome the second edition of this grammar, which shows, on every page, the learned author's thorough and rare knowledge of the language and its various dialects. It is already a well-known standard work on the subject, and is the one used for the Civil Service examinations. It embraces everything requisite to be known, even by the advanced scholar, and goes into the fullest details of exceptions and variations; and almost always with perfect accuracy. Dr. Kellogg has, however, been unfortunate in this, that in revising his first edition, he decided also on "enlarging" it. The reverse exactly was needed; for when a grammar reaches 584 pages and 1,017 sections, besides numerous double and triple page inserts of paradigms, the most enthusiastic students of a language and the warmest admirers of the grammarian are forced to cry, "*Ohe! jam satis.*" In fact, Dr. Kellogg's great faults are prolixity of style, redundancy of illustration, and wearisome reiteration of details. He also belongs to the class of grammarians who delight in multiplying diffi-



culties in the acquisition of knowledge, by introducing intricate elaboration of needless analysis. Take, for instance, Declensions of Nouns (pp. 95-133) : cases are multiplied to no less than 8, whereas in Hindi, if we stick to real case, *i.e.*, inflection of a noun, there are only two in each number, the *casus rectus* and the *casus obliquus*. Of the case in *Ne*,—a peculiar form, generally called the “agent” case, he fails to give any better explanation than we had before. For the advanced student fuller grammatical and dialectic details are put in a smaller type than that which gives the essentials for beginners. But while admiring the learning and patience of the author, we would recommend his issuing a grammar for beginners by itself ; and the curtailment of it as much as possible, not so much by omitting what he here gives, as by putting it in fewer words, using a simpler method and adopting a closer arrangement. As it stands at present, the work is sure to frighten beginners, though it is of value to advanced students, and a delight to masters of the language.

3. *School History of India*, by G. U. POPE, D.D. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1892 ; 2s. 6d.) We are simply astonished at this book. Method in arrangement, accuracy of statement, and due proportion in treatment are all conspicuous by their absence. The first defect leads to frequent repetition and to unnatural disconnection of narrative. A glaring instance is the entire relegation of the first Sikh war from p. 233—its natural position—to p. 259, thus treating the reader, in chap. ix., to detailed consequences of an event related in chap. x. With inaccurate statements the pages simply bristle. Hodgson is put in the *Guides*, and slays the Princes “near Humayon’s tomb,” instead of the City Gate ; a general massacre is related at Meerut, in 1857, which did not occur ; and the last of the Moguls is credited with instigating a mutiny of which he was a mere tool. As a sample of undue proportion, compare the Barrackpur Mutiny at p. 213, with Bishop Cotton at p. 249. The book is, moreover, incomplete, closing with Lord Dufferin in 1888 ; and though the Punjab and Mysore needlessly have a separate chapter for each, the former ends with Lord Lawrence, and the latter with 1867. Even the Index is defective ; Shiah and Sunnis have a reference to p. 54, where there is not a word about either. Sir W. Hunter’s scholarly “Brief History of the Indian Empire” leaves no room for this far inferior work.

4. *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*, by SIR ALFRED LYALL, K.C.B., D.C.L. (London : John Murray. 1893 ; 4s. 6d.) This is an historical work of quite a different type from the preceding. It does not aim at being a detailed narrative. It is cast in the form of a systematic survey of the history of the British in India till the Company was replaced by the Empire, and of all the conditions, both European and Indian, which attended its progress to full development. Sir Alfred shows fully the antecedent and concomitant circumstances of European rivalry and warfare which are so much neglected in most histories of India. He rapidly groups together a series of events, and then discusses them and their surroundings with critical acumen and statesmanly knowledge. His narratives are terse and accurate, his sketches of character correct, vivid, and lifelike, his critical and political remarks valuable and sound ; and occasionally he is

even novel, without being crotchety. Sir Alfred's well-written book deserves to be studied both in England and India: in the former, that England may realize the greatness of her task and obligation, and the best method of securing the loyal friendship of what will soon be a mighty nation; and in the latter, that India may not only revive her gratitude to England for what has been done in rescuing her from the anarchy of former times, but may also feel that her best friend and support among the nations of the earth is and will be the power whose rise is depicted in these pages, and proved to be a blessing to the country it governs. Sir A. Lyall's book deserves to be a great success.

5. *Early Bibles of America*, by JOHN WRIGHT, D.D. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892.) Well got up, with several *facsimile* title-pages, this book has evidently been a labour of love for the author, who, with great pains, tells us all that can be said regarding the various Bibles produced in America. Of course, in a country which, for Europe, *practically* dates from the sixteenth century, the word "Early" has a peculiar meaning. The first Bible noticed is Eliot's in "the Indian language," which must have been a strange rendering, judging from the title-pages from some errors pointed out in this book, and especially from the fact that Mr. Eliot read an English Bible to an uneducated but English-speaking Indian, who seems to have given an off-hand translation of the same! This was in 1661. The Saur (German) Bible came in in 1743; the Aitken (English) in 1782; the Douai (English) in 1790. The word "early" now surely cannot suit the enumeration; in fact, Eliot's is the only edition to which it can, in any real sense, be applied. Dr. Wright, however, continues his lists to 1822. There is some curious reading in the book, and much to interest the Bibliophilist: the ordinary reader will simply say—*Cui bono?*

6. *The Marquess of Hastings, K.G.*, by MAJOR J. ROSS of Bladensburg, C.B. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893. 2s. 6d.) This volume is the sixteenth already issued in the *Rulers of India Series*, edited by Sir W. W. Hunter; and it is deserving of a place among its predecessors, which though necessarily of varying merit, have nearly all reached a very high degree of excellence. Major Ross, too, has written, on the whole, a very good history of Lord Hastings and his times, though the want of personal acquaintance with India (as we had to notice also elsewhere in the Series) makes him fall into blunders, occasionally absurd: e.g. at p. 68 where Gwalior is made to lie "only 3 marches from the Doab, 5 from Delhi and 5 from Agra." There are many needless repetitions of the same statements and facts, and an occasional "bull" reveals the author's nationality; but he has a good grasp of his subject and does it ample justice. The biographical part of the book is unusually full for this series: Lord Hastings' character is well sketched; and the events in which he took part before going to India are succinctly described. The then state of India,—the policies of different leading personages,—the players who divided the stage between them,—the clashing interests of rivals,—the turbulence and irregularities which characterized the time, land, and people are all vigorously and well portrayed. The book is not only important as one in an excellent series, but is interesting also in itself. Major Ross does not fail to paint Lord

Hastings as a good object-lesson to Secretaries of State who wish to rule India from England over the shoulders of more competent officials and statesmen on the spot. Lord Hastings, who in England had condemned the vigour and imperialism of Lord Wellesley, had no sooner reached India, than his eyes were opened, and he carried out with equal vigour what he had before tried to prevent. Major Ross is not quite candid in his criticisms on the military operations in India undertaken by Lord Hastings, who was directly responsible for the minute subdivision of the army, that, as much by chance and by extraordinary prowess on which no one should have counted, destroyed the Pindaris. Nor is our author felicitous in his use of language. Holkar and Scindhia, the Bhonsla and the Peshwa were doubtless foolish in waging war against the British forces ; but to talk of "rebellion," "revolt" and "insurrection," in their case, shows that Major Ross has not understood the then independent condition of these chiefs. These blemishes should disappear in the second edition, which we hope this volume will reach, as most of its predecessors have done.

7. *Church and State in India*, by SIR THEODORE C. HOPE, K.C.S.I. (London : The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1893 ; 6d.), is a pamphlet the importance of which must not be gauged by its size or price. Its 48 pages of closely printed 8vo. contain an Introduction, Statistics, the existing system of State aid, its disadvantages and shortcomings, and the proposal of a new System. Sir Theodore is, of course, a special pleader, and his brochure has the defects of the special pleader—it is unfair and onesided. For instance, making at p. 7 a comparison of the rates of increase of Christians and of the general population, he gives the former at 22.65 and the latter at 13.1 per cent. But the important fact is omitted that the 22.65 is got by comparing the Christians of *India in 1881* with the Christians of *India + Burma in 1891*. Removing this undue addition, the increase is only 15.005 :—quite another pair of shoes. He is unfair, too, in the general statement that state aid is given to all denominations. Here details should follow, but do not : for Anglicanism has special favour. Take as an instance the low salaries, arbitrary restrictions and unjust deprivations of pensions of the Catholic Chaplains to troops in India, as compared with Anglican and Presbyterian Chaplains. Hence the statement, at p. 41, that all religions are concurrently endowed, is not the entire truth : one of them gets a great deal more than its share. Of late, too, a deliberate effort is being made to raise the Anglican Church, (which according to Sir Theodore himself has less than  $\frac{1}{7}$  of the Christians of India) to the dignity of an established State Church. While nothing else is allowed to be done for other denominations, beyond what was done some 40 years ago, the Anglican establishment has increased, partly at least with Government aid and taxpayers' money, to an unjust and uncalled for extent. At the late consecration of a needless Bishop of Lucknow, 12 Anglican Bishops were present—mostly Government officials,—when 40 years ago there were only 3 ; and no more than 3 seem needed by the comparatively few members of this Church. Sir Theodore now advocates a new system of concurrent endowments. For the details of his project

we refer our readers to this pregnant and important pamphlet, pp. 45-47. His work deserves to be carefully read, though we disapprove of any State aid, in the peculiar circumstances of India; and we would much rather see the voluntary system adopted, especially by the rich Anglican community in India.

8. *Notes on the Indian Currency*, by J. TEALE. (Manchester and London: John Heywood, 1892; 1s.) is a small pamphlet of less than 16 pages, dealing with the question of the Indian exchange; but it fails to detail any practical plan for its improvement and settlement, though it suggests that the Indian Rupee should be restored to its value of 1870. There are several inaccuracies and fallacies; as, e.g. at p. 13 the hackneyed statement that a falling exchange is profitable to India, up to a certain point. Still the brochure should be read by all who are interested in this great question, as it is only by full and ample discussion that the public can hope for that thorough knowledge of the subject, without which all temporary shifts are but ventures in the dark.

9. *Chinese Stories*, by ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1893; 12s. 6d.) While the publishers here give us a well-printed, well-illustrated and well-bound volume, Professor Douglas presents, in the nine tales and two poems which it contains, a delicious treat quite racy of true Chinese flavours. The selection is varied and attractive, the style excellent and full without being tediously prolix in detail, and the descriptions accurate and graphic. Prof. Douglas's Chinese think, act and live very like real Chinese. His remarks on their ways and idiosyncrasies interspersed in the tales, like the excellent introduction in which he deals with the early Chinese literature of this class, are, as might be expected from the learned Professor, the touches of a master. Different kinds of readers will be attracted by different tales in this set—only the first, we hope, of a Series. Each has its own peculiarity. Specially entertaining we found *the Twins*, *A twice married couple*, *How a Chinese B.A. was won*, and its sequel *Le Ming's Marriage*. Best of all perhaps in its quaint life-like details and its natural human pathos is *A Chinese Girl Graduate*. We cordially invite all our readers to share the pleasure we have enjoyed in the perusal of this delightful book, in which positively the only defect requiring remedy in future editions is the appearance of a very few verbal inaccuracies—e.g. “these kind.”

10. *Letters from South Africa*, by “THE TIMES” SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 3s.) These graphic letters, which drew so much attention when first published in *The Times*, are here reproduced in the form of a 116-page book. The first letter gives a description of the Kimberley diamond mines and the condition of its workers, both white and black, which puts the place in a most attractive light, and forms a splendid contrast to the squalor and misery of mines nearer home. From Kimberley to the Transvaal and on to Pretoria and Bloemfontein, through Basutoland and on to King William's Town and Peitermaritzburg, we are treated to the same picturesque descriptions of scenery, life, and manners; while shrewd observations on present wants and future prospects combine to present a very enjoyable book, whence

one learns much regarding a little known country and the problems in it already crying lustily for solution.

11. *The A.B.C. of Foreign Exchanges*, by GEORGE CLARE. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 3s.) These lectures, delivered to the Institute of Bankers, are what they profess to be, a clear exposition of the principles of Exchange, regarding which much ignorance is found, even among many who claim to be authorities on the subject. Hence while absolutely necessary for those who enter the money market as professionals, they will be extremely valuable to the general reader; for Exchange is a matter which even the general public should now try to be practically versed in. To our readers this book will be more particularly interesting, as it concerns the practical question of Indian Exchange and currency. Not that the author condescends to give even a little space to the professional discussion of that question, the main difficulty of which lies in the determination of English financiers (idiotically supported by Secretaries of State and Governors-General) to screw the last possible farthing out of India. But the very principles which our author demonstrates clearly show that the obstacles to the rehabilitation of the Indian Exchange lie in easily removable circumstances, such as the closing of India to absurdly easy free coinage of silver, the coining of sovereigns in India, and the cessation of the sale of Council Bills in London. If you wish to see for yourself how artificial is the set made against the Indian Exchange, apply Mr. Clare's principles, as laid down in this book, to the well-known but unconsidered facts of the enormous surplus of India's exports over her imports.

12. *Four Months in Persia, and a visit to Trans-Caspia*, by C. E. BIDDULPH, M.A., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1892; 3s. 6d.) This acute traveller and facile writer relates his short journey through Persia in 1891, next giving a shorter statement of what he had seen in Trans-Caspia in 1890. The book, as the author states in his short preface, is chiefly compiled from his contributions to several periodicals, including the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Among the points well brought out by our author are the inconveniences of travel in Persia, increased in his case by neglect or contempt of appliances which more careful or fastidious travellers make it a point to secure,—the glaring evils of the Persian theory and practice of governing, neither few nor small,—the scantiness of the resources of Persia, and the smallness of its population,—its want of roads and dearth of mineral wealth. He makes shrewd remarks, draws sound conclusions, and gives excellent topographical and geographical descriptions. His style is plain, flowing, humorous, and pleasant. His Review of Troops at Teheran is excellent (p. 25). His strictures on the Armenians at Julfa—equally applicable to Armenians everywhere,—show a just appreciation of the characteristics of that race. There is little to find fault with in Mr. Biddulph, except his repeated comparisons of things Persian with things Indian, which he too often concludes with hits against the native States of India, as unjust as they are out of place. *E.g.*, at p. 93 he says "Our cantonments are crowded with the warehouses of native merchants, who have taken refuge there from the lawlessness and misrule rampant on all sides when once the boundary between British and Native territory has

been overstepped." This is distinctly incorrect, now, when most Native States are as well governed as our own territories. To note a few—what fault can he find with Baroda or Bhaonagar,—Indore, Jeypore, or Mysore? Though Persia is comparatively old ground, Mr. Biddulph gives several new items, as, *e.g.*, the great Salt Plain; and his geographical and ethnological remarks are interesting. In Trans-Caspia, however, he touches a country but little known, and regarding which the desire for information is not quenched by over abundance of material. Hence the greater importance of this part of our author's book, which gives the actual state of affairs, as far as Bokhara. Mr. Biddulph declares the country incapable of acting as a base of military operation against India; but he looks habitually through a pair of strong Russophile spectacles. We recommend his book of travels as extremely interesting and pleasant to read.

13. *The Tel-el-Amarna Tablets*, translated by Major C. R. CONDER. (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, published by A. P. Watt, 1893; 5s.) The full historical importance of the 320 clay tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna in 1887 is only now brought fully home to the general reader by Major Conder's translation. These letters addressed to 2 Egyptian Kings, by their allies and officers in Asia, under various circumstances, date from about 1480 B.C. Perhaps the deepest impression they leave on the mind is the early and persistent adoption of oriental flattery and hyperbolic exaggeration. A more important matter, however, is the direct confirmation they give to the historical narratives of Scripture, in their few points of contact. Numerous geographical identifications form another important result. A few of the letters treat of events that seem to square with the invasion of southern Palestine by the Hebrews, whom Major Conder identifies with the 'Abiri; and various Biblical names certainly occur in them. The point lies in the coincidence of these letters with the time given in Scripture. Major Conder thinks they also prove that the Hittites were Mongols, a conclusion from which many will differ. A deeper study, when Egyptologists have become more reasonable in their chronology, may yield even more important results; for this translation, though executed with Major Conder's well-known painstaking scholarship, is not, as he himself says, final. Though rather dry reading in their style and monotonous in their expressions, the importance of these ancient records should secure them the patient study of both Egyptologists and Biblical scholars. Every page is elucidated by the author with erudite notes.

14. *National Life and Character*, by C. H. PEARSON. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 10s.) This bulky volume, the title of which is somewhat a misnomer, shows in every page the Professor's wide reading, deep thought, and versatile powers. Everywhere too are visible an antagonistic bias against religion and Christianity, together with assumption of principles by no means universally recognised. The learned author, with much patient investigation, reviews the present state of the world in general, as the battle-ground of the various races of mankind; and with the light of present and past history, tries to forecast the future, as to the social, religious, political and intellectual condition of the world and mankind, in some unspecified but not very remote future. His views, which are very

well stated, merit all the attention due to the writings of a deep scholar and a clever man of the world, and as such we heartily recommend them to the perusal of our readers. We disagree with him on many important points, fundamental to his views; as, *e.g.*, that Christianity is played out, that Divorce is necessary, that religion must yield its place as a motive power to lower considerations, that the Hindu is an "inferior race," that the last half century rush of the human race in so-called progress, is the measure of the future, or that the future is to be on the same lines as this past. When Professor Pearson has said his say, we are left without definite conclusions, to which a short chapter might with advantage have been devoted. Prophecies of the future are not, of course, to be judged by the same standard as the teaching of the past. All the more is it necessary to formularize what one prophecies, so as to give a picture of what the future is supposed to be. We have no such picture in these 350 pages; but we have some powerful drawing. The conclusion is characteristic of the whole: "Even so, there will still remain to us ourselves. Simply to do our work in life, and to abide the issue, if we stand erect before the eternal calm, as cheerfully as our fathers faced the eternal unrest, may be nobler training for our souls than the faith in progress."

15. *Western Australia and its Gold Fields*, by ALBERT F. CALVERT. (London: George Philip and Son, 1893; 1s.) This is a complete guide to the resources of Western Australia, the least populated, as yet, of the Australian Colonies. Beginning with a short historical sketch of its discovery, it is not till p. 22, that Mr. Calvert gets on to the gold deposits of the colony, of most of which he speaks from personal knowledge. A great part of the following 30 pages are devoted to the gold fields; and the remaining 20 to other not less important industries open to the enterprising in this colony. The vastness and comparative facility of working the deposits of gold described by Mr. Calvert make it all the more strange that they have not yet been exploited to any appreciable extent. This fact he explains by the want of capital in the colony itself and by the vexatious regulations, not to call them restrictions, which are imposed on the working of the gold fields by the Government. Our readers are not likely to join in a rush for gold in any diggings; but we are sure they will derive much pleasure and interesting information from reading this little book. It gives a "Government map" of the colony; but this is the only failure in the book. This map, as its chief defect, marks all mountains with o, the usual sign for towns. The ranges are not shaded off, as is generally done on maps; and one is left to conjecture whether these o mountains, by some freak of nature, rise up isolated and suddenly, from the plains, like so many sugar loaves on a table.

16. *The Golden Book of India*, by SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 40s.) This carefully compiled and splendidly got up volume supplies a long-felt want—that of a reliable "Debrett" or "Burke" for India; and although the first issue of such a work must necessarily contain matter for correction and amendment, we can sincerely congratulate both author and publishers on the excellent results which they have achieved. Sir Roper Lethbridge seems to anticipate

some criticism ; but he disarms much of it in his candid preface, as useful, nay necessary, as it is concise and to the point. As he himself seems to think, the work would undoubtedly be improved by a subdivision into parts, which should successively give, always in alphabetical order, the ruling chiefs separated from the courtesy and personal titles, those from the knights of our Indian orders, and those in turn from the minor honorific titles (when they are not applied to princes) of Sardar, Khan and Rao, simply or with the additions of Bahadur or Sahib. The notable and innate distinction between these classes seems to require a division of the book into so many parts. Sir Roper's remarks on the absence of any regular Heralds' College for India are valuable ; and we hope soon to see this matter, as important as it is interesting, put into competent hands : it would certainly add a good sum to the revenue. Returning to the book itself, we find it both full and complete, its lists being brought down to the latest honours conferred, in January, 1893. It seems a defect, though done intentionally, that Europeans enjoying Indian titles should be omitted from the *Golden Book of India*. In future editions, too, some biographical details of minor personages should be cut down to smaller limits, being at present out of all proportion to their importance. There is somewhat of a lack of coats of arms,—very few being given. In one of them (Murshidabad) the *cheval passant* of the shield is improperly blazoned as *regardant* in the text. We find one man's address given as "Punjab" p. 161. Some names entitled to a place on these pages are omitted. But in spite of these slight blemishes, inseparable from the preparation of so extensive a work, the book is sure to have a wide reception and to be a general favourite : even a Spaniard with his 16 quarterings is dwarfed into littleness by the side, say, of Udaipur's ancient and noble descent.

17. *Nilus, da due Signore*. (London: Truslove and Shirley.) The only defect of this small book is its smallness. It is a simple tale, on which the two authoresses have cleverly strung the account of their visit to Egypt, as far as the 2nd Cataract, under Mr. Cook's wing. The love-making of the tale is rather slow work, and not enlivening ; and it somewhat interferes with the descriptions given, of scenery and ruins. A capital ghost-story runs through the whole. Even in a tale which does not pretend to any depth, such an utter absurdity should have been avoided as that of making a Muhammadan water-carrier serve water to Muhammadans out of a pig-skin ! The book is pleasant to read, and interesting.

18. *Sir Henry Maine: his Life*, by SIR M. E. GRANT-DUFF, G.C.S.I., and *Selected Speeches and Minutes*, by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. (London: John Murray, 1892 ; 14s.) Our readers will welcome, with as great pleasure as ourselves, this goodly book, sketching the life and labours of a good and great man, whose work has left a deep and useful impress not only in India, where, as Legislative Member of Council under two Viceroys, he did so much in improving the law, but wherever the English language is spoken ; for he left behind him legal and other works, published at various times, which are of the utmost value. His talent of grasping principles and applying them to what was before him, his deep reading and versatile



powers, his clearness of idea and facility of language, his fearless criticism of what was bad and unflinching support of what was good, are all well seen in this book. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff takes the first 83 pages for his biographical memoir, which is very fully detailed, well written, and interesting. The next 217 pages give a select number of Sir Henry's speeches, which are all characteristic of the man, and though mostly on technical subjects, are, for clearness of idea and diction, of interest also to the general reader. His remarks on juries (pp. 179-192) will be found very pertinent to the present question of their restriction. His minutes, which form the remaining 133 pages of the book, are of greater variety, and show a rare grasp of circumstances and details in more general matters. We may note his comparison of the relative value of some railway lines (p. 348), his remarks on Indian Universities, and especially his scathing criticism of Mr. Caird's report made after only a four months' stay in India. Speeches and minutes both evince a knowledge of India and a breadth of treatment that show the statesman. "He seemed to see things 'in their quiddity,' and to reconstitute them from fragments with the genius of Owen or Cuvier. . . . Sir A. Lyall found in Rajputana the precise practices which Sir Henry Maine had suggested as a possible explanation of some scattered facts which he had noticed in his reading" (p. 81).

19. *The Rauzat-us-Safâ ; or, The Garden of Purity*, translated from the Persian of Mirkhond, by the late E. REHATSEK, and edited by F. F. ARBUTHNOT. (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1893.) Part II., in 2 vols.

This work, produced under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund, gives the life of Muhammad, translated by the lamented scholar E. Rehatsek with his wonted fidelity and correctness. The historical value of such a life written in Persian in the XVth Century is very small ; but it has a special merit of its own. Amid many narratives which may not stand the test of historical criticism, it exposes to the eyes of the careful reader the inner feelings and workings of the Muhammadan mind ; and it is these which the western student generally fails to grasp, and consequently finds himself out of sympathy with. It is impossible to form a correct judgment of the influence of Islam on its numerous votaries, or to gauge what they profess, feel and live for, without studying, in their own native garb, books like this now presented to the public, and others like it which will, we trust follow in rapid succession. Mr. Arbuthnot's editing seems to make an occasional slip, and it is vexing to find him call the naming of Muhammad, a "Christening." The merits of the work, however, for the purpose we have indicated, and of the translator and editor are quite sufficient to ensure for this book a welcome and careful study.

20. *The Indian Empire, its Peoples, History, and Products*, by SIR W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 28s.) Sir W. Hunter's painstaking and carefully compiled work, which is too well known and justly appreciated to need more than a mere announcement of the fact, has now reached its third edition, and is rendered even more useful by being brought down to date, especially in the matter of the census returns of 1891-92. It in no way detracts from the general useful-

ness and accuracy of what for its size is the best History of India procurable at present, to say that there are occasional slips. *E.g.*, at p. 294 Jacobite Christians admittedly praying for the dead are erroneously said to deny Purgatory—the one supposes the other; and the King of Portugal is said to have had only a “pretended right” (p. 308) in ecclesiastical matters in India, when every tyro in Canon Law knows that it was a perfectly formed and indefeasible right, which as the *jus tertii*, not the Pope even could abolish. There seems an injustice at p. 279 in excluding Burma, when needlessly comparing Christianity and Buddhism, yet including Burma, when stating the proportionate increase of Christians since the previous census. The erudite twaddle about Josaphat = Buddha (pp. 195 to 197) has no connection with Indian history. While the actual history of India, so admirably told by Sir William, might perhaps be hunted up with labour in other works, the student who wishes to combine Historical reading with a knowledge about the peoples, religions, languages, products and statistics of India, must fall back upon this book, which should have a place in every library.

21. *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, Ph.D. (London: Asher and Co., 1893; £9.) In two 4to volumes, of which the get-up, except the binding, reflects the utmost credit on the publishers, Dr. Richter gives here the results of his 12 years' work in Cyprus. He has been a successful explorer, though as he was not rich and had often to work for others, there are accounts as vexing as they are amusing of the difficulties which he encountered. One volume contains plates giving illustrations of Dr. Richter's discoveries; but many more such are interspersed in the pages of the other volume also—forming thus one of the most profusely illustrated works that we have lately seen. In the volume containing the text—530 pages—190 are devoted to explanations of the plates. The other 340 pages treat of ancient places of worship in Kypros, of tree worship and its transition into anthropomorphic image worship, of Imageless worship and that of fabulous beings. We have received the book too late for a full review, such as its interest and importance demand: our space moreover for each review is strictly limited. Numerous elucidations are the result of the author's discoveries, not the least important of which are some bilingual inscriptions. A wide reading and deep erudition enable Dr. Richter to connect the art, worship and civilization of Kypros, which he says must have been extremely early owing to the favourable situation of the island, with Egypt, Greece, Babylon, Assyria, Syria and the yet only too little known Hittites. He traces Adonis-Thammuz and Astoreth-Aphrodite to tree worship, and finds that this and other parts throw much light on various passages of the Bible; *e.g.*, on the High places, and in 1 Kings xx. 23, on the gods of the valleys and those of the hills. The Homeric Greek gods he traces also to their Kyprian sources. It is interesting to find the Fish as a religious symbol centuries before its adoption by Christians as a representation of our Lord, from the letters of its Greek name. Dr. Richter, with much ingenuity and learning, traces the connection of Kyprian art with that of Egypt, and the East; and mentions among other things the peculiar pottery which he attributes to Kypros, but which

Father de Cara has traced to the Hittites, in mentioning whom, we may add, we have noticed among Dr. Richter's illustrations, several statues with the oblique Mongol eyes, that would show an early settlement in Syria and Asia Minor of a race to which some have traced the Hittites. Dr. Richter promises further results of his discoveries; and while we congratulate him on his splendid book, which is as interesting to the Biblical scholar as it is to the Hellenist, and especially to the Archæologist, we shall look with eagerness for the completion of his work.

22. *Buddha Charita of Ashva Ghosha*, edited by E. B. COWELL, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 12s.) This work is known only from three copies of a manuscript which is inaccessible in Nepal. It was translated into Chinese early in the fifth century of our era, whence Professor Cowell infers that it then enjoyed a great reputation among the Buddhists of India, and that the date of its composition must be fixed at least one or two centuries earlier. A Thibetan translation, dating from the seventh or eighth century, and marked by great faithfulness to the original, gives us a valuable means of checking the modern manuscripts of the poem. A comparison of the Thibetan and Chinese versions shows that Books XV., XVI., XVII. in our Sanskrit manuscripts do not belong to the original text of the *Buddha Charita*. Professor Cowell shows that this fact is probably explained in two *Shlokas* added to the colophon of the last book, in the Cambridge manuscript; the concluding *Shloka* is:

“*Sarvatrānvishya no labdhvā chatuh sargam cha nīrmitam,  
Chaturdasham panchadasham shodasham saptadasham tathā.*”

—“Having sought everywhere and not found them, four cantos have been made by me, the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.” The date of these *Shlokas*, is A.D. 1830; and they are to be attributed, probably, to the Amrtānanda mentioned in Rajendralāl Mitra's “Nepalese Buddhist Literature.” Only the first thirteen and part of the fourteenth books belong, therefore, to Ashvaghosha. Professor Cowell points to the fact that “a peculiar interest attaches to them for their importance in establishing Professor Bühler's views as to the successful cultivation, in Northern India, of artificial poetry and rhetoric in the early centuries of our era:” thus rendering untenable the theory which brought Kālidāsa and Vikramaditya to a period only twelve centuries ago. The *Buddha Charita*, as we have seen, cannot be later than the third century of our era, and may be several centuries earlier; it, nevertheless, contains as Professor Cowell shows, the peculiar qualities of style characteristic of the poetry of the Sanskrit “Renaissance.” The parallels between Ashvaghosha and Kālidāsa (*Raghuvansha*, *Kumāra Sambhava*,) are full of interest, and form, perhaps, the most valuable part of Professor Cowell's preface. An English translation of the *Buddha Charita* will shortly appear in the “Sacred Books of the East” Series.

23. *An English-Telugu Dictionary*, by P. SANKARANARAYANA, M.A., Madras, 1891. (London: Luzac and Co.) We may say, at the outset, that this seems a thoroughly practical and accurate book, well adapted to the needs of native students, and of the few Europeans who desire to translate from English into the “Italian of India.” The printing is better than

Indian printing often is, though it still leaves much to wish for. The paging, however (between the two words "Damn" and "Damnable,") is defective, but the author is careful to point out that no matter is missed between these two words. The very long and needlessly discursive Introduction has some suggestive sentences. We learn, not without apprehension, that "we have already ceased to have our communication with friends and relations in Telugu, wherever the alternative of English is in the least possible. We have almost given up conversing in Telugu, or at all events in unmixed Telugu, whenever we meet English-knowing friends." This calls to our memory a conversation we once over-heard in a railway-station in Bengal. Said the first Babu: "*Amrā Congress-ete giyā, fighting-for-the-common-cause hoibo!*" His fellow replied: "*Ha! Amāder deshe Conshtitushun karite hoibe!*" Need we say that sentiments like this do not call up the unmixed admiration that real sturdy patriotism and self-respect might command.

24. *The "Vidyodaya"*; a Sanscrit Critical Monthly. Annual subscription, 8s.; post free. Edited by PANDIT HRISHI KESH SHASTRI, and published by the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

*Vidyodaya* (October, 1892). The contents of this number are: (1) A part of the *Lingaviveka*, a useful list of doubtful and irregular Sanskrit Genders. (2) An instalment of the *Paribhashendushekhara*—The Moon-garland of Grammatical Technicalities. (3) The concluding thirty stanzas of *Pādāravindashatakam*, a poem on the goddess Durgā's foot. (4) *Kalimāhātmyaprahasanam*, a farce on the Iron Age.

*Vidyodaya* (November, 1892). Contents: (1) The *Lingaviveka*, continued. (2) A part of the *Alankāra Sūtram*, a Sanskrit Ars Poetica, of the artificial school. (3) A biography of Pandit Premachandra Tarkavāgisha, in Sanskrit. "As a Sanskrit journalist," says the writer, "we feel our earnest duty to give a biographical sketch in Sanskrit of the late Pandit Premachandra Tarkavāgisha." (4) *Advāitaprakaranam*, a treatise of the school of "Unity" (Adrāita) of the Vedānta.

*Vidyodaya* (December, 1892). Contents: *Lingaviveka*, continued. (2) *Kalimāhātmyaprahasanam*. (3) *Mahāranyaparyavekshanam*, a journey through the great Forest. (4) *Paribhashendushekhara*, continued. (5) *Alankāra Sūtram*, continued.

*Vidyodaya* (January, 1893). Contents: (1) *Atmatatwaviveka*, or a discourse on the existence of the soul, by Udayanacharya, with commentary. (2) A treatise on *Advaitabada* of the Vedānta Philosophy. (3) Aphorisms on Sanskrit rhetoric. (4) Rules on the use of genders in Sanskrit. (5) New Year. (6) *Kusumanjali*, or a treatise on the existence of God, with commentary.

The printing and press-work being done in India leave much to be desired; the scholarship, however, is accurate and reliable; and the whole work is a very interesting illustration of the class of studies which chiefly occupy the pandits.

25. *Adzuma; or, The Japanese Wife*, by SIR EDWIN ARNOLD. (Longmans and Co., 1893; 6s. 6d.) Sir Edwin Arnold has secured so high a place for himself as the writer of "The Light of Asia" that it would seem

to be difficult even for him to ever again reach the same heights, though his present Idyll, ending in tragedy, is as perfect in its gentleness as is his Epic in its sublimity. In the book before us the reader is transported into the midst of old Japan, and told the tale of sweet, patient, faithful Adzuma, and of her noble, loving Lord Wataru Watanabe. It is a play in four acts, and many a pretty scene fascinates the reader as he turns page upon page. I may mention the following in Act III. It is the celebration of the there popular Autumn festival, when all the folks gather under the many-coloured maple-trees.

“ The great feast in the groves of *momiji*,  
Where all the city flocks to see the year  
Put on its autumn dress, golden and green,  
Scarlet and purple, saffron, russet, rose.”

Adzuma amongst them comes forth and thus addresses her attendants :

“ Oya ! my maids ! I gave you leave to match  
Your prettiest gowns with Autumn’s dying dress,  
Yet she outglories you.”

Her attendants follow her strains in praising Spring and Summer which they like best. The whole scene and many others are full of charm and delicacy, containing passages of great beauty which would be effective on the stage, on which it is to be hoped the piece will shortly appear.

The IV. Act is very touching, and centres in Adzuma’s self-sacrifice, who cuts the fatal knot of intrigues instituted for her and her husband’s destruction by the only escape possible in her eyes—namely, by skilfully contriving that she shall be murdered by mistake instead of her husband.

26. *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople*, by FRANCES ELLIOT (London : John Murray), with Map and Illustrations ; 14s.

It is very much to be regretted that the idle author was not too idle to write at all, for with Mr. Murray’s own Handbook, the busy traveller to Turkey does not also want a “ Diary ” which teaches him what he has to unlearn. Arriving at Constantinople by land, the author missed the beauty of its scenery as it rises in terraces, which can only be fully enjoyed in a Kayik boat from the sea. She, apparently, put herself into the hands of a Greek interpreter, and imbibed from him all the misconceptions of ordinary Greeks regarding everything Turkish. The book has been made up by historical after-thoughts, which, however, do not correct the errors at the beginning, but there are stories of the love and murder of the late Sultan, that are sure “ to sell ” the hasty compilation to which we refer.

27. *L’Insurrection Algérienne de 1871 dans les chansons populaires Kabyles*, par RENÉ BASSET. (Louvain : J. B. Istas, 1892.) This learned Professor of the École Supérieure des Lettres of Algiers here gives a very interesting pamphlet of 60 pages, one-third of which is devoted to indices of French words adopted into the Kabile language, and of Berber roots, while the other two-thirds give on opposite pages the Kabyle songs with a well-executed translation into French. The part on Berber roots is of very deep philological interest. The notes added by the learned professor are characteristic of his wide reading and profound erudition.

28. *Les Bas-fonds de Constantinople*, by PAUL DE RÉGLA. (Paris : Tresse and Stock, 3rd Edition.)

This author certainly knows what he writes about. We prefer, however, his amusing account of the autonomy of the dogs, the scavengers of Stamboul, to that of the intrigues—political and social—of men, whom association with Europeans appears to have deprived of the dignity which used to accompany even Oriental vice. Those who wish to know what passes behind the scenes of the Turkish Capital, cannot do better than peruse the pages of this book. M. Paul de R  gla, however, renders justice to the “true Turk,” than whom we ourselves have seen fewer better specimens of piety, honesty and capacity for Government—witness the condition of Servia, before and after, its complete emancipation from Turkish rule.

29. *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, by CHARLES G. LELAND. (London: Fisher Unwin.)

The saying of Dionysius of Halicarnassus with reference to the Etruscans, namely that they are unlike any other nation as regards language and customs, still holds good, as far as the language is concerned; Prof. Krall’s discovery, however, of an Etruscan “linnen book” folded round a mummy in an Egyptian tomb, may give reasonable hope that the time is not far distant when important clues to the ultimate decipherment of the language will be available. Old Etruria was a veritable home of augury and divination. Spirits and ghosts played a prominent r  le in the Etruscan religion. In the *liber linteus* we frequently meet the word “Hinthu”—a ghost—which is one of the few Etruscan words that can be translated. (See Krall, *die Etruskischen Mumienbinden des Agramer National Museums*, 1892.) It is Mr. Leland’s merit to have devoted many years of untiring research to the task of throwing light on the old religion and sorcery which is still alive among the peasantry of the Tuscan mountains. The author’s remarkable gift for eliciting the secrets of the “old faith” from his informants, who appear to hold it in even greater reverence than they do the saints of their churches, renders him pre-eminently successful in these and similar researches; as much of this strange traditional creed is on the verge of dying out Mr. Leland’s labours were most opportune and deserve our thanks. It appears that this Etruscan witchcraft—“*stregeria*”—though less than what might be termed a faith, is certainly something more than a mere system of sorcery; Mr. Leland has even rediscovered the names of the old Etruscan gods, such as Tinia or Jupiter, Faflau or Bacchus and Terams or Tunus (Mercury) as we read them on the Etruscan mirrors, and abundant proof is produced that these ancient deities yet live in the memories of the Tuscan peasantry. The mass of material collected by the author, consisting of invocations, legends, incantations and the like, reproduced in the original Italian and in translation, is really astounding. Mr. Leland’s statement that the difficulties of “extracting” witchcraft from the Italian *Strege* far surpass those he experienced in collecting “volumes of folk-lore among very reticent Red Indians and reserved Romanys” is fully credited by us; we have good reason not to doubt it.

The distinguished compiler’s descriptions and quotations leave the impression of being derived from original sources and in the preparation of the work he had moreover the advantage of advice from Senatore Comparetti, one of the greatest living Italian scholars. To judge from the

comments, notes and explanatory passages generally, Mr. Leland is thoroughly acquainted with the existing literature on the subject of Etruria, in Latin, Italian, German and English. The only thing which we do not like in the book are the illustrations of ancient monuments of figures; they are so carelessly done as actually to give the impression of being reproductions from clumsy forgeries.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of: 1. *Kosovo*, by Madame Elodie L. Mijatovich (London: W. Isbister, Ltd.). 2. *The History of Modern Serbia*, by the same authoress (London: W. Tweedie). 3. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. 4. *La Revue des Revues*, Paris. 5. *The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Sons, London). 6. *The American Journal of Philology* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Boston, U.S.). 7. *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome). 8. *Lucifer* (Theosophical Publishing Company, London). 9. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine* (Edinburgh). 10. *The American Antiquarian* (S. D. Peet, Chicago, U.S.). 11. *The Review of Reviews* (London). 12. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris). 13. *Biblia* (Boston, U.S.), an American Journal of Biblical and Oriental Research. 14. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris). 15. *The Journal of the Society of Arts* (London). 16. *La Revue Générale* (Brussels). 17. *Tung Pao* (E. J. Brill, Leyden). 18. *Publications of the Geographical Society of Paris*. 19. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York, U.S.). 20. *The Journal of the United Service Association* (Simla, India). 21. *The Missionary Review of Reviews* (New York, U.S.). 22. *The Indo-Chinese Opium Question*, by R. N. Cust, LL.D. (Hertford: S. Austin and Sons).

We regret that owing to want of space we are obliged to postpone the following articles:

A. Rogers, C.S. (late of the Bombay Council): "A reply to Sir W. Wedderburn's article on 'Russianized Officialism in India.'"

F. Ongley: "The History of Pious Foundations in the Ottoman Dominions."

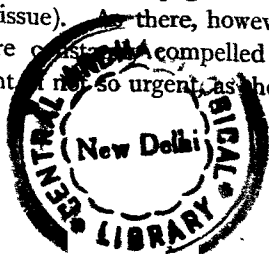
His Exc. Ched. Mijatovitch: "A chapter in the History of British policy in the Balkan Peninsula."

A. H. Ellis: "The Amaxosa Káfirs," and other interesting articles.

We also trust to be able to give, in an early issue, an illustrated history of the Shawl Manufacture and its Alphabets, of Græco-Buddhistic Sculptures, and of the various classes of Fakirs and other religious wanderers or squatters in India and Central Asia, as soon as the illustrations to accompany the text can be reproduced.

For several issues past we have been obliged, in order to do justice to current topics and inquiries, to increase the usual number of pages of this Review (224 to 240) to 272 pages (as in this issue). As there, however, is a limit to the space at our disposal, we are constantly compelled to postpone the publication of articles as important, but not so urgent, as those immediately published.—ED.

(4) - *See*







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